

# THE SOT WEED



"The savages of America raised a grain, now known by the appellation of Indian corn.... They were ignorant of the art of procuring ... a fermented liquor, nor had they any other kind of intoxication than what arose from the use of tobacco smoaked in a stone pipe. This narcotick weed was the only repast which they took to regale themselves with."



— James Sullivan, THE HISTORY OF THE PENOBSCOT INDIANS, COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Series I, Volume 9 (1804; reprinted 1857):207-232

## In Thoreau's Journal:

### Tobacco

<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>	II.....	221
(flower)	XII.....	340, 341[EP]
(plant)	VII.....	8
	XII.....	341

## THE NIGHTSHADES (SOLANACEAE)

- — Potato *Solanum tuberosum*
- — Tomato *Lycopersicon esculentum*
- — chili peppers
- — eggplant
- — deadly nightshade
- — Tobacco *Nicotiana tabacum*
- — henbane
- — Jimson weed
- — petunia
- — plus some 2,000 other species grouped into 75 genera

1250

At about this point, the technique of the distillation of alcohol became known in Europe, making it possible to produce more potent and convenient alcoholic beverages. Until the 16th century, however, distilled or spiritous liquors primarily would be being distilled out of wine (the result of this is termed brandy), would be consequently somewhat pricey, and would find use only by the wealthy and only as medicine. Credited with extraordinary healing powers, their common name would be *aqua vitae*, "water of life."

1492

October 12, Friday: There is no separate entry for this day either in the lying official log or in the fantastical private log of Christopher Columbus. The expedition landed at what Christopher Columbus called “San Salvador,” and the natives called “Guanahani” (and may possibly be Watling Island). It is not known for sure which island they had sighted; however, it is known that he and some of his crew did get ashore on this date somewhere in the Caribbean. Columbus would immediately jot down a thought that came to his mind, that the people he was meeting “should make good servants.”



The people he was meeting were the graceful, handsome, and pleasant Bahamian Tainos. Noting that “They do not carry arms and have no knowledge of them,” our guy would soon be suggesting that “With fifty men they could all be subjected and made to do all that one wished.” –Twelve years later, not a single person of that population of 40,000-odd graceful, handsome, and pleasant Americans would still exist. All would have died under the lash, laboring for the man, and their sole record of existence would be the hammock, and that loan-word in our European languages. Centuries later a faithful student of [Harvard College](#) Professor [Louis Agassiz](#), W.K. Brooks, would obtain some of their skulls and derogate them as primitive and worthy of being dominated and exterminated. He would offer that the “outlines of the skulls have none of the softness and delicacy which characterizes those of the more civilized and gentle races of men,” men such as the Spaniards who dominated and exterminated these primitives who “could all be subjected and made to do all that one wished.”

I ... gave to some among them some red caps and some glass beads, which they hung round their necks, and many other things of little value. At this they were greatly pleased and became so entirely our friends that it was a wonder to see. Afterwards they came swimming to the ships' boats, where we were, and brought us parrots and cotton thread in balls, and spears and many other things, and we exchanged for them other things, such as small glass beads and hawks' bells, which we gave to them. In fact, they took all and gave all, such as they had.... They all go naked as their mothers bore them, and the women also, although I saw only one very young girl. And all those whom I did see were youths, so that I did not see one who was over thirty years of age; they were very well built, with very handsome bodies and very good faces. Their hair is coarse and



## PLANTS

SIK'AR

short, almost like the hairs of a horse's tail; they wear their hair down over their eyebrows, except for a few strands behind which they wear long and never cut. Some of them are painted black, and they are the color of the people of the Canaries, neither black nor white, and some of them are painted white and some red and some in any color that they find.... They are all generally fairly tall, good looking and well proportioned. I saw some who bore marks of wounds on their bodies, and I made signs to them to ask how this came about, and they indicated to me that people had come from other islands, which are near, and wished to capture them, and they had defended themselves.... They should be good servants and of quick intelligence.

Samuel Eliot Morison has commented on this that “to the intellectuals of Europe it seemed that Christopher Columbus had stepped back several millennia, and encountered people living in the Golden Age, that bright morning of humanity which existed only in the imagination of poets. Columbus's discovery enabled Europeans to see their own ancestors, as it were, in a ‘state of nature,’ before Pandora's box was opened. The ‘virtuous savage’ myth, which reached its height in the 18th Century, began at Guanahani on October 12, 1492.”<sup>1</sup>

The great man (Columbus, not Morison) wrote in his journal about gifts offered by the natives: “the natives brought fruit, wooden spears, and certain dried leaves which gave off a distinct fragrance.” As each item seemed much-prized; Columbus accepted the gifts and ordered them brought back to the ship. The fruit they ate; the pungent “certain dried leaves,” presumably [tobacco](#), they had the uncommon good sense to throw away.<sup>2</sup>

1. Professor Morison was the last Harvard historian to ride a horse to work. He taught the young Harvard men while attired in riding breeches. He refused to teach the Radcliffe girls because girls are so frivolous. He believed so passionately that the writing of history was an art that, when interrupted at his desk by the barking of a dog, he shot the dog. After WWII he taught while attired in an Admiral's uniform.

2. Unfortunately for us, our attitude would change.

October 15, Monday (Old Style): On this date a white man, Christopher Columbus, first took note of the practice of smoking, although he had not yet witnessed the act itself: "In the middle of the gulf between these two islands.... I found a man alone in a canoe who was going from the island of Santa Maria to Fernandina. He had food and water and some dry leaves which must be a thing very much appreciated among them, because they had already brought me some of them as a present." A few weeks later, on another island, Columbus would watch while the people "drank smoke." The [tobacco](#) plant as we know it today had originated somewhere in the Americas around 6000 BCE. At about the turnover from the BCE to the CE calendar, native Americans had begun making use of tobacco in various ways, such as smoking it in a number of different manners, using it in smaller doses for an enema, and using it in massive doses for suicide or execution. At about 600 CE to 1000 CE, in Uaxactun in what is now Guatemala, we have what is at present the earliest discovered pictorial record of smoking: a pottery vessel found there dating from prior to the 11th Century depicts a Maya smoking a roll of tobacco leaves tied with a string. The Mayan term for smoking was *sik'ar*.



October 28, Sunday-November 6, Tuesday: During this timeframe Christopher Columbus would be becoming aware of the existence of the island of Cuba. (It had been there all along, more or less unnoticed except by the people who had noticed.) As 1st actual observation of the use of [tobacco](#) by the natives, by Europeans, the natives were seen to be holding a *tizón*, or firebrand, made of *yerbas*, or plant substance, in their hands while inhaling the smoke.

November: Rodrigo de Jerez and Luis de Torres, in Cuba searching for the Khan of Cathay ([China](#)), are credited as being the 1st white men to observe the act of smoking [tobacco](#). They reported that they witnessed natives<sup>3</sup> wrapping dried leaves in palm or maize “in the manner of a musket formed of paper.” They saw them light one end, then commence “drinking” the smoke through the other (**they weren’t making this up**, Bob Newhart would insist in “Button Down Comedy”). Jerez became a confirmed smoker, and is thought to be the first outside of the Americas. When he brought the habit back to his hometown, the smoke billowing from his mouth and nose so frightened his neighbors that he would for 7 years be imprisoned for this “devilish habit” by the holy inquisitors — by the time he would be released, smoking would have become a Spanish craze (just think of how Bob Newhart would have spun that one, pretending that he’d just gotten out of jail after being there 7 years for smoking –and was noticing a bunch of people, smoking: **“Hey, excuse me, are you sure you should be doing that?”**).

1494

Romano Pane, the friar who was accompanying Christopher Columbus, recorded that “Indians” were using [tobacco](#) by reducing it to a powder that “they take through a cane half a cubit long: one end of this they place in the nose, and the other upon the powder.”



1497

Robert Pane, who had accompanied Christopher Columbus on his 2d voyage in 1493, made the 1st report of native [tobacco](#) use to appear in Europe.

3. As it would turn out, these weren’t [Chinamen](#) at all! –As it would turn out, all the Chinamen were someplace else doing something else at the time.

1500

During this century, psychoactive drug use in Europe would be becoming more widespread and diverse as European explorers and travelers would discover and bring back a wide variety of new drugs: [tobacco](#), coca leaves or [cocaine](#), [cocoa](#), and cassina from the New World; [coffee](#) from Arabia and Turkey; the kola nut from Africa; and [tea](#) from [China](#). At the same time, major sociocultural changes make the Western world more receptive to the adoption of innovative drug use. Previous social and religious controls were loosening and society generally was becoming more urban, complex, secular, and freeform. As the recreational consumption of new distilled spirits spread, as religious, social, and political changes weakened traditional controls, the problem of uncontrolled [alcohol](#) consumption was increasing. The Reverend Martin Luther, the Reverend John Calvin, and other Reformation leaders would emphasize the need for temperance; for the first time entire books would be devoted to such subjects. During this century the Dutch would achieve their Golden Age in part through [cannabis](#) (“hempe”) commerce. However, in North America the hemp plant was growing wild.



In [China](#), the medicinal use of pure [opium](#) was fully established, but recreational use was still limited. In [India](#), we find the earliest western records of the production and widespread use of [opium](#).



1518

Juán de Grijalva sailed along the Mexican coast, from Cozumel to Cabo Roxo, collecting the first European impression of Mesoamerica.



A native chief handed Juán a [cigarette](#). “Here, white man, take a drag.”



“What is it? A special food, Walt? ... Not exactly? ... It has a lot of different uses? ... You shove it up your nose ... and it makes you sneeze, huh? I imagine it would. Walt ... Or you can shred it up, put it on a piece of paper and roll it up, heh, heh, heh, and ... don't tell me, Walt. Don't tell me. You ... stick it in your ear, right Walt? ... Oh, between your lips. Then what do you do to it, Walt? You ... ha, ha, ha ... you set **fire** to it! And you inhale the smoke ... Say, Walt, we've been a little worried about you ...”



1519

Hernando Cortez brought Arabian horses from Spain to the North American continent. He noticed that the natives were smoking perfumed reed [cigarettes](#). He entered Tenochtitlan, capital of Mexico, and was received by Montezuma, the Aztec ruler.



Busy conquering part of Mexico, he did not himself find the taste of [cocoa](#) all that interesting and was, therefore, mostly into cocoa beans as a substitute for money. He established in the name of Spain a plantation at which, henceforth, this “cash” crop was to be cultivated.

1530

Bernardino de Sahagun, missionary in Mexico, distinguished between sweet commercial [tobacco](#) (*Nicotiana tabacum*) and coarse *Nicotiana rustica*.

Brunfels published *HERBARIUM VIVAE EICONES*, the first newly written and printed [botanical](#) book/herbal.

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1531

→ In Santo Domingo, the cultivation of [tobacco](#) for European markets began.



1534

→ “Tall [tobacco](#)” –sweet, broadleaved *Nicotiana tabacum*– was transplanted from the Central American mainland to the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo.

1535

Jacques Cartier encountered natives on the island of Montréal who were using [tobacco](#).

1548

The Portuguese in Brazil began to cultivate [tobacco](#) for commercial export.

[Luís Vaz de Camões](#) was exiled from Lisbon.



**PLANTS**

**SIK'AR**

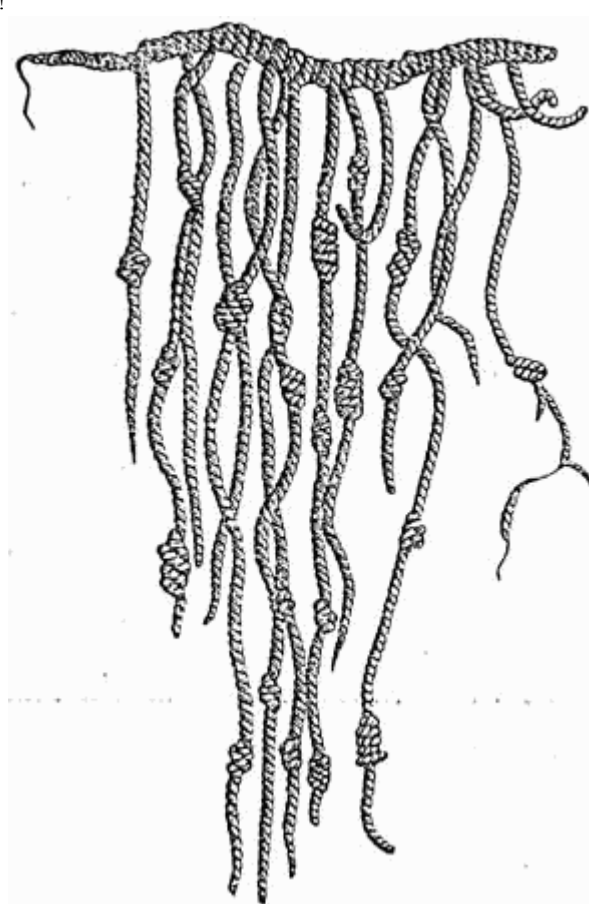
1554

➡ In Antwerp, one "Cruydeboeck" or "CRVYDT-BOECK" prepared the first European illustration of [tobacco](#).



This year produces the 1st written record of the [tomato](#).<sup>4</sup>

Though the 1st description in Europe of kohlrabi was in this year, it would not be grown commercially for 4. Except, perhaps, for the *quipu*!





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almost two more centuries, until 1734 (in Ireland). Records of this vegetable in the US do not begin for two and a half more centuries, until 1806.

PLANTS

1556

The seeds of Brazilian [tobacco](#) (*Nicotiana tabacum*) were being brought from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil to France by a Franciscan monk, André Thevet, who was characterizing this plant as a creature comfort.

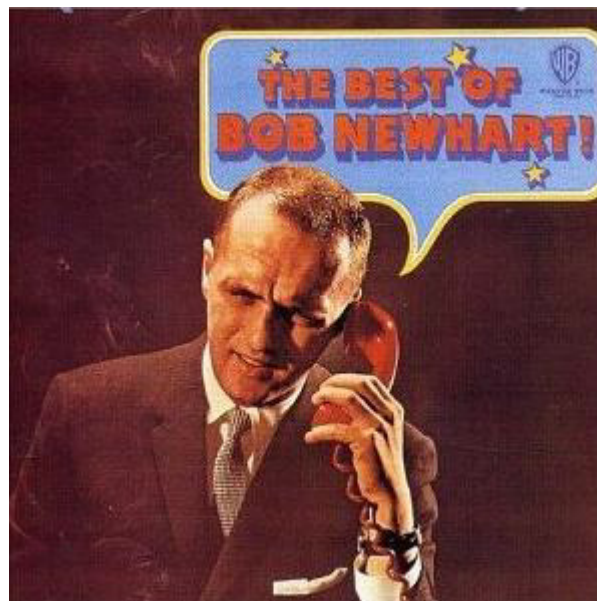
PLANTS

1558

[Tobacco](#) was being introduced into Portugal.

1559

**Tobacco** was being introduced into Spain. Jean Nicot de Villemain, the French ambassador to the Portuguese court, forwarded to the French court this New World leaf called “tabac” along with a description of its medicinal benefits. In honor of the ambassador, this plant species would be dubbed *Nicotiana*. As Bob Newhart would point out in his justly famous telephone monologue of 1962, one was to crumble the dry leaves, light them, and breathe the vapors given off as they smoldered. At first this practice produced sweating and nausea, but they were finding that once they had gotten used to breathing these vapors — what resulted was a sort of dry drunkenness.



(In Nicot’s defense, the species being promoted as a *herba panacea* was *Nicotiana rustica* rather than the tall *Nicotiana tabacum* that would begin to be grown in the Jamestown settlement by John Rolfe in 1612.)

1561

**Tobacco** was growing in Spain and Portugal, where it was used as an ornamental plant and for its alleged medicinal properties.

The posthumously published work of Valerius Cordus established new standards for the systematic description of plants — his work was the 1st to uniformly address all aspects of a plant in a standard sequence, granting parallel treatment to each species. Which is to say, for the 1st time we had a published herbal which could be approached with the convenience of a database.

PLANTS

Bob Newhart Show, The NBC-TV Network, April 18, 1962.

HOW DID SIR WALTER RALEIGH SELL HIS TOBACCO?

NEWHART: "Tonight we're going to take a look at the possible origin of the cigarette industry."

\* \* \* \* \*

NEWHART: "I think that most of us are inclined to take things for granted. For example, cigarettes and the great tobacco industry. This multimillion dollar business had very humble origins. It was brought to the attention of the civilized world by Sir Walter Raleigh when he brought the first boatload from North America to England. Now, since the uses of tobacco may not be obvious right off the bat, I kept imagining Sir Walter having a little trouble trying to talk the sea captain into putting it on the ship, and then I imagined Walt trying to get permission from the home office of the West Indies Company to do it, and I think it must have sounded something like this..."

(MUSICAL INTRODUCTION)

NEWHART (As an official of the West Indies Company): "Hello, who, who's calling? Sir, Sir Walter Raleigh from the Colony. Yeah, put him on, will you? Ah, Harry, pick up your extension, will you? It's nutty Walt again. (LAUGHTER)

"Hi, Walt baby! Good hearing your voice. Things are fine here, Walt. The boatload of turkeys you sent us over here last November? They're still here, Walt. Yeah, they're walkin' all over London. (LAUGHTER) You see, that isn't a holiday over here, Walt, just in America. (LAUGHTER)

"You got another winner for us, Sir Walt, have ya? To-bacco. What's tobacco, Walt? A leaf. You've got 80 tons of it. (LAUGHTER) You bought 80 tons of leaves, Walt? Ha, ha, oh you're beautiful, Walt. (LAUGHTER) Look, Walt, I don't know if you noticed last time, we have plenty of leaves over here in England. (LAUGHTER) You see, come fall, we're up to... It's a special kind of leaf? Some kind of food, is it, Walt? Not exactly. What do you do with the leaves, Walt? Lots of different things. Ha.

"Are you saying 'snuff,' Walt? (LAUGHTER) And what's snuff? You take a pinch of tobacco, and you stick it up your nose. (LAUGHTER) And it makes you sneeze. (LAUGHTER) Ha, ha, ha, I imagine it would, Walt, yeah. Goes over very big there, does it? Yeah, goldenrod seems to do it over here, Walt. (LAUGHTER)

- more -

- 2 -

"Tobacco has other uses. You can chew it? Or stuff it in a pipe? Or you can shred the leaves, put it in a little piece of paper, roll it up. You don't have to tell me, Walt, you stick it in your ear, right? (LAUGHTER) Between your lips? Okay, Walt, and then what do you do with it? Ha, ha, ha, ha. (NEWHART SLAPPED DESK.) You set fire to it, Walt! (LAUGHTER) Hey, Harry, you want to get on the innercom? I don't want the boys to miss this. (LAUGHTER) Walt, you're puttin' me on, aren't you. You set fire to it, and then what happens, Walt? You breathe in the smoke. (LAUGHTER) Well, it seems to me you could stand in front of a fireplace and get the same thing goin' for you. I don't think we'll be able to move that, Walt.

"You know, Walt, we've been a little worried about you since you put your caps down over all that mud. (LAUGHTER) You're all right though, Walt, huh? You see, what bugs me, Walt, is who's going to want to put burning leaves in his mouth? (LAUGHTER) You don't call 'em burning leaves. You call them a cigarette. Walt, I've got to level with you. I don't care what you call 'em, they're still burning leaves and I don't think people are going to buy 'em.

"You have some sales gimmicks? I'd love to hear some of those, Walt. You're going to add a mint flavor. (LAUGHTER) How much mint? Just a hint. (LAUGHTER) That's not too bad, Walt. Huh? And you're going to make some cigarettes longer than others. Why is that, Walt? It travels the smoke further. (LAUGHTER) That make it better, Walt? You don't know but it's a catchy slogan. (LAUGHTER)

"Walt, Walt, can you speak up? I can hardly hear you. What's that noise? You've got the Indian marching band, and they stomp all through this tobacco field? (LAUGHTER) That's the way they get their kicks, Walt, you know.

"What's the matter, Walt? You spilled your coffee. What's coffee, Walt? (LAUGHTER) Ha, ha, it's a drink you make out of beans. You roast them, and then you pour them in a cup. (LAUGHTER) You drink it in the morning while you smoke your cogarette! (LAUGHTER) I'm still here, Walt, I'm still here. Look, Walt, I tell you what you do. Put some of those on the boat. If you can hook 'em with the burning leaves, I'm sure they'll go for the bean. (LAUGHTER) I'm with you, Walt. Do me one favor, Walt. Don't call me anymore!" (APPLAUSE)

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1565

John Hawkins introduced tobacco seeds into England from Florida, but smoking would not spread until dashing Walter Raleigh, who was at this point only eleven years of age, would help it become fashionable in the court in the mid-1570s.

**Chronological observations of America**

*Tobacco first brought into England by Sir John Hawkins, but it was first brought into use by Sir Walter Rawleigh many years after.*

*From the year of the World* *to the year of Christ 1673.*

**BY John Josselyn Gent.**

(Although there have been popular reports that John Hawkins may have introduced potatoes into Ireland in this year, we don't have an actual confirmation of potatoes in Ireland prior to the year 1586.)

PLANTS

1566

➡ Jean Nicot de Villemain sent a gift of snuff to Catherine de Medici, the Queen of France, to be used as a palliative for her migraines.<sup>5</sup>

5. She would later decree that tobacco was to be known as *Herba Regina*.

**1568**

Andre Thevet provided the first still-extant description of [tobacco](#) use in France. He reported that in Brazil people were smoking it to cleanse the “superfluous humours of the brain.” He himself was smoking the leaves of this plant.

**1569**

*DOS LIBROS, EL UNO QUE TRATA DE TODAS LAS COSAS QUE SE TRAEN DE NUESTRAS INDIAS OCCIDENTALES, QUE SIRVEN AL USO DE LA MEDICINA, Y EL OTRO QUE TRATA DE LA PIEDRA BEZAAR, Y DE LA YERVA ESCUERÇONERA*, published by Dr. Nicolás Bautista Monardes in Seville in various editions with various titles between 1569 and 1574, to be translated by John Frampton into English in 1577 as JOYFULL NEWS OUT OF THE NEWFOUNDE WORLDE. Many new plants were discussed in this book, including [tobacco](#) and a 1st mention of the sunflower (by 1596 John Gerard would be growing sunflowers in his garden, but by 1665 John Ray would be describing the flower’s popularity as having subsided). This seems also to have contained the 1st reference in Europe to the American native bush *sassafras*.

**PLANTS****1570**

In [Geneva](#), the printing house of Estienne or that of Stephanus produced: Henri Estienne, ARRANGEMENTS OF GREEK AND LATIN ORATIONS. The types, Greek and Roman, had been designed by the famous type designer Claude Garamond (six recuttings of Garamond types have been made since 1919, by various typefounders).

What is asserted to have been the initial [botanical](#) book on [tobacco](#) was created by Pena and Lobel of London.

In London, Barclay’s SHIP OF FOYLES OF THE WORLD was printed by John Cawood using a mixture of English black-letter and roman types. The English priest Alexander Barclay’s translation of Sebastian Brant’s *NARRENSCHIFF* had been 1st printed in England early in 1509, but this “translation” is more a ship of fools of 16th-Century England than it is a translation of the earlier book. What it presents is an understanding of the poverty-stricken priests and court-ridden life of the common people during the reigns of Kings Henry VIIth and VIIIth. Both the original author, Brant, and the translator, Barclay, held to the general design “to ridicule

the prevailing follies and vices of every rank and profession under the allegory of a ship freighted with fools. Fools are evil and malicious people to be displayed and scolded.” Barclay installs himself as captain, “I am the firste fole of all the hole navy.” These writers ridiculed 110 categories in verse. Zeydal states that this book “played an important role in outmoding medieval allegory and morality and in directing literature into the channels of the drama, the essay and the novel of character.” The woodcuts which added much to the popularity of Barclay’s translation are crude copies of those which appeared in the original Basle edition, often attributed to young Durer. John Cawood, who printed this 2d edition of the SHIP OF FOOLLES in 1570, had been appointed Royal Printer by Queen Mary in 1553. He would be allowed to retain this lucrative post under Queen Elizabeth, but she would require him to share the honor and privileges of this title with another printer, Richard Jugge.

HISTORY OF THE PRESS

1571

[Abraham Ortelius](#) published a 6-sheet wall map of Spain (this had been co-authored with Carolus Clusius, who had traveled in Spain to collect botanical specimens and would in 1576 produce a book on the plants of the Iberian peninsula).

CARTOGRAPHY

A doctor in Seville named Monardes reported the latest craze among Spanish doctors — all over Spain, herbalists were growing [tobacco](#). This optimist listed 36 maladies as potentially cured by the leaves of this plant.



**1573**

Sir Francis Drake came home from the Americas with what was being termed by that time *Nicotina tobacum*.

“Willim Honesse” was entered in the Booke of Stoppes of the Company of Grocers of London as having paid his two shillings, dues for the year.


**WILLIAM HUNNIS**

Clusius became court gardener to Maximilian II in Vienna (he would remain in that position until 1587, later becoming a professor at the University of Leiden in Holland, where he would introduce and popularize the tulip).

**PLANTS****1575**

The Roman Catholic authorities of Mejico enacted an ordinance against smoking in any place of worship within the Spanish colonies of the New World. From this year until 1600 in Europe, although smoking for pleasure was still controversial, *tobacco* would come into almost universal approval as a medication. Nicolas Monardes had devoted the 2d part of his book (which had been published in 1571 and in 1574) on the plants of the New World to a lengthy discourse on the plant, recommending it as an infallible cure for 36 different ailments. Summing up current beliefs regarding this much praised *herba panacea* or holy herb, this *botanical* treatise would become the fundamental source for all subsequent pro-tobacco literature. Sultan Murad II would cultivate *tobacco*, but only as a novelty and a medicine, and smoking would be introduced into Turkey by the English. In South *China* and in *Japan*, limited smoking would during this period become apparent — perhaps the practice was being introduced by Portuguese sailors and merchants. Sir Walter Raleigh would be introducing the practice of smoking this herb into the court of England, to the point at which smoking would become the “duty” of every man of fashion. In England, the leaves would come to be worth their weight in silver. Numerous publications would praise their medicinal virtues, initially in 1577 with John Frampton’s translation of Nicolas Monardes’s herbal, titled JOYFUL NEWES OUTE OF THE NEWE FOUNDE WORLDE. Although tobacco would be cultivated as a medicinal herb in Tuscany and Rome, there seems to be no evidence that it was there being widely smoked.

**1577**

 John Frampton translated Nicolas Monardes’s treatise on the herbs of the New World (including on *tobacco*), originally published in 1571 and 1574, assigning it the English title JOYFUL NEWES OUTE OF THE NEWE FOUNDE WORLDE. European doctors were looking for new cures and were beginning to recommend tobacco for toothache, tobacco for falling fingernails, tobacco for worms, tobacco for *lockjaw*, tobacco for cancer, even tobacco for halitosis. Would there be no end to the health benefits of this marvelous herb of the newe founde worlde?



1580

Francis Drake introduced smoking to [Walter Raleigh](#). Cultivation of [tobacco](#) intended for European consumption began at this point on the island of Cuba. Tobacco was at this point being introduced into Turkey and into Poland.

**Chronological observations of America**

*From the year of the World*

*From Nova Albion he fell with Ternate, one of the Isles of Molucco, being courteously entertained of the King, and from thence he came upon the Isles of Calebes, to Java Major, to Cape buone speranza, and fell with the coasts of Guinea, where crossing again the line, he came to the height of the Azores, and thence to England upon the third of November 1580. after three years lacking twelve days, and was Knighted, and his Ship laid up at Deptford as a monument of his fame.*

*to the year of Christ 1673.*

**BY John Josselyn Gent.**

Nicolas Monardes brought [coca](#) leaves to Europe. Unlike the leaves of the [tobacco](#) plant, these would fail to generate interest or use, possibly because the leaves lost much of their [cocaine](#) potency during the long voyage.





I

## THE FIRST PIPES OF TOBACCO SMOKED IN ENGLAND<sup>6</sup>

Before the wine of sunny Rhine, or even Madam Clicquot's,  
Let all men praise, with loud hurras, this panacea of Nicot's.  
The debt confess, though none the less they love the grape and barley,  
Which Frenchmen owe to good Nicot, and Englishmen to Raleigh.  
Dean Hole.

There is little doubt that the smoke of herbs and leaves of various kinds was inhaled in this country, and in Europe generally, long before tobacco was ever heard of on this side the Atlantic. But whatever smoking of this kind took place was medicinal and not social. Many instances have been recorded of the finding of pipes resembling those used for tobacco-smoking in Elizabethan times, in positions and in circumstances which would seem to point to much greater antiquity of use than the form of the pipes supports; but some at least of these finds will not bear the interpretation which has been put upon them, and in other cases the presence of pipes could reasonably be accounted for otherwise than by associating them with the antiquity claimed for them. In any case, the entire absence of any allusions whatever to smoking in any shape or form in our pre-Elizabethan literature, or in mediæval or earlier art, is sufficient proof that from the social point of view smoking did not then exist. The inhaling of the smoke of dried herbs for medicinal purposes, whether through a pipe-shaped funnel or otherwise, had nothing in it akin to the smoking of tobacco for both individual and social pleasure, and therefore lies outside the scope of this book.

It may further be added that though the use of tobacco was known and practised on the continent of Europe for some time before smoking became common in England – it was taken to Spain from Mexico by a physician about 1560, and Jean Nicot about the same time sent tobacco seeds to France – yet such use was exclusively for medicinal purposes. The smoking of tobacco in England seems from the first to have been much more a matter of pleasure than of hygiene.

Who first smoked a pipe of tobacco in England? The honour is divided among several claimants. It has often been stated that Captain William Middleton or Myddelton (son of Richard Middleton, Governor of Denbigh Castle), a Captain Price and a Captain Koet were the first who smoked publicly in London, and that folk flocked from all parts to see them; and it is usually added that pipes were not then invented, so they smoked the twisted leaf, or cigars. This account first appeared in one of the volumes of Pennant's "Tour in Wales." But the late Professor Arber long ago pointed out that the remark as to the mode of smoking by cigars and not by pipes was simply Pennant's

6. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



speculation. The authority for the rest of the story is a paper in the Sebright MSS., which, in an account of William Middleton, has the remark: "It is sayed, that he, with Captain Thomas Price of Plâsyollin and one Captain Koet, were the first who smoked, or (as they called it) drank tobacco publickly in London; and that the Londoners flocked from all parts to see them." No date is named, and no further particulars are available.

Another Elizabethan who is often said to have smoked the first pipe in England is Ralph Lane, the first Governor of Virginia, who came home with Drake in 1586. Lane is said to have given Sir Walter Raleigh an Indian pipe and to have shown him how to use it. There is no original authority, however, for the statement that Lane first smoked tobacco in England, and, moreover, he was not the first English visitor to Virginia to return to this country. One Captain Philip Amadas accompanied Captain Barlow, who commanded on the occasion of Raleigh's first voyage of discovery, when the country was formally taken possession of and named Virginia in honour of Queen Elizabeth. This was early in 1584. The two captains reached England in September 1584, bringing with them the natives of whom King James I, in his "Counter-blaste to Tobacco," speaks as "some two or three Savage men," who "were brought in, together with this Savage custome," i.e. of smoking. It is extremely improbable that Captains Amadas and Barlow, when reporting to Raleigh on their expedition, did not also make him acquainted with the Indian practice of smoking. This would be two years before the return of Ralph Lane.

But certainly pipes were smoked in England before 1584. The plant was introduced into Europe, as we have seen, about 1560, and it was under cultivation in England by 1570. In the 1631 edition of Stow's "Chronicles" it is stated that tobacco was "first brought and made known by Sir John Hawkins, about the year 1565, but not used by Englishmen in many years after." There is only one reference to tobacco in Hawkins's description of his travels. In the account of his second voyage (1564-65) he says: "The Floridians when they travel have a kinde of herbe dryed, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together do smoke thoro the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they live foure or five days without meat or drinke." Smoking was thus certainly known to Hawkins in 1565, but much reliance cannot be placed on the statement in the Stow of 1631 that he first made known the practice in this country, because that statement appears in no earlier edition of the "Chronicles." Moreover, as opposed to the allegation that tobacco was "not used by Englishmen in many years after" 1565, there is the remark by William Harrison, in his "Chronologie," 1588, that in 1573 "the taking in of the smoke of the Indian herbe called Tobacco, by an instrument formed like a little ladell, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the head and stomach, is gretlie taken up and used in England." The "little ladell" describes the early form of the tobacco-pipe, with small and very shallow bowl.

King James, in his reference to the "first Author" of what he calls "this abuse," clearly had Sir Walter Raleigh in view, and it is Raleigh with whom in the popular mind the first pipe of





tobacco smoked in England is usually associated. The tradition is crystallized in the story of the schoolboy who, being asked "What do you know about Sir Walter Raleigh?" replied: "Sir Walter Raleigh introduced tobacco into England, and when smoking it in this country said to his servant, 'Master Ridley, we are to-day lighting a candle in England which by God's blessing will never be put out'!"

The truth probably is that whoever actually smoked the first pipe, it was Raleigh who brought the practice into common use. It is highly probable, also, that Raleigh was initiated in the art of smoking by Thomas Hariot. This was made clear, I think, by the late Dr. Brushfield in the second of the valuable papers on matters connected with the life and achievements of Sir Walter, which he contributed under the title of "Raleghana" to the "Transactions" of the Devonshire Association. Hariot was sent out by Raleigh for the specific purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon the natural productions of Virginia. He returned in 1586, and in 1588 published the results of his researches in a thin quarto with an extremely long-winded title beginning "A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia" and continuing for a further 138 words.

In this "Report" Hariot says of the tobacco plant: "There is an herbe which is sowed a part by itselfe and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: In the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the severall places and countries where it groweth and is used: The Spaniardes generally call it Tobacco. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder: they use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie into their stomacke and heade: from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humors, openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the use thereof, not only preserveth the body from obstructions: but if also any be, so that they have not beane of too long continuance, in short time breaketh them: wherby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many greivous diseases wherewithall wee in England are oftentimes afflicted."

So far Hariot's "Report" regarded tobacco from the medicinal point of view only; but it is important to note that he goes on to describe his personal experience of the practice of smoking in words that suggest the pleasurable nature of the experience. He says: "We ourselves during the time we were there used to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found maine [? manie] rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation woulde require a volume by itselfe: the use of it by so manie of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned Physitians also, is sufficient witness."

Who can doubt that Hariot, in reporting direct to Sir Walter Raleigh, showed his employer how "to suck it after their maner"?

All the evidence agrees that whoever taught Raleigh, it was Raleigh's example that brought smoking into notice and common use. Long before his death in 1618 it had become fashionable, as we shall see, in all ranks of society. He is said to have



smoked a pipe on the morning of his execution, before he went to the scaffold, a tradition which is quite credible.

Every one knows the legend of the water (or beer) thrown over Sir Walter by his servant when he first saw his master smoking, and imagined he was on fire. The story was first associated with Raleigh by a writer in 1708 in a magazine called the *British Apollo*. According to this yarn Sir Walter usually "indulged himself in Smoaking secretly, two pipes a Day; at which time, he order'd a Simple Fellow, who waited, to bring him up a Tankard of old Ale and Nutmeg, always laying aside the Pipe, when he heard his servant coming." On this particular occasion, however, the pipe was not laid aside in time, and the "Simple Fellow," imagining his master was on fire, as he saw the smoke issuing from his mouth, promptly put the fire out by sousing him with the contents of the tankard. One difficulty about this story is the alleged secrecy of Raleigh's indulgence in tobacco. There seems to be no imaginable reason why he should not have smoked openly. Later versions turn the ale into water and otherwise vary the story.

But the story was a stock jest long before it was associated with Raleigh. The earliest example of it occurs in the "Jests" attributed to Richard Tarlton, the famous comic performer of the Elizabethan stage, who died in 1588 – the year of the Armada. "Tarlton's Jests" appeared in 1611, and the story in question, which is headed "How Tarlton tooke tobacco at the first comming up of it," runs as follows:

"Tarlton, as other gentlemen used, at the first comming up of tobacco, did take it more for fashion's sake than otherwise, and being in a roome, set between two men overcome with wine, and they never seeing the like, wondered at it, and seeing the vapour come out of Tarlton's nose, cryed out, fire, fire, and threw a cup of wine in Tarlton's face. Make no more stirre, quoth Tarlton, the fire is quenched: if the sheriffes come, it will turne to a fine, as the custome is. And drinking that againe, fie, sayes the other, what a stinke it makes; I am almost poysoned. If it offend, saies Tarlton, let every one take a little of the smell, and so the savour will quickly goe: but tobacco whiffes made them leave him to pay all."

In the early days of smoking, the smoker was very generally said to "drink" tobacco.

Another early example of the story occurs in Barnaby Rich's "Irish Hubbub," 1619, where a "certain Welchman coming newly to London," and for the first time seeing a man smoking, extinguished the fire with a "bowle of beere" which he had in his hand.

Various places are traditionally associated with Raleigh's first pipe. The most surprising claim, perhaps, is that of Penzance, for which there is really no evidence at all. Miss Courtney, writing in the *Folk-Lore Journal*, 1887, says: "There is a myth that Sir Walter Raleigh landed at Penzance Quay when he returned from Virginia, and on it smoked the first tobacco ever seen in England, but for this I do not believe that there is the slightest foundation. Several western ports, both in Devon and



Cornwall, make the same boast." Miss Courtney might have added that Sir Walter never himself visited Virginia at all.

Another place making a similar claim is Hemstridge, on the Somerset and Dorset border. Just before reaching Hemstridge from Milborne Port, at the cross-roads, there is a public-house called the Virginia Inn. There, it is said, according to Mr. Edward Hutton, in his "Highways and Byways in Somerset," "Sir Walter Raleigh smoked his first pipe of tobacco, and, being discovered by his servant, was drenched with a bucket of water."

At the fifteenth-century Manor-House at South Wraxall, Wiltshire, the "Raleigh Room" is shown, and visitors are told that according to local tradition it was in this room that Sir Walter smoked his first pipe, when visiting his friend, the owner of the mansion, Sir Henry Long.

Another tradition gives the old Pied Bull at Islington, long since demolished, as the scene of the momentous event. It is said in its earlier days to have been a country house of Sir Walter's, and according to legend it was in his dining-room in this house that he had his first pipe. Hone, in the first volume of the "Every Day Book" tells how he and some friends visited this Pied Bull, then in a very decayed condition, and smoked their pipes in the dining-room in memory of Sir Walter. From the recently published biography of William Hone by Mr. F.W. Hackwood, we learn that the jovial party consisted of William Hone, George Cruikshank, Joseph Goodyear, and David Sage, who jointly signed a humorous memorandum of their proceedings on the occasion, from which it appears that "each of us smoked a pipe, that is to say, each of us one or more pipes, or less than one pipe, and the undersigned George Cruikshank having smoked pipes innumerable or more or less," and that "several pots of porter, in aid of the said smoking," were consumed, followed by bowls of negus made from "port wine @ 3s. 6d. per bottle (duty knocked off lately)" and other ingredients. Speeches were made and toasts proposed, and altogether the four, who desired to "have the gratification of saying hereafter that we had smoked a pipe in the same room that the man who first introduced tobacco smoked in himself," seem to have thoroughly enjoyed themselves.

Wherever Raleigh is known to have lived or lodged we are sure to find the tradition flourishing that there he smoked his first pipe. The assertion has been made of his birthplace, Hayes Barton, although it is very doubtful if he ever visited the place after his parents left it, some years before their son had become acquainted with tobacco; and also with more plausibility of his home at Youghal, in the south of Ireland. Froude, in one of his "Short Studies," quotes a legend to the effect that Raleigh smoked on a rock below the Manor House of Greenaway, on the River Dart, which was the home of the first husband of Katherine Champernowne, afterwards Raleigh's wife; and Devonshire guide-books have adopted the story.

Perhaps the most likely scene of Raleigh's first experiments in the art of smoking was Durham House, which stood where the Adelphi Terrace and the streets between it and the Strand now stand. This was in the occupation of Sir Walter for twenty years



(1583-1603), and he was probably resident there when Hariot returned from Virginia to make his report and instruct his employer in the management of a pipe. Walter Thornbury, in his "Haunted London," referring to the story of the servant throwing the ale over his smoking master, says: "There is a doubtful old legend about Raleigh's first pipe, the scene of which may be not unfairly laid at Durham House, where Raleigh lived." The ale story is mythical, but it is highly probable that Sir Walter's first pipes were smoked in Durham House. Dr. Brushfield quotes Hepworth Dixon, in "Her Majesty's Tower," as drawing "an imaginary and yet probable picture of him and his companions at a window of this very house, overlooking the 'silent highway':

"It requires no effort of the fancy to picture these three men [Shakespeare, Bacon and Raleigh] as lounging in a window of Durham House, puffing the new Indian weed from silver bowls, discussing the highest themes in poetry and science, while gazing on the flower-beds and the river, the darting barges of dame and cavalier, and the distant pavilions of Paris garden and the Globe.'" This is a pure "effort of the fancy" so far as Bacon and Shakespeare are concerned. Shakespeare's absolute silence about tobacco forbids us to assume that he smoked; but of Raleigh the picture may be true enough. The house had, as Aubrey tells us, "a little turret that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect which is as pleasant perhaps as any in the world"; and it would be strange indeed if the owner of the noble house did not often smoke a contemplative pipe in the window of that pleasant turret.

The only mention made of tobacco by Raleigh himself occurs in a testamentary note made a little while before his execution in 1618. Referring to the tobacco remaining on his ship after his last voyage, he wrote: "Sir Lewis Stukely sold all the tobacco at Plimouth of which, for the most part of it, I gave him a fift part of it, as also a role for my Lord Admirall and a role for himself ... I desire that hee may give his account for the tobacco." As showing how closely Sir Walter's name was associated with it long after his death, Dr. Brushfield quotes the following entry from the diary of the great Earl of Cork: "Sept. 1, 1641. Sent by Travers to my infirme cozen Roger Vaghan, a pott of Sir Walter Raleighs tobackoe."

In the Wallace Collection at Hertford House is a pouch or case labelled as having belonged to and been used by Sir Walter Raleigh. This pouch contains several clay pipes. It was perhaps this same pouch or case which once upon a time figured in Ralph Thoresby's museum at Leeds, and is described by Thoresby himself in his "Ducatus Leodiensis," 1715. Curiously enough, a few years ago when excavations were being made around the foundations of Raleigh's house at Youghal a clay pipe-bowl was dug up which in size, shape, &c., was exactly like the pipes in the Wallace exhibit. Raleigh lived and no doubt smoked in the Youghal house, so it is quite possible that the bowl found belonged to one of the pipes actually smoked by him. In the garden of the Youghal house, by the way, they used to show the tree - perhaps still do so - under which Raleigh was sitting, smoking his pipe, when his servant drenched him. Thus the tradition, which, as we have



## PLANTS

SIK'AR

seen, dates from 1708 only, has obtained two local habitations – Youghal and Durham House on the Adelphi site.

In November 1911 a curiously shaped pipe was put up for sale in Mr. J.C. Stevens's Auction Room, Covent Garden, which was described as that which Raleigh smoked "on the scaffold." The pipe in question was said to have been given by the doomed man to Bishop Andrewes, in whose family it remained for many years, and it was stated to have been in the family of the owner, who sent it for sale, for some 200 years. The pipe was of wood constructed in four pieces of strange shape, rudely carved with dogs' heads and faces of Red Indians. According to legend it had been presented to Raleigh by the Indians. The auctioneer, Mr. Stevens, remarked that unfortunately a parchment document about the pipe was lost some years ago, and declared, "If we could only produce the parchment the pipe would fetch £500." In the end, however, it was knocked down at seventy-five guineas.

The form and make of the first pipe is a matter I do not propose to go into here; but in connexion with the first pipe smoked in this country Aubrey's interesting statements must be given. Writing in the time of Charles II, he said that he had heard his grandfather say that at first one pipe was handed from man to man round about the table. "They had first silver pipes; the ordinary sort made use of a walnut shell and a straw" – surely a very unsatisfactory pipe. Tobacco in those earliest days, he says, was sold for its weight in silver. "I have heard some of our old yeomen neighbours say that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham Market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco."

**1585**

[Walter Raleigh](#) became Sir Walter. His fleet of seven vessels under Sir Richard Grenville and Ralph Lane, with 108 men, reached [North Carolina](#)'s Roanoke Island on the Virginia coast in June (he had also sent a fleet to South America). With the expedition was [Thomas Hariot](#), who in 1588 would publish an account of Virginia

A

## Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of  
America, known to us by the name of NEW-  
ENGLAND.*

*Anno Dom.*

1585. *Nova Albion* discovered by Sir *Francis Drake*,  
and by him so Named.

1585. *April 9.* Sir *Richard Greenevile* was sent by Sir  
*Walter Rawleigh* with a Fleet of Seven Sail to *Virginia*,  
and was stiled the General of *Virginia*.

in which he would comment on its many exotic plants and animals (he had assisted in the design of the ships and was serving as Sir Walter's accountant and provided navigational expertise, while learning the Algonquian language). Neither the North American fleet nor the South American fleet would find any gold whatever, which was a major disappointment. Asked by Sir Walter to find the most efficient way to stack cannon balls on deck, Hariot whipped up a mathematical analysis of the close-packing of spheres that is remarkably prescient in regard not only to atomism but also to modern atomic theory (later he would stand accused of a

belief in atomism, which of course was an unholy materialism and entirely unsafe).

BOTANIZING

### Chronological observations of America

**Cautionary Towns and Forts in the low-Countries delivered unto Queen *Elizabeths* hands.**

*Sir Richard Greenville* was sent by *Sir Walter Rawleigh* April the Ninth, with a Fleet of 7 sail to *Virginia*, and was stiled the General of *Virginia*. He landed in the Island of *St. John de porto Rico* May the Twelfth, and there fortified themselves and built a *Pinnasse*, &C. In *Virginia* they left 100 men under the Government of *Mr. Ralph Lane*, and others.

*Sir Francis Drake's* voyage to the *West-Indies*, wherein were taken the Cities of *St. Jago*, *St. Domingo* *Cartagena*, and the Town of *St. Augustine* in *Florida*.

Now (say some) Tobacco was first brought into *England* by *Mr. Ralph Lane* out of *Virginia*.

**BY *John Josselyn* Gent.**

*From the year of the World*

*to the year of Christ 1673.*



FLORIDA  
TOBACCO

**READ ABOUT VIRGINIA**

1586

→ Ralph Lane, 1st governor of Virginia, introduced Sir [Walter Raleigh](#) to a device apparently of his own devising, a long-stemmed clay pipe for the smoking of [tobacco](#). In Germany, DE PLANTIS EPITOME UTILISSIMA offered one of the 1st cautions against indiscriminate use of this “violent herb.”



(man smoking clay pipe)

Upon [Thomas Hariot](#)'s return to England from the Virginia coast, his patron having fallen into disfavor at the court, he entered the service of Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland. At Syon House, which was run by the earl's 2d cousin Thomas Percy, he would become a prolific mathematician and astronomer. He has credit for the theory of refraction.

Gunung Api (4.525°S, 129.871°E; summit elevation 640 meters), the volcano on the island of Banda Api that towers over the [spice](#) island of Neira in the Banda Sea, erupted. Gunung Api is the most northeasterly volcano in the Sunda-Banda arc, now part of Indonesia. The island of Banda Api is part of a 6-mile-wide caldera, mostly submerged, that is the northernmost of a chain of volcanos. Gunung Api forms a conical peak at the center of this island. At least two episodes of caldera formation are thought to have occurred, with the arcuate islands of Lonthor and Neira considered to be remnants of the pre-caldera volcanoes. (Historical eruptions have mostly consisted of Strombolian eruptions from the summit crater, but larger explosive eruptions have also occurred and, occasionally, lava flows have reached the coast.)





Sir Francis Drake, on landing at Roanoke off the coast of what is now [North Carolina](#), heard tales of colonists who had survived on soup made from *Sassafras albidum*. When he returned to England he took with him what may have been the 1st shipment of this plant. (In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold would bring more material from the plant to England, and by 1607 it would be in great demand both in English coffeehouses and on the street. The tea was said to cure a wide range of diseases, while the wood was thought to repel insect attack. Today we know that oil of sassafras (once used to flavor root beer but out of use since the early 1960s) is substantially the chemical safrole, now regarded as a definite carcinogen. The most significant commercial use for sassafras today is the manufacture of *filé*, a powder made from young, dried leaves (they do not contain any safrole) used in the making of gumbo.

PLANTS

July: Some returning Virginia colonists disembarked at Plymouth in England smoking [tobacco](#) in pipes, which caused a sensation. [William Camden](#) would comment that “These men who were thus brought back were the first that I know of that brought into England that Indian plant which they call Tabacca and Nicotia, or tobacco.” Tobacco would in that Elizabethan age come to be known as “[sotweed](#).”

READ ABOUT VIRGINIA

1587

DE HERBE PANACEA, the first treatise totally on the subject of [tobacco](#), was published in Antwerp, providing numerous recipes and laying claim to cures.

The 1st written description of Brussels sprouts, a form of cabbage common in Belgium (this vegetable would not be grown in the US until about 1800).

PLANTS

**1588**

[William Hunnis](#)'s wife died at Ilford. He would no longer be associated with the Company of Grocers of London.

Thomas Hariot, who in later years would be recognized as a preeminent natural philosopher (scientist), had been part of a group sent by [Sir Walter Raleigh](#) to establish the first English colony in the New World. During 1585-1586 on Roanoke Island, while most of his party had fitfully searched for gold while bitching at how there were not "in Virginia any English cities, or fine houses, or their accustomed dainty food, or any soft beds of down or feathers," he had been taking accurate stock of the land and its bounties. It is he who is reputed to have carried back home on Sir [Francis Drake](#)'s ship two strange plants: the [tobacco](#) and the [potato](#). At this point he had returned to London and issued A BRIEF AND TRUE REPORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIRGINIA, DIRECTED TO THE INVESTORS, FARMERS, AND WELL-WISHERS OF THE PROJECT OF COLONIZING AND PLANTING THERE:

There is an herb called *uppówoc*, which sows itself. In the West Indies it has several names, according to the different places where it grows and is used, but the Spaniards generally call it tobacco. Its leaves are dried, made into powder, and then smoked by being sucked through clay pipes into the stomach and head. The fumes purge superfluous phlegm and gross humors from the body by opening all the pores and passages. Thus its use not only preserves the body, but if there are any obstructions it breaks them up. By this means the natives keep in excellent health, without many of the grievous diseases which often afflict us in England.

This *uppówoc* is so highly valued by them that they think their gods are delighted with it. Sometimes they make holy fires and cast the powder into them as a sacrifice. If there is a storm on the waters, they throw it up into the air and into the water to pacify their gods. Also, when they set up a new weir for fish, they pour *uppówoc* into it. And if they escape from danger, they also throw the powder up into the air. This is always done with strange gestures and stamping, sometimes dancing, clapping of hands, holding hands up, and staring up into the heavens. During this performance they chatter strange words and utter meaningless noises.

While we were there we used to suck in the smoke as they did, and now that we are back in England we still do so. We have found many rare and wonderful proofs of the *uppówoc*'s virtues, which would themselves require a volume to relate. There is sufficient evidence in the fact that it is used by so many men and women of great calling, as well as by some learned physicians.

The above was part of a compendium of “commodities” he intended to help maintain interest in Sir [Walter Raleigh](#)’s doomed attempts to make money out of his commercial explorations to the New World. In providing a list pertaining to the “Virginia” coast, this has amounted to the 1st book in English to mention the flora and fauna of any part of what is now the United States. After Hariot’s return to England, he would meet and become buddies with Raleigh and would be his main contact with the outside world during the 13 years of residence in the Tower of London (where, in fact, Raleigh was able to grow his own tobacco as well as set up his own little distillery).<sup>7</sup>

BOTANIZING



READ ABOUT VIRGINIA

7. Sir [Walter Raleigh](#) reportedly would have a [pipe](#) of his home-grown for solace while on his way to have his head surgically excised in 1618. Hariot, on the other hand, would be during that same period suffering terribly from a “cancerous ulcer of the nose,” presumably inoperable and caused one may suspect by tobacco, till his death at the age of 61 in 1621. Life just ain’t fair.



## XIV

SMOKING IN CHURCH<sup>8</sup>

For thy sake, TOBACCO, I  
Would do anything but die.  
Charles Lamb, *A Farewell to Tobacco*.

The use of tobacco in churches forms a curious if short chapter in the social history of smoking. The earliest reference to such a practice occurs in 1590, when Pope Innocent XII excommunicated all such persons as were found taking snuff or using tobacco in any form in the church of St. Peter, at Rome; and again in 1624, Pope Urban VIII issued a bull against the use of tobacco in churches.

In England it would seem as if some of the early smokers, in the fulness of their enthusiasm for the new indulgence, went so far as to smoke in church. When King James I was about to visit Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor of the University put forth sundry regulations in connexion with the royal visit, in which may be found the following passage: "That noe Graduate, Scholler, or Student of this Universitie presume to resort to any Inn, Taverne, Alehowse, or Tobacco-Shop at any tyme dureing the aboade of his Majestie here; nor doe presume to take tobacco in St. Marie's Church, or in Trinity Colledge Hall, uppon payne of finall expellinge the Universitie."

Evidently the intention was to make things pleasant for the royal foe of tobacco during his visit. It would appear to be a fair inference from the wording of this prohibition that when the King was not at Cambridge, graduates and scholars and students could resume their liberty to resort to inns, taverns, ale-houses and tobacco-shops, and presumably to take tobacco in St. Mary's Church, without question.

The prohibition, in the regulation quoted, of smoking in St. Mary's Church, referred, it may be noted, to the Act which was held therein. Candidates for degrees, or graduates to display their proficiency, publicly maintained theses; and this performance was termed keeping or holding an Act.

It is, of course, conceivable that the prohibition, so far as the church and Trinity College Hall were concerned, was against the taking of snuff rather than against smoking; but the phrase "to take tobacco" was at that time quite commonly applied to smoking, and, considering the extraordinary and immoderate use of tobacco soon after its introduction, it is not in the least incredible that pipes were lighted, at least occasionally, even in sacred buildings.

Sometimes tobacco was used in church for disinfecting or deodorizing purposes. The churchwardens' accounts of St. Peter's, Barnstaple, for 1741 contain the entry: "Pd. for

8. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



Tobacco and Frankincense burnt in the Church 2s. 6d." Sprigs of juniper, pitch, and "sweete wood," in combination with incense, were often used for the same purpose.

Smoking, it may safely be asserted, was never practised commonly in English churches. Even in our own day people have been observed smoking – not during service time, but in passing through the building – in church in some of the South American States, and nearer home in Holland; but in England such desecration has been occasional only, and quite exceptional.

One need not be much surprised at any instance of lack of reverence in English churches during the eighteenth century, and a few instances can be given of church smoking in that era.

Blackburn, Archbishop of York, was a great smoker. On one occasion he was at St. Mary's Church, Nottingham, for a confirmation. The story of what happened was told long afterwards in a letter written in December 1773 by John Disney, rector of Swinderby, Lincolnshire, the grandson of the Mr. Disney who at the time of the Archbishop's visit to St. Mary's was incumbent of that church. This letter was addressed to James Granger, and was published in Granger's correspondence. "The anecdote which you mention," wrote the Mr. Disney of Swinderby, "is, I believe, unquestionably true. The affair happened in St. Mary's Church at Nottingham, when Archbishop Blackburn (of York) was there on a visitation. The Archbishop had ordered some of the apparitors, or other attendants, to bring him pipes and tobacco, and some liquor into the vestry for his refreshment after the fatigue of confirmation. And this coming to Mr. Disney's ears, he forbade them being brought thither, and with a becoming spirit remonstrated with the Archbishop upon the impropriety of his conduct, at the same time telling his Grace that his vestry should not be converted into a smoking-room."

Another eighteenth-century clerical worthy, the famous Dr. Parr, an inveterate smoker, was accustomed to do what Mr. Disney prevented Archbishop Blackburn from doing – he smoked in his vestry at Hatton. This he did before the sermon, while the congregation were singing a hymn, and apparently both parties were pleased, for Parr would say: "My people like long hymns; but I prefer a long clay."

Robert Hall, the famous Baptist preacher, having once upon a time strongly denounced smoking as an "odious custom," learned to smoke himself as a result of his acquaintance with Dr. Parr. Parr was such a continual smoker that anyone who came into his company, if he had never smoked before, had to learn the use of a pipe as a means of self-defence. Hall, who became a heavy smoker, is said to have smoked in his vestry at intervals in the service. He probably found some relief in tobacco from the severe internal pains with which for many years he was afflicted.

Mr. Ditchfield, in his entertaining book on "The Parish Clerk," tells a story of a Lincolnshire curate who was a great smoker, and who, like Parr, was accustomed to retire to the vestry before the sermon and there smoke a pipe while the congregation sang a psalm. "One Sunday," says Mr. Ditchfield, "he had an extra pipe,



and Joshua (the clerk) told him that the people were getting impatient.

“Let them sing another psalm,” said the curate.

“They have, sir,” replied the clerk.

“Then let them sing the hundred and nineteenth,” replied the curate.

“At last he finished his pipe, and began to put on the black gown, but its folds were troublesome and he could not get it on.

“I think the devil’s in the gown,” muttered the curate.

“I think he be,” dryly replied old Joshua.”

The same writer, in his companion volume on “The Old Time Parson,” mentions that the Vicar of Codrington in 1692 found that it was actually customary for people to play cards on the Communion Table, and that “when they chose the churchwardens they used to sit in the Sanctuary smoking and drinking, the clerk gravely saying, with a pipe in his mouth, that such had been their custom for the last sixty years.”

Although probably the conduct of the Codrington parishioners was unusual, it is certain that in the seventeenth century smoking at meetings held, not in the church itself, but in the vestry, was common. The churchwardens’ accounts of St. Mary, Leicester, 1665-6, record the expenditure – “In beer and tobacco from first to last 7s. 10d.” In those of St. Alphege, London Wall, for 1671, there are the entries – “For Pipes and Tobaccoe in the Vestry 2s.,” and “For a grosse of pipes at severall times 2s.” In the next century, however, the practice was modified. The St. Alphege accounts for 1739 have the entry – “Ordered that there be no Smoaking nor Drinking for the future in the Vestry Room during the time business is doing on pain of forfeiting one shilling, Assention Day excepted.” From this it would seem fair to infer (1) that there was no objection to the lighting of pipes in the vestry after the business of the meeting had been transacted; and (2) that on Ascension Day for some inscrutable reason there was no prohibition at all of “Smoaking and Drinking.”

Readers of Sir Walter Scott will remember in “The Heart of Midlothian” one curious instance of eighteenth-century smoking in church – in a Scottish Presbyterian church, too. Jeanie Deans’s beloved Reuben Butler was about to be ordained to the charge of the parish of Knocktarlitie, Dumbartonshire; the congregation were duly seated, after prayers, douce David Deans occupying a seat among the elders, and the officiating minister had read his text preparatory to the delivery of his hour and a quarter sermon. The redoubtable Duncan of Knockdunder was making his preparations also for the sermon. “After rummaging the leathern purse which hung in front of his petticoat, he produced a short tobacco-pipe made of iron, and observed almost aloud, ‘I hae forgotten my spleuchan – Lachlan, gang doon to the Clachan, and bring me up a pennyworth of twist.’ Six arms, the nearest within reach, presented, with an obedient start, as many tobacco-pouches to the man of office. He made choice of one with



a nod of acknowledgment, filled his pipe, lighted it with the assistance of his pistol-flint, and smoked with infinite composure during the whole time of the sermon. When the discourse was finished, he knocked the ashes out of his pipe, replaced it in his sporrán, returned the tobacco-pouch or spleuchan to its owner, and joined in the prayers with decency and attention." David Deans, however, did not at all approve this irreverence. "It didna become a wild Indian," he said, "much less a Christian and a gentleman, to sit in the kirk puffing tobacco-reek, as if he were in a change-house." The date of the incident was 1737; but whether Sir Walter had any authority in fact for this characteristic performance of Knockdunder, or not, it is certain that any such occurrence in a Scottish kirk must have been extremely rare.

Knockdunder's pipe, according to Scott, was made of iron. This was an infrequent material for tobacco-pipes, but there are a few examples in museums. In the Belfast Museum there is a cast iron tobacco-pipe about eighteen inches long. With it are shown another, very short, also of cast iron, the bowl of a brass pipe, and a pipe, about six inches in length, made of sheet iron.

Another eighteenth-century instance of smoking in church, taken from historical fact and not from fiction, is associated with the church of Hayes, in Middlesex. The parish registers of that village bear witness to repeated disputes between the parson and bell-ringers and the parishioners generally in 1748-1754. In 1752 it was noted that a sermon had been preached after a funeral "to a noisy congregation." On another occasion, says the register, "the ringers and other inhabitants disturbed the service from the beginning of prayers to the end of the sermon, by ringing the bells, and going into the gallery to spit below"; while at yet another time "a fellow came into church with a pot of beer and a pipe," and remained "smoking in his own pew until the end of the sermon." Going to church at Hayes in those days must have been quite an exciting experience. No one knew what might happen next.

In remote English and Welsh parishes men seem occasionally to have smoked in churches without any intention of being irreverent, and without any consciousness that they were doing anything unusual. Canon Atkinson, in his delightful book "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," tells how, when he first went to Danby in Cleveland – then very remote from the great world – and had to take his first funeral, he found inside the church the parish clerk, who was also parish schoolmaster by the way, sitting in the sunny embrasure of the west window with his hat on and comfortably smoking his pipe. A correspondent of the *Times* in 1895 mentioned that his mother had told him how she remembered seeing smoking in a Welsh church about 1850 – "The Communion table stood in the aisle, and the farmers were in the habit of putting their hats upon it, and when the sermon began they lit their pipes and smoked, but without any idea of irreverence." In an Essex church about 1861, a visitor had pointed out to him various nooks in the gallery where short pipes were stowed away, which he was informed the old men smoked during service; and several of the pews in the body of the church



contained triangular wooden spittoons filled with sawdust.

A clergyman has put it on record that when he went in 1873 as curate-in-charge to an out-of-the-way Norfolk village, at his first early celebration he arrived in church about 7.45 A.M., and, he says, "to my amazement saw five old men sitting round the stove in the nave with their hats on, smoking their pipes. I expostulated with them quite quietly, but they left the church before service and never came again. I discovered afterwards that they had been regular communicants, and that my predecessor always distributed the offertory to the poor present immediately after the service. When these men, in the course of my remonstrance found that I was not going to continue the custom, they no longer cared to be communicants."

Nowadays, if smoking takes place in church at all, it can only be done with intentional irreverence; and it is painful to think that even at the present day there are people in whom a feeling of reverence and decency is so far lacking as to lead them to desecrate places of worship. The Vicar of Lancaster, at his Easter vestry meeting in 1913, complained of bank-holiday visitors to the parish church who ate their lunch, smoked, and wore their hats while looking round the building. It is absurd to suppose that these people were unconscious of the impropriety of their conduct.



1595

→ The first book in the English language devoted to the subject of [tobacco](#), titled simply **TABACCO**, was published anonymously by Anthony Chute. It contains an illustration of an Englishman smoking a clay pipe. In this little work for laymen, the author earnestly urged smokers not to abuse the kindly weed, upheld its medicinal uses, and suggested that there was a reason why physicians were trying to keep the secret of smoking to themselves. The reason: moderate use of the [pipe](#) was of such value in preserving health that it was likely to make physicians unnecessary!



(man smoking clay pipe)

**1596**

Completion of Edmund Spenser's THE FAERIE QUEENE, including, in Book III, Canto VI, 32, the earliest poetical allusion to [tobacco](#) in English literature.

[WALDEN](#): If one guest came he sometimes partook of my frugal meal, and it was no interruption to conversation to be stirring a hasty-pudding, or watching the rising and maturing of a loaf of bread in the ashes, in the mean while. But if twenty came and sat in my house there was nothing said about dinner, though there might be bread enough for two, more than if eating were a forsaken habit; but we naturally practised abstinence; and this was never felt to be an offence against hospitality, but the most proper and considerate course. The waste and decay of physical life, which so often needs repair, seemed miraculously retarded in such a case, and the vital vigor stood its ground. I could entertain thus a thousand as well as twenty; and if any ever went away disappointed or hungry from my house when they found me at home, they may depend upon it that I sympathized with them at least. So easy is it, though many housekeepers doubt it, to establish new and better customs in place of the old. You need not rest your reputation on the dinners you give. For my own part, I was never so effectually deterred from frequenting a man's house, by any kind of Cerberus whatever, as by the parade one made about dining me, which I took to be a very polite and roundabout hint never to trouble him so again. I think I shall never revisit those scenes. I should be proud to have for the motto of my cabin those lines of Spenser which one of my visitors inscribed on a yellow walnut leaf for a card:-

“Arrivé there, the little house they fill,  
Ne looke for entertainment where none was;  
Rest is their feast, and all things at their will:  
The noblest mind the best contentment has.”

November 25, Thursday (Old Style): [Ben Jonson](#)'s “Every Man in His Humor” was 1st acted (it would not be printed until 1601). In Act III, Scene 2, Bobadilla argued on behalf of [tobacco](#), while Cob argued against substance abuse.

1600

The smoking of [tobacco](#) was introduced Turkey and to Russia by travelers from Central Europe and by Western European and Turkish sailors. A controversy broke out over whether use of such substances was implicitly forbidden by the Koran. Although Sultan Ahmed I prohibited [tobacco](#), the poet Pecevi would describe it, [coffee](#), [opium](#), and [wine](#) as the four “cushions on the sofa of pleasure.”

In Italy, the 1st import monopolies over [tobacco](#) were established. In France, despite high prices, [smoking](#) was spreading among the lower classes; [snuffing](#) would be more prevalent among the nobility, who consider this a more dignified and aristocratic mode of use. In the Italian and French courts and clergy, the use of [tobacco](#) was spreading, and from there throughout the populace (the habit was being spread also by sailors returning from the New World). [Tobacco](#) was selling in London for its weight in silver shillings. Cultivation for Europe began in Brazil, while in England, [Sir Walter Raleigh](#) persuaded Queen Elizabeth I to try some. The 17th Century would be the great age of the [pipe](#). Popes would need to ban [smoking](#) or even the taking of [snuff](#) in holy places, under threat of excommunication. Tobacco would come into use as “Country Money” or “Country Pay,” and would continue to be used as a monetary standard —literally a “cash crop”— throughout the 18th Century, lasting as a standard of exchange twice as long as would the metal gold.



Increasingly, medicinal use in England would decline and [smoking](#) would become primarily a pleasurable pastime. The government eventually would come to rely on [tobacco](#) duties as a main source of revenue. By the 1630s, [smoking](#) would have overcome most opposition in England, and use would continue to spread as [tobacco](#) prices declined markedly.

In England, [coffee](#) was introduced as a luxury, medicament, and panacea; its use was encouraged as a cure for



SIK'AR

PLANTS

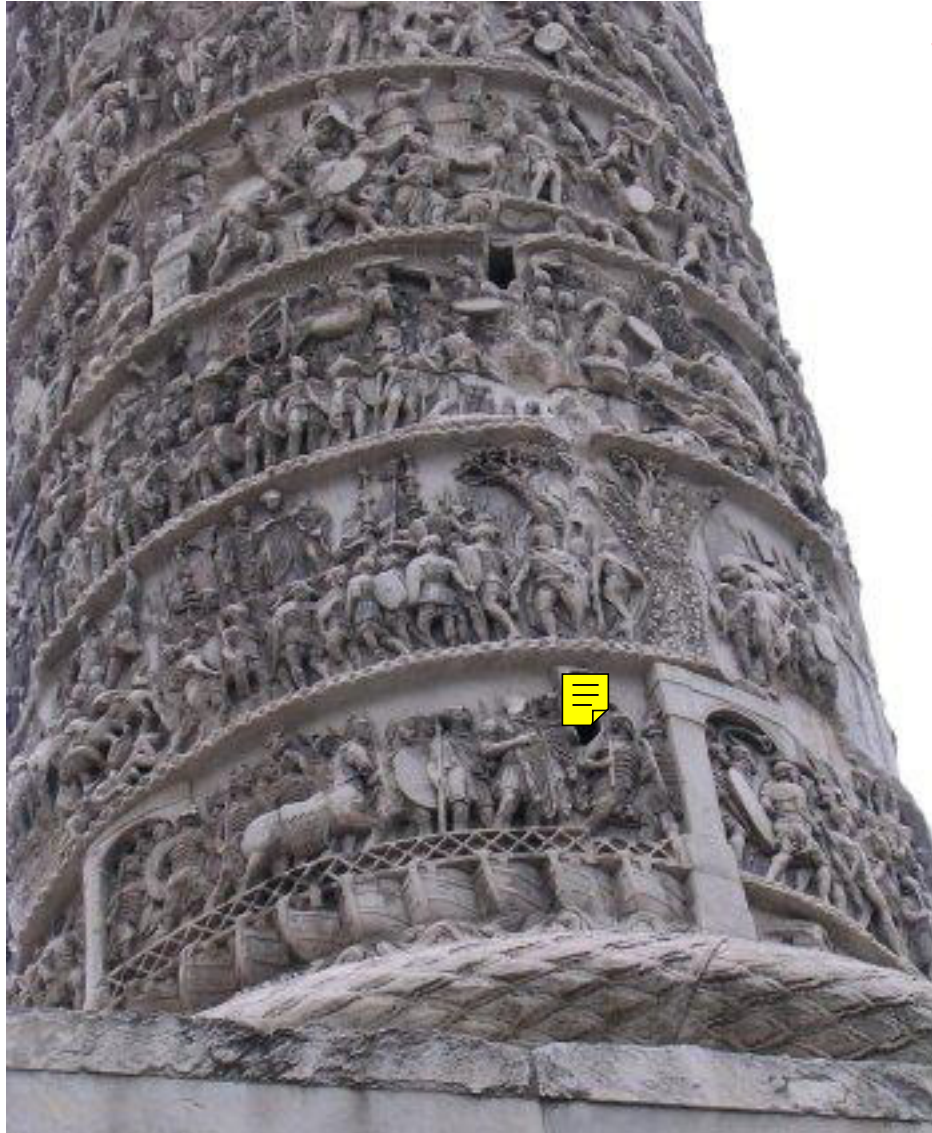
widespread [drunkenness](#). In Arabia and Turkey, another brief attempt to shut down [coffee](#) houses as centers of sedition failed.

From the founding of the English colonies in America, [drunkenness](#) was so prevalent that it simply was not a stigmatized behavior. As in England the consumption of [beers](#) and [wines](#), particularly home-brews, was integrated into every aspect of colonial family life. Abuse was condemned and temperance advocated, but [alcohol](#) itself is highly esteemed as in England as the Good Creature of God, a beneficial gift to man. England. During the reign of James I, numerous writers describe widespread [drunkenness](#) from [beer](#) and [wine](#) among all classes. Alcohol use was tied to every endeavor and phase of life, a condition that would continue well into the 18th Century.

PLANTS

SIK'AR

October 20, Monday (Old Style): At the battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu, a friend of Hideyoshi and Nobunaga, defeated all rivals to his leadership of [Japan](#), thereby establishing the Tokugawa clan in a hegemony they would maintain until 1865. What is known as the Edo period began.



What goes around keeps coming around and around...



During this century in [Japan](#) the smoking of [tobacco](#) would begin to take place in polite society.

**1601**

Smoking [tobacco](#) was introduced into Turkey, and rapidly took hold despite the fact that clerics were denouncing it. “Puffing in each other’s faces, they made the streets and markets stink,” wrote historian Ibrahim Pecevi.

Sir James Lancaster took four merchant ships to the [Spice Islands](#) (eastern Indonesian islands now called the Moluccas). The crew of his flagship, the *Red Dragon*, received a daily dose of lemon juice from bottles and there was no scurvy aboard that vessel; on the other three merchantmen in this flotilla many of the sailors were lost to scurvy.

Selected as the *jacht*, or scout, for the “Moluccan Fleet” sailing to the [Spice Islands](#). *Duyfken*’s captain for this voyage, Willem Cornelisz Schouten, with Le Maire, would later discover and name Cape Horn after the city of Hoorn.

On [Christmas](#) day the five ships of the Moluccan Fleet reached Bantam (Banten), Java and encountered a blockading fleet of Portuguese ships totalling eight galleons and twenty-two galleys. They engaged this fleet in intermittent battle until on New Years Day they drove them away. This was a turning point in history: the undisputed dominance of the Iberians (Portuguese and Spanish) in the Spice Trade to Europe was over.

Jean Robin published a catalog for his medicinal herb garden.

**PLANTS****1602**

In England, a WORKE FOR CHIMNY-SWEEPERS was presented by “Philaretus,” offering that since exposure to soot was causing an occupational illness among the slight boys used as chimney sweeps, [tobacco](#) might be expected to have a similar effect.<sup>9</sup>

9. Roger Markecke authored, in response, A DEFENCE OF TABACCO. VVITH A FRIENDLY ANSWER TO THE LATE PRINTED BOOKE CALLED WORKE FOR CHIMNY-SWEEPERS, &C.

1603

Fearing that they amounted to the advance guard of an invasion, the Spanish exterminated the 20,000 [Chinese](#) immigrants on the island of Luzon in the Philippines. Most of these people had been growing rice for Fukienese rice merchants. American cash and subsistence crops that had been introduced into south [China](#) as a result of their employment, however, had included [tobacco](#), hot peppers, and sweet potatoes.

In [Japan](#), the cultivation of [tobacco](#) had begun and smoking was spreading among all classes, and caution in regard to the outbreak of fires, fear of foreign influences, and interference with the cultivation of needed food crops such as rice resulted in a series of severe imperial prohibitions. Increasing penalties, including property confiscations, death threats, fines, and imprisonment, would prove to no avail — and these prohibitions would gradually fall by the wayside due to lack of enforcement.

The emperor appointed Ieyasu as shogun, and he relocated his government to Edo ([Tokyo](#)) where he would found the Tokugawa dynasty of shoguns. The Tokugawa Shogunate would divide subjects into five hereditary classes of decreasing importance (lords, samurai, farmers, artisans, merchants).

English physicians, upset because the New-World drug [tobacco](#) was being used by people without obtaining a physician's prescription, complained to King James I of England. Please, king, show these self-medicating people that what they are doing is intrinsically wrong — because fee professionals ought to have a lock on human health, and on the fees that spring therefrom.



Edward Stanhope, town recorder for Donacaster, died (with him out of the picture, the attorney [John Ferne](#),



the previous town recorder, would be able to recover this appointment and its income).

A cousin, also named John Ferne, was in this year knighted by King James I. This cousin would partner with Sir Arthur Ingram in a controversial vending of English military ordnance to other European powers.

With King James I on the throne of England, [John Ferne](#)'s determined persecution of English [Catholics](#) was brought to an end. However, the new President of the Council in the North, Edmund, 3d Lord Sheffield, appointed the up-and-coming Ferne and another rising northern lawyer, William Gee, to hold the post of secretary in tandem with each of them being able to secure in this manner perhaps £700 a year in fees (Ferne would be secretary to Robert Redmayne, 3d Duke of Huntingdon).

1604

Having been rejected with rudeness by the court of [King James I of England](#), [Michael Drayton](#) found an outlet for his bitterness in an unfortunate satire, THE OWLE (entered at Stationers' Hall in February). The "owle," keeping a careful eye on all the other birds, amused no-one. In this year he would also create a misbegotten scriptural narrative, MOYSES IN A MAP OF HIS MIRACLES, as an epic in heroic stanzas.<sup>10</sup>

[Samuel Purchas](#) was presented by [King James I of England](#) to the vicarage of St. Laurence and All Saints, Eastwood, Essex.

The POETICALL ESSAYES OF ALEXANDER CRAIGE, SCOTO-BRITANE, by Alexander Craig of Rosecraig, imprinted by William White dwelling in Cow-lane neere Holborne Conduit and dedicated to [King James I of England](#).

William Alexander's TRAGEDIE OF DARIUS was reprinted in London together with a 2d tragedy, CROESUS. Introduced by Argyll at the court of [King James VI](#) in Scotland, this playwright gained the favour of the monarch, whom he followed to England, where he was made one of the gentlemen-extraordinary of Prince Henry's chamber. In this timeframe William Alexander wrote AURORA and also created a set of eight-lined stanzas on the familiar theme of princely duty, intituled A PARÆNESIS TO PRINCE HENRY.<sup>11</sup>

As [Sir William Alexander](#) spoke of the River Forth of Scotland in this poetic source, [Henry Thoreau](#) would eventually be speaking of the Merrimack River of New England:

10. 26 years later this would be revised into MOSES, HIS BIRTH AND MIRACLES.



11. [Thoreau](#) seems to have quoted from [Sir William Alexander](#)'s "A Parænsis to Prince Henry" on page 85 of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#). Professor E. Robert Sattelmeyer indicates on his page 119 that Thoreau had become familiar with this during his study in [Alexander Chalmers](#), THE WORKS OF THE ENGLISH POETS, FROM CHAUCER TO COWPER; INCLUDING THE SERIES EDITED WITH PREFACES, BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL, BY DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON: AND THE MOST APPROVED TRANSLATIONS. Although we do not have a record that Thoreau ever consulted that particular volume, Volume V, of this 21-volume set,

**PERUSE VOLUME V**  
**PARÆNSIS TO PRINCE HENRY**

I must acknowledge that I presently know only of a secondary source from which Thoreau might have accessed such materials, and have no greater evidence that Thoreau was familiar with any such secondary source. Thoreau might possibly have copied this extract from some secondary source such as pages 585/586 of the Reverend William Nimmo, Minister of Bothkennar's HISTORY OF STIRLINGSHIRE. CORRECTED AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME BY THE REV. WILLIAM MACGREGOR STIRLING, MINISTER OF PORT (Re-issued in 1817 by John Fraser for Andrew Bean, Bookseller, Stirling; A. Constable & Co. Oliphant & Co. J. Ogle, J. Fairbairn, J. Anderson & Co. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Lumsden & Son, A. & J.M. Duncan, Brash and Reid, M. Ogle, W. & P. Jenkins, Glasgow; W. Reid, Leith; J. Rankine, Falkirk; and, J. Macisack, Alloa), for that secondary source reads as follows:

A still earlier writer, Sir William Alexander 1st Earl of Stirling, was correct, when, in his "*Parænsis, or Exhortation to Government*," addressed to the renowned Prince Henry, he says,

"Forth, when she first doth from Benlowmond rinne,  
Is poore of waters, naked of renowne;  
But Carron, Allan, Teath and Devon in,  
Doth grow the greater still the further downe:  
Till that abounding both in power and fame,  
She long doth strive to give the sea her name."

The Romans, adopting, no doubt, the words of the natives, and fitting them to their own pronunciation, called this river "*Bodotria*." Tacitus in *Agricolam*, c. 23. But what was Bodotria, and what was the pronunciation of the natives that suggested the name? To this question a Celtic scholar has favoured us with the following answer.

"I have been induced to think that the Celts, in comparing this much finer river, the Teath, "the hot or boiling stream," with the sluggish, moss-banked river which the Forth exhibits from Gartmore to Frew, called the latter *Bao-shruth*, "insignificant stream." We observe that Mr P. MacFarlan translates *Bath-shruth* "smooth slow stream."

Gaelic Vocabulary, Edinburgh, 1815. A question still occurs, how came it to be called Forth? *Phorth* pronounced with the aspirates quiescent, becomes *Port*. Changing *Ph* into *F*, we have *Forth*; a name applicable to a river affording the means of navigation.

E. Robert Sattelmeyer. THOREAU'S READING: A STUDY IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY WITH BIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE. Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1988



**LIST AS PREPARED IN 1988**



**A WEEK:** By the law of its birth never to become stagnant, for it has come out of the clouds, and down the sides of precipices worn in the flood, through beaver-dams broke loose, not splitting but splicing and mending itself, until it found a breathing-place in this low land. There is no danger now that the sun will steal it back to heaven again before it reach the sea, for it has a warrant even to recover its own dew into its bosom again with interest at every eve. It was already the water of Squam and Newfound Lake and Winnipiseogee, and White Mountain snow dissolved, on which we were floating, and Smith's and Baker's and Mad Rivers, and Nashua and Souhegan and Piscataquoag, and Suncook and Soucook and Contoocook, mingled in incalculable proportions, still fluid, yellowish, restless all, with an ancient, ineradicable inclination to the sea. So it flows on down by Lowell and Haverhill, at which last place it first suffers a sea change, and a few masts betray the vicinity of the ocean. Between the towns of Amesbury and Newbury it is a broad commercial river, from a third to half a mile in width, no longer skirted with yellow and crumbling banks, but backed by high green hills and pastures, with frequent white beaches on which the fishermen draw up their nets. I have passed down this portion of the river in a steamboat, and it was a pleasant sight to watch from its deck the fishermen dragging their seines on the distant shore, as in pictures of a foreign strand. At intervals you may meet with a schooner laden with lumber, standing up to Haverhill, or else lying at anchor or aground, waiting for wind or tide; until, at last, you glide under the famous Chain Bridge, and are landed at Newburyport. Thus she who at first was "poore of waters, naked of renowne," having received so many fair tributaries, as was said of the Forth,

"Doth grow the greater still, the further downe;  
Till that abounding both in power and fame,  
She long doth strive to give the sea her name";

or if not her name, in this case, at least the impulse of her stream. From the steeples of Newburyport you may review this river stretching far up into the country, with many a white sail glancing over it like an inland sea, and behold, as one wrote who was born on its head-waters, "Down out at its mouth, the dark inky main blending with the blue above. Plum Island, its sand ridges scolloping along the horizon like the sea-serpent, and the distant outline broken by many a tall ship, leaning, **still**, against the sky."

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER

As [King James I of England](#), James increased his import tax on [tobacco](#) by 4,000% and issued

A COUNTERBLASTE TO TOBACCO:

Smoking is a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black, stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.

The monarch indicated the contempt in which he held those of his subjects who needed daily to use a drug for mere pleasure, and who were able easily to accept a habit of a bunch of mere unbaptized barbarians. He bewailed the cost of a “precious stink,” and repeated some of the horror stories then being circulated by nonsmokers. Among other things, he reminded his readers that some great tobacco-takers had been found, upon dissection, to have “infected” their “inward parts” with “an oily kind of soot.” King James said if he ever had the Devil to dinner, he’d offer him a [pipe](#). With regards to secondhand smoke, he offered accurately enough that “The wife must either take up smoking or resolve to live in a perpetual stinking torment.” The government of James would be the first to find a tax upon tobacco to be enormously profitable. Trying to stamp out smoking, he first increased taxes on tobacco 4,000%, from 2 pence/pound to 6 shillings, 8 pence/pound. That stopped his subjects from buying licit tobacco but dried up the money stream that had been coming into his Treasury. He therefore slashed his tax to 2 shillings/pound and watched as the coin of the realm again poured into his coffers. As a result of the high duty placed upon tobacco (a duty which was continually advanced during [King James I](#)’s and Charles I’s reigns over England), a situation would arise similar to our own during our prohibition era. The common phrases and conditions of that era are also applicable to the tobacco trade in London early in the 17th Century; the commodity was “free of duty,” was retailed by smugglers as “right off the ship,” all dandies knew where the best stuff was to be secretly had, domestic tobacco was reworked to give it the semblance of “Spanish,” and the wide advertising which smoking received because of the campaign against it induced many, who had never smoked before, to experiment with the habit.



JAMES I

**A PARAENESIS to prince HENRY.**

Lo here, brave youth, as zeal and duty move,  
I labour, though in vain, to find some gift



Both worthy of thy place, and of my love ;  
But whilst myself above myself I lift,  
And would the best of my inventions prove,  
I stand to study what should be my drift ;  
Yet this the greatest approbation brings,  
Still to a prince to speak of princely things.

When those of the first age that erst did live  
In shadowy woods, or in a humid cave,  
And taking that which th' earth not forced did give,  
Would only pay what nature's need did crave ;  
Then beasts of breath such numbers did deprive,  
That, following Amphion, they did deserts leave,  
Who with sweet sounds did lead them by the ears,  
Where mutual force might banish common fears.

Then building walles, they barbarous rites disdain'd,  
The sweetnesse of society to finde;  
And to attayne what unity maintain'd,  
As peace, religion, and a vertuous minde,  
That so they might have restless humours rayn'd,  
They straight with lawes their liberty confin'd,  
And of the better sort the best preferr'd,  
To chastise them against the lawes that err'd.

I wot not if proud minds who first aspir'd  
Ore many realms to make themselves a right ;  
Or if the world's disorders so requir'd,  
That then had put Astræa to the flight ;  
Or else if some whose vertues were admir'd,  
And eminent in all the people's sight,  
Did move peace-lovers first to reare a throne,  
And give the keys of life and death to one.

That dignity, when first it did begin,  
Did grace each province and each little towne ;  
Forth, when she first doth from Benlowmond rinne,  
Is **poore of waters, naked of renowne,**  
But Carron, Allon, Teith, and Doven in,  
**Doth grow the greater still, the further downe :**  
**Till that, abounding both in power and fame,**  
**She long doth strive to give the sea her name.**

Even so those soveraignties which once were small,  
Still swallowing up the nearest neighbouring state,  
With a deluge of men did realmes appall,  
And thus th' Egyptian Pharoes first grew great ;  
Thus did th' Assyrians make so many thrall,  
Thus rear'd the Romans their imperiall seat :  
And thus all those great states to worke have gone,  
Whose limits and the worlds were all but one.

But I'le not plunge in such a stormy deepe,  
Which hath no bottome, nor can have no shore,  
But in the dust will let those ashes sleepe,  
Which (cloath'd with purple) once th' Earth did adore ;  
Of them scarce now a monument wee keepe,  
Who (thund'ring terrour) curb'd the world before;  
Their states, which by a number's ruine stood,  
Were founded, and confounded both, with bloud.

If I would call antiquity to minde,  
I, for an endlesse taske might then prepare;  
But what ? ambition, that was ever blinde,  
Did get with toyle that which was kept with care,  
And those great states 'gainst which the world repin'd,  
Had falls, as famous, as their risings rare :  
And in all ages it was ever seene,



What vertue rais'd, by vice hath ruin'd been.

Yet registers of memorable things  
Would help, great Prince, to make thy judgment sound,  
Which to the eye a perfect mirror brings,  
Where all should glass themselves who would be crowned.  
Read these rare parts that acted were by kings,  
The strains heroic, and the end renowned ;  
Which, whilst thou in thy cabinet dost sit,  
Are worthy to bewitch thy growing wit.

And do not, do not thou the means omit,  
Times matched with times, what they beget to spy,  
Since history may lead thee unto it —  
A pillar whereupon good sp'rits rely,  
Of time the table, and the nurse of wit,  
The square of reason, and the mind's clear eye,  
Which leads the curious reader through huge harms,  
Who stands secure whilst looking on alarms.

Nor is it good o'er brave men's lives to wander,  
As one who at each corner stands amazed.  
No, study like some one thyself to render,  
Who to the height of glory hath been raised ;  
So Scipio, Cyrus, Caesar, Alexander,  
And that great Prince choosed him whom Homer praised.  
Or make, as which is recent, and best known,  
Thy father's life a pattern for thine own.

Yet, marking great men's lives, this much impairs  
The profit which that benefit imparts,  
While as, transported with preposterous cares,  
To imitate but superficial parts.  
Some for themselves frame of their fancies snares,  
And shew what folly doth o'er-sway their hearts':  
For counterfeited things do stains embrace,  
And all that is affected, hath no grace.

Of outward things who, shallow wits, take hold,  
Do shew by that they can no higher win.  
So, to resemble Hercules of old,  
Mark Antony would bear the lion's skin ;  
A brave Athenian's son, as some have told,  
Would such a course, though to his scorn, begin,  
And bent, to seem look like his father dead,  
Would make himself to lisp, and bow his head.

They who would rightly follow such as those,  
Must of the better parts apply the powers,  
As the industrious bee advis'dly goes,  
To seize upon the best, shun baser flowers.  
So, where thou dost the greatest worth disclose,  
To compass that, be prodigal of hours.  
Seek not to seem, but be. Who be, seem too.  
Do carelessly, and yet have care to do.

Thou to resemble thy renowned sire,  
Must not, though some there were, mark trivial things,  
But matchless virtues, which all minds admire,  
Whose treasure to his realms great comfort brings.  
That to attain, thou race of kings ! aspire,  
Which for thy fame may furnish airy wings ;  
And like to eaglets thus thou prov'st thy kind,  
When both like him in body and in mind.

Ah, be not those most miserable souls,  
Their judgments to refine who never strive,  
Nor will not look upon the learned scrolls,



Which without practice do experience give ;  
But, whilst base sloth each better care controls,  
Are dead in ignorance, entombed alive?  
'Twixt beasts and such the difference is but small —  
They use not reason, beasts have none at all.

Heavenly treasure which the best sort loves,  
Life of the soul, reformer of the will,  
Clear light which from the mind each cloud removes,  
Pure spring of virtue, physic for each ill,  
Which in prosperity a bridle proves,  
And in adversity a pillar still !  
Of thee the more men get, the more they crave,  
And think, the more they get, the less they have.

But if that knowledge be required of all,  
What should they do this treasure to obtain,  
Whom in a throne time travels to install,  
Where they by it of all things must ordain ?  
If it make them, who by their birth were thrall,  
As little kings, whilst o'er themselves they reign,  
Then it must make, when it hath throughly graced them,  
Kings more than kings, and like to him who placed them.

This is a grief which all the world bemoans,  
When those lack judgment who are born to judge,  
And, like to painted tombs or gilded stones,  
To troubled souls cannot afford refuge.  
Kings are their kingdoms' hearts, which, tainted once,  
The bodies straight corrupt in which they lodge ;  
And those by whose example many fall  
Are guilty of the murder of them all.

The means which best make majesty to stand  
Are laws observed, whilst practice doth direct :  
The crown the head, the sceptre decks the hand,  
But only knowledge doth the thoughts erect.  
Kings should excel all them whom they command,  
In all the parts which do procure respect;  
And this a way to what they would, prepares,  
Not only as thought good, but as known theirs.

Seek not due reverence only to procure  
With shows of sovereignty and guards oft lewd ;  
So Nero did, yet could not so assure  
The hated diadem, with blood embrued :  
Nor as the Persian kings, who lived obscure,  
And of their subjects rarely would be viewed ;  
So one of them was secretly o'er-thrown,  
And in his place the murderer reigned unknown.

No, only goodness doth beget regard,  
And equity doth greatest glory win ;  
To plague for vice, and virtue to reward,  
What they intend, that, bravely, to begin :  
This is to sovereignty a powerful guard,  
And makes a prince's praise o'er all come in :  
Whose life, his subjects law, cleared by his deeds,  
More than Justinian's toils, good order breeds.

All those who o'er unbaptized nations reigned,  
By barbarous customs sought to foster fear,  
And with a thousand tyrannies constrained  
All them whom they subdued their yoke to bear ;  
But those whom great Jehovah hath ordained  
Above the Christians lawful thrones to rear,  
Must seek by worth to be obeyed for love,  
So, having reigned below, to reign above.



Happy Henry, who art highly born,  
Yet beautifi'st thy birth with signs of worth,  
And, though a child, all childish toys dost scorn,  
To shew the world thy virtues budding forth,  
Which may by time this glorious isle adorn,  
And bring eternal trophies to the north,  
While as thou dost thy father's forces lead,  
And art the hand, whileas he is the head.

Thou, like that gallant thunder-bolt of war,  
Third Edward's son, who was so much renowned,  
Shalt shine in valour as the morning star,  
And plenish with thy praise the peopled round.  
But like to his, let nought thy fortune mar,  
Who in his father's time did die uncrowned !  
Long live thy sire, so all the world desires,  
But longer thou, so Nature's course requires.

And, though time once thee by thy birth-right owes  
Those sacred honours which men most esteem,  
Yet flatter not thyself with those fair shows  
Which often-times are not such as they seem,  
Whose burdenous weight, the bearer but o'er-throws,  
That could before of no such danger deem :  
Then if not, armed in time, thou make thee strong,  
Thou dost thyself and many a thousand wrong.

Since thou must manage such a mighty state,  
Which hath no borders but the seas and skies,  
Then, even as he who justly was called great  
Did, prodigal of pains where fame might rise,  
With both the parts of worth in worth grow great,  
As learned as valiant, and as stout as wise,  
So now let Aristotle lay the ground,  
Whereon thou after may thy greatness found.

For if, transported with a base repose,  
Thou did'st, as thou dost not, misspend thy prime,  
O what a fair occasion would'st thou lose,  
Which after would thee grieve, though out of time !  
To virtuous courses now thy thoughts dispose,  
While fancies are not glued with pleasure's lime.  
Those who their youth to suchlike pains engage,  
Do gain great ease unto their perfect age.

Magnanimous now, with heroic parts,  
Shew to the world what thou dost aim to be,  
The more to print in all the people's hearts  
That which thou would'st they should expect of thee ;  
That so, preoccupied with such deserts,  
They after may applaud the heavens' decree  
When that day comes, which, if it comes too soon,  
Then thou and all this isle would be undone.

And otherwise what trouble should'st thou find,  
If first not seized of all thy subjects love,  
To ply all humours till thy worth have shined,  
That even most malcontents must it approve ;  
For else a number would suspend their mind,  
As doubting what thou afterwards might'st prove,  
And when a state's affections thus are cold,  
Of that advantage foreigners take hold.

I grant in this thy fortune to be good,  
That art t' inherit such a glorious crown —  
As one descended from that sacred blood,  
Which oft hath filled the world with true renown.



The which still on the top of glory stood,  
And not so much as once seemed to look down —  
For who thy branches to remembrance brings,  
Count what he list, he cannot count but kings.

And pardon me, for I must pause a while,  
And at a thing of right to be admired.  
Since those from whom thou cam'st reigned in this isle,  
Lo, now of years even thousands are expired,  
Yet none could there them thrall, nor thence exile,  
Nor ever failed the line so much desired :  
The hundred and seventh parent living free,  
A never-conquered crown may leave to thee.

Nor hath this only happened as by chance ;  
Of alterations then there had been some.  
But that brave race which still did worth enhance,  
Would so presage the thing that was to come,  
That this united Isle should once advance,  
And, by the Lion led, all realms o'er-come.  
For if it kept a little free before,  
Now, having much, no doubt it must do more.

And though our nations long, I must confess,  
Did roughly woo before that they could wed,  
That but endears the union we possess,  
Whom Neptune both combines within one bed.  
All ancient injuries this doth redress,  
And buries that which many a battle bred :  
Brave discords reconciled, if wrath expire,  
Do breed the greatest love, and most entire.

Of England's Mary had it been the chance  
To make King Philip father of a son,  
The Spaniard's high designs so to advance,  
All Albion's beauties had been quite o'er-run.  
Or yet if Scotland's Mary had heired France,  
Our bondage then had by degrees begun :  
Of which, if that a stranger hold a part,  
To take the other that would means impart.

Thus from two dangers we were twice preserved  
When as we seemed without recovery lost,  
As from their freedom those who freely swerved,  
And suffered strangers of our bounds to boast.  
Yet were we for this happy time reserved,  
And, but to hold it dear, a little crossed,  
That of the Stewarts the illustrious race  
Might, like their minds, a monarchy embrace.

Of that blest progeny, the wellknown worth  
Hath of the people a conceit procured,  
That from the race it never can go forth,  
But, long hereditary, is well assured.  
Thus, son of that great monarch of the north,  
They to obey are happily inured,  
O'er whom thou art expected once to reign.  
To have good ancestors one much doth gain.

He who by tyranny his throne doth rear,  
And dispossess another of his right,  
Whose panting heart dare never trust his care,  
Since still made odious in the people's sight,  
Whilst he both hath, and gives, great cause of fear,  
Is, spoiling all, at last spoiled of the light,  
And those who are descended of his blood,  
Ere that they be believed, must long be good.





Yet though we see it is an easy thing  
For such a one his state still to maintain,  
Who, by his birthright born to be a king,  
Doth with the country's love the crown obtain,  
The same doth many to confusion bring,  
Whilst, for that cause, they care not how they reign.  
O never throne established was so sure,  
Whose fall a vicious prince might not procure.

Thus do a number to destruction run,  
And so did Tarquin once abuse his place,  
Who for the filthy life he had begun,  
Was barred from Rome, and ruined all his race;  
So he whose father of no king was son,  
Was father to no king, but, in disgrace  
From Sicily banished by the people's hate,  
Did die at Corinth in an abject state.

And as that monarch merits endless praise  
Who by his virtue doth a state acquire,  
So all the world with scornful eyes may gaze  
On their degener'd stems, which might aspire,  
As having greater power, their power to raise,  
Yet of their race the ruin do conspire,  
And for their wrong-spent life with shame do end.  
Kings chastised once, are not allowed t' amend.

Those who, reposing on their princely name,  
Can never give themselves to care for ought,  
But for their pleasures everything would frame,  
As all were made for them, and they for nought,  
Once th' earth their bodies, men will spoil their fame,  
Though, whilst they live, all for their ease be wrought ;  
And those conceits on which they do depend  
Do but betray their fortunes in the end.

This self-conceit doth so the judgment choke,  
That when with some aught well succeeds through it,  
They on the same with great affection look,  
And scorn th' advice of others to admit.  
Thus did brave Charles, the last Burgundian duke,  
Dear buy a battle purchased by his wit ;  
By which in him such confidence was bred,  
That blind presumption to confusion led.

O sacred council, quintessence of souls,  
Strength of the commonwealth, which chains the fates,  
And every danger, ere it come, controls,  
The anchor of great realms, staff of all states !  
O sure foundation which no tempest fouts,  
On which are builded the most glorious seats !  
If ought with those succeed who scorn thy care,  
It comes by chance, and draws them in a snare.

Thrice happy is that king, who hath the grace  
To choose a council whereon to rely,  
Which loves his person, and respects his place,  
And, like to Aristides, can cast by  
All private grudge, and public cares embrace,  
Whom no ambition nor base thoughts do tie —  
And that they be not, to betray their seats,  
The partial pensioners of foreign states.

None should but those of that grave number boast,  
Whose lives have long with many virtues shined.  
As Rome respected the Patricians most,  
Use nobles first, if to true worth inclined ;



Yet so, that unto others seem not lost  
All hopes to rise; for else, high hopes resigned,  
Industrious virtue in her course would tire,  
If not expecting honour for her hire.

But such as those a prince should most eschew,  
Who dignities do curiously affect ;  
A public charge those who too much pursue  
Seem to have some particular respect.  
All should be godly, prudent, secret, true,  
Of whom a king his council should elect ;  
And he, whilst they advise of zeal and love,  
Should not the number, but the best approve.

A great discretion is required to know  
What way to weigh opinions in his mind;  
But ah ! this doth the judgment oft o'er-throw,  
When whilst he comes within himself confined,  
And of the senate would but make a show,  
So to confirm that which he hath designed—  
As one who only hath whereon to rest  
For councillors, his thoughts, their seat his breast.

But what avails a senate in this sort,  
Whose power within the capital is pent —  
A blast of breath which doth for nought import,  
But mocks the world with a not acted intent?  
Those are the councils which great states support,  
Which never are made known but by the event:  
Not those where wise men matters do propose,  
And fools thereafter as they please dispose.

Nor is this all which ought to be desired  
In this assembly, since the kingdom's soul,  
That, with a knowledge more than rare inspired,  
A commonwealth, like Plato's, in a scroll  
They can paint forth ; but means are, too, acquired  
Disorder's torrent freely to control,  
And, arming with authority their lines,  
To act with justice that which wit designs.

Great empress of this universal frame,  
The Atlas on whose shoulders states are stayed,  
Who sway'st the reins which all the world do tame,  
And mak'st men good by force, with red arrayed!  
Disorder's enemy, virgin without blame,  
Within whose balance good and bad are weighed,  
O ! sovereign of all virtues, without thee  
Nor peace nor war can entertained be !

Thou from confusion all things hast redeemed.  
The meeting of Amphictyons had been vain,  
And all those senates which were most esteemed,  
Were 't not by thee their councils crowned remain;  
And all those laws had but dead letters seemed,  
Which Solon, or Lycurgus, did ordain,  
Were 't not thy sword made all alike to die,  
And not the weak, while as the strong 'scaped by.

O not without great cause all th' ancients did  
Paint magistrates placed to explain the laws,  
Not having hands, so bribery to forbid,  
Which them from doing right too oft withdraws;  
And with a veil the judges' eyes were hid,  
Who should not see the party, but the cause.  
God's deputies, which his tribunal rear,  
Should have a patent, not a partial ear.



An lack of justice hath huge evils begun,  
Which by no means could be repaired again ;  
The famous sire of that most famous son,  
From whom, while as he sleeping did remain,  
One did appeal, till that his sleep was done,  
And whom a widow did discharge to reign  
Because he had not time plaints to attend,  
Did lose his life for such a fault in th' end.

This justice is the virtue most divine  
Which like the King of kings shews kings inclined,  
Whose sure foundations nought can undermine,  
If once within a constant breast confined :  
For otherwise she cannot clearly shine,  
While as the magistrate oft changing mind  
Is oft too swift, and sometimes slow to strike,  
As led by private ends, not still alike.

Use mercy freely, justice as constrained ;  
This must be done, although that be more dear,  
And oft the form may make the deed disdained,  
Whilst justice tastes of tyranny too near.  
One may be justly, yet in rage arraigned,  
Whilst reason ruled by passions doth appear :  
Once Socrates, because o'ercome with ire,  
Did from correcting one, till calmed, retire.

Those who want means their anger to assuage,  
Do oft themselves, or others, rob of breath.  
Fierce Valentinian, surfeiting in rage,  
By bursting of a vein did bleed to death ;  
And Theodosus, still but then, thought sage,  
Caused murder thousands, whilst quite drunk with wrath,  
Who, to prevent the like opprobrious crime,  
Made still suspend his edicts for a time.

Of virtuous kings all the actions do proceed  
Forth from the spring of a paternal love,  
To cherish, or correct, as realms have need ;  
For which he more than for himself doth move,  
Who, many a million's ease that way to breed,  
Makes sometime some his indignation prove,  
And like to Codrus, would even death embrace,  
If for the country's good and people's peace.

This lady, that so long unarmed hath strayed,  
Now holds the balance, and doth draw the sword,  
And never was more gloriously arrayed,  
Nor in short time did greater good afford ;  
The state which to confusion seemed betrayed,  
And could of nought but blood and wrongs record,  
Lo! freed from trouble and intestine rage,  
Doth boast yet to restore the golden age.

Thus doth thy father, generous prince, prepare  
A way for thee to gain immortal fame,  
And lays the grounds of greatness with such care,  
That thou may'st build great works upon the same;  
Then since thou art to have a field so fair,  
Whereas thou once mayst eternize thy name,  
Begin, whileas a greater light thine smothers,  
And learn to rule thyself ere thou rul'st others.

For still true magnanimity, we find,  
Both harbour early in a generous breast :  
To match Miltiades, whose glory shined,  
Themistocles, a child, was robbed of rest ;



Yet strive to be a monarch of thy mind,  
For as to dare great things all else detest ;  
A generous emulation spurs the sp'rit,  
Ambition doth abuse the courage quite.

Whilst of illustrious lives thou look'st the story,  
Abhor those tyrants which still swimm'd in blood,  
And follow those who, to their endless glory,  
High in their subjects' love by virtue stood;  
O ! be like him who on a time was sorry  
Because that whilst he chanced to do no good  
There but one day had happened to expire :  
He was the world's delight, the heaven's desire.

But as by mildness some great states do gain,  
By lenity some lose that which they have.  
England's sixth Henry could not live and reign,  
But, being simple, did huge foils receive:  
Brave Scipio's army mutinied in Spain,  
And, by his meekness bold, their charge did leave.  
O ! to the state it brings great profit oft,  
To be sometimes severe, and never soft.

To guide his coursers warily through the sky,  
Erst Phoebus did his phaeton require,  
Since from the middle way if swerving by,  
The heavens would burn or the earth would be on fire.  
So doth 'twixt two extremes each virtue lie  
To which the purest sp'rits ought to aspire;  
He lives most sure who no extreme doth touch,  
Nought would too little be, nor yet too much.

Some kings whom all men did in hatred hold,  
With avaricious thoughts whose breasts were torn,  
Too basely given to feast their eyes with gold,  
Used ill and abject means, which brave minds scorn ;  
Such whilst they only seek, no vice controlled,  
How they may best their treasures adorn,  
Are, though like Cræsus rich, whilst wealth them blinds,  
Yet still as poor as Iruus in their minds.

And some again, as foolish fancies move,  
Who praise preposterous fondly do pursue,  
Not liberal, no, but prodigal do prove,  
Then, whilst their treasures they exhausted view,  
With subsidies do lose their subject's love,  
And spoil whole realms, though but t' enrich a few,  
Whilst with authority their pride they cloak,  
Who ought to die by smoke for selling smoke.

But O ! the prince most loathed in every land  
Is one all given to lust ; who hardly can  
Free from some great mishap a long time stand ;  
For all the world his deeds with hatred scan.  
Should he who hath the honour to command  
The noblest creature, great God's image — man,  
Be to the vilest vice the basest slave,  
The body's plague, soul's death, and honour's grave ?

That beastly monster who, retired a part,  
Amongst his concubines began to spin,  
Took with the habit too a woman's heart  
And ended that which Ninus did begin.  
Faint-hearted Xerxes, who did gifts impart  
To them who could devise new ways to sin,  
Though backed with worlds of men, straight took the flight,  
And had not courage but to see them fight.



Thus doth soft pleasure but abase the mind,  
And making one to servile thoughts descend,  
Doth make the body weak, the judgment blind —  
An hateful life, an ignominious end ;  
Where those who did this raging tyrant bind  
With virtue's chains, their triumphs to attend,  
Have by that means a greater glory gained  
Than all the victories which they attained.

The valorous Persian who not once but gaz'd  
On faire Panthea's face to ease his toyls,  
His glory, by that continency, rais'd  
More than by Babylon's and Lydia's spoils;  
The Macedonian monarch was more prais'd  
Than for triumphing ore so many soils,  
That of his greatest foe (though beauteous scene)  
He chastely entertain'd the captiv'd queene.

Thus have still-gazed-at monarchs much ado  
Who, all the world's disorders to redress,  
Should shine like to the sun, the which still, lo !  
The more it mounts aloft, doth seem the less;  
They should with confidence go freely to,  
And, trusting to their worth, their will express;  
Not like French Louis th' Eleventh, who did maintain  
That who could not dissemble could not reign.

But still, to guard their state, the strongest bar  
And surest refuge in each dangerous storm  
Is to be found a gallant man of war,  
With heart that dare attempt, hands to perform.  
Not that they venture should their state too far,  
And to each soldiers course their course conform;  
The skilful pilots at the rudder sit,  
Let others use their strength, and them their wit.

In Mars his mysteries to gain renown  
It gives kings glory, and assures their place ;  
It breeds them a respect among'st their own,  
And makes their neighbours fear to lose their grace;  
Still all those should, who love to keep their crown,  
In peace prepare for war, in war for peace :  
For as all fear a prince who dare attempt,  
The want of courage brings one in contempt.

And, royal off-spring, who mayst high aspire,  
As one to whom thy birth high hopes assigned,  
This well becomes the courage of thy sire,  
Who trains thee up according to thy kind ;  
He, though the world his prosperous reign admire,  
In which his subjects such a comfort find,  
Hath, if the bloody art moved to embrace,  
That wit then to make war, which now keeps peace.

And O ! how this, dear prince, the people charms,  
Who flock about thee oft in ravished bands —  
To see thee young, yet manage so thine arms,  
Have a mercurial mind and martial hands.  
This exercise thy tender courage warms ;  
And still true greatness but by virtue stands ;  
Agesilaus said no king could be  
More great, unless more virtuous than he.

And though that all of thee great things expect,  
Thou, as too little, mak'st their hopes ashamed.  
As he who on Olympus did detect  
The famous Theban's foot, his body framed,



By thy beginnings so we may collect  
How great thy worth by time may he proclaimed.  
For who thy actions doth remark, may see  
That there he many Qesars within thee.

Though every state by long experience finds  
That greatest blessings prospering peace imparts  
As which all subjects to good order binds,  
Yet breeds this isle, still populous in all parts,  
Such vigorous bodies and such restless minds,  
That they disdain to use mechanic arts,  
And, being haughty, cannot live in rest,  
Yea, such, when idle, are a dangerous pest.

A prudent Roman told in some few hours  
To Rome's estate what danger did redound  
Then, when they razed the Carthaginian towers,  
By which, while as they stood, still means were found  
With others' harms to exercise their powers ;  
The want whereof their greatness did confound,  
For when no more with foreign foes embroiled.

Straight by intestine wars the state was spoiled.  
No, since this soil, which with great sp'rits abounds,  
Can hardly nurse her nurslings all in peace,  
Then let us keep her bosom free from wounds,  
And spend our fury in some foreign place.  
There is no wall can limit now our bounds,  
But all the world will need walls in short space  
To keep our troops from seizing on new thrones.

The marble chair must pass the ocean once.  
"What fury o'er my judgment doth prevail ?  
Methinks I see all th' earth glance with our arms,  
And groaning Neptune charged with many a sail ;  
I hear the thundering trumpet sound th' alarms,  
Whilst all the neighbouring nations do look pale,  
Such sudden fear each panting heart disarms,  
To see those martial minds together gone,  
The lion and the leopard in one.

I, Henry, hope with this mine eyes to feed,  
Whilst, ere thou wear'st a crown, thou wear'st a shield,  
And when thou, making thousands once to bleed  
That dare behold thy count'nance and not yield,  
Stirr'st through the bloody dust a foaming steed.  
An interested witness in the field,  
I may amongst those bands thy grace attend,  
And be thy Homer when the wars do end.

But stay, where fliest thou, Muse, so far astray?  
And whilst affection doth thy course command,  
Dar'st thus above thy reach attempt a way  
To court the heir of Albion's warlike land,  
Who gotten hath, his generous thoughts to sway,  
A royal gift out of a royal hand,  
And hath before his eyes that type of worth,  
That star of state, that pole which guides the north.

Yet o'er thy father, lo, such is thy fate,  
Thou hast this vantage which may profit thee —  
An orphaned infant, settled in his seat,  
He greater than himself could never see,  
Where thou may'st learn by him the art of state,  
And by another what thyself should'st be,  
Whilst that which he had only but heard told,  
In all his course thou practised may'st behold,  
And this advantage long may'st thou retain,



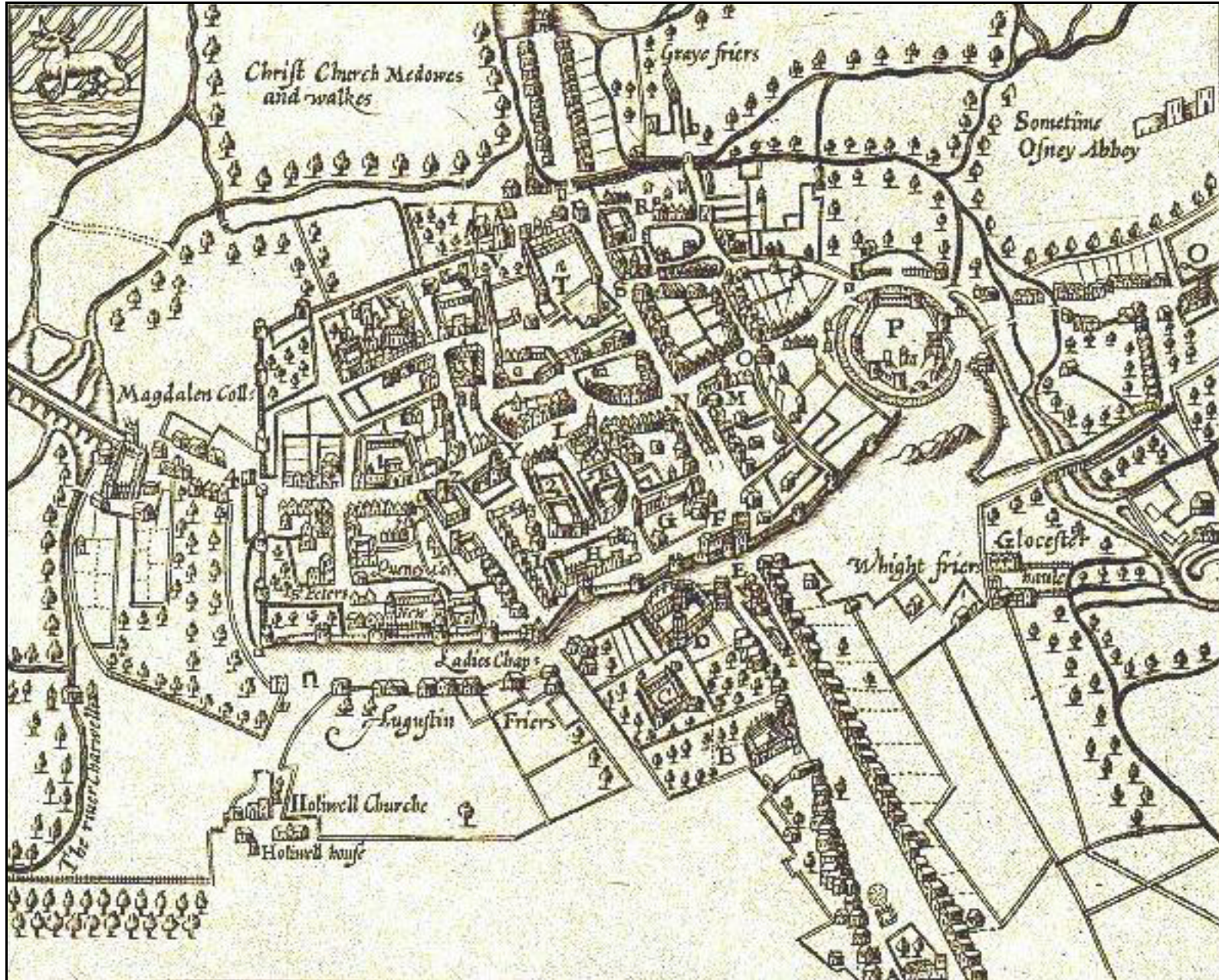
## PLANTS

SIK'AR

By which to make thee blest the heavens conspire,  
And labour of his worth to make thy gain,  
To whose perfections thou may'st once aspire ;  
When as thou shew'st thyself, whilst thou dost reign,  
A son held worthy of so great a sire,  
And with his sceptres and the people's hearts,  
Dost still inherit his heroic parts.

1605

August 29, Thursday (Old Style): A debate upon the topic of [tobacco](#) at Oxford had as its most important participants [King James I](#), against use of the substance, and the Presbyterian Reverend Francis Cheynell, for its use.



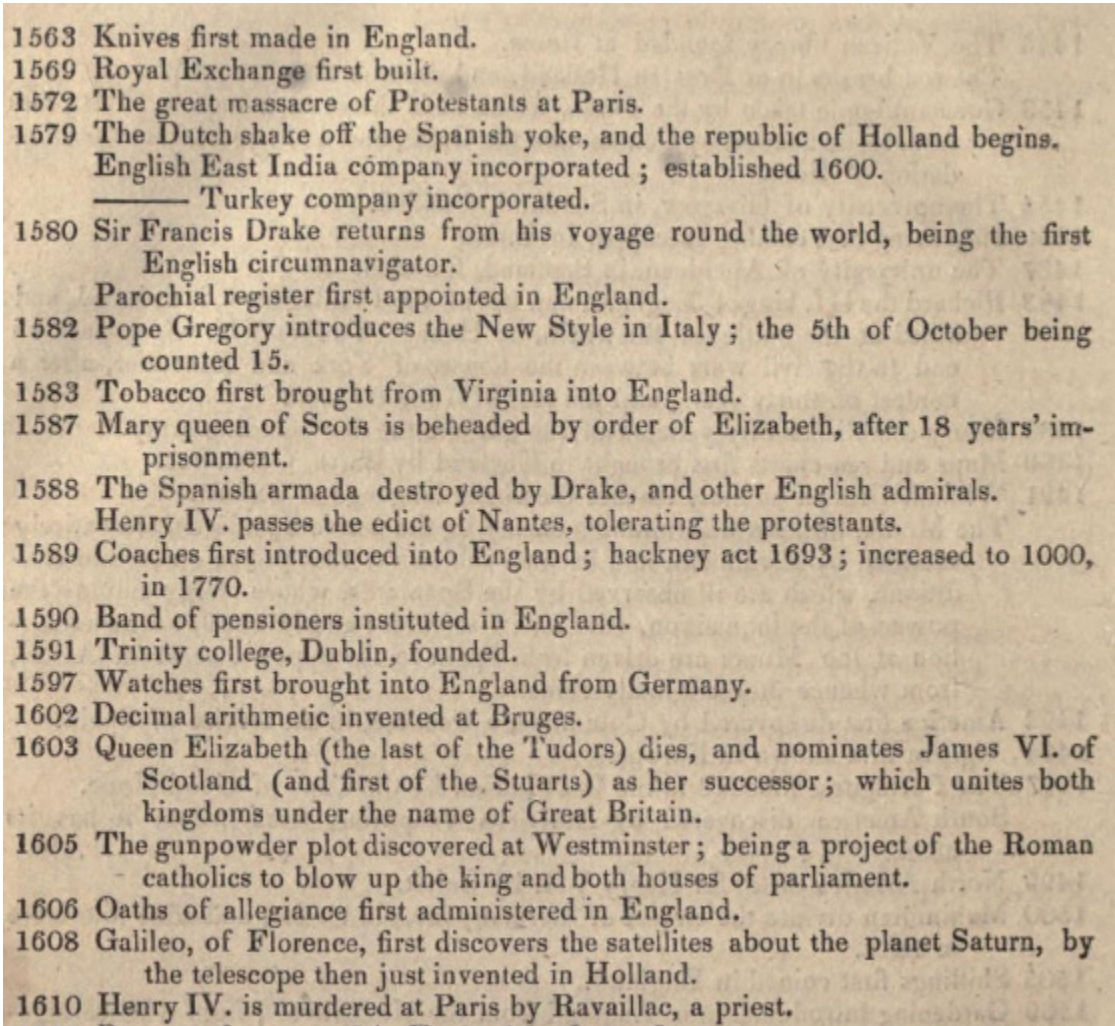




1606

King Philip III of Spain decreed that [tobacco](#) might be grown only in specified locales — such as Cuba, Santo Domingo, Venezuela, and Puerto Rico. Sale of tobacco to foreigners was to be punished by death.

The English Parliament enacted “An Act to Repress the Odious and Loathsome Sin of [Drunkness](#).”



1607

→ Ships need to carry cargo in both directions. They need never to be empty because empty equates not merely to lack of earnings but in addition to the loading of more ballast,<sup>12</sup> which is a significant expense item. If ships were to be carrying something in bulk, such as [tobacco](#) and [sugar](#), from the New World to the Old, they would also be needing to be carrying something in bulk from the Old World to the New. What then did the Old World have that was in plentiful supply, that could be had cheap because it was something that it did not need? People! During the period from 1607 into 1682 some 92,000 European laborers would be being transported to the Virginia and Delaware colonies to be sold there as chattel bond-servants, with the proceeds of such sales of human beings (or, to be more polite, of all of their services) allegedly going to reimburse their shippers for the cost of such transportation from the poverty of the Old World to the hopeful venues of the New:



The "servant trade," as it came to be called, that is, the export of chattel laborers from Europe, sprang up as a response to the profit-making needs of the tobacco business, and it soon became a special branch of commerce; these bond-laborers "provided a convenient cargo for ships going to the plantations to fetch tobacco, sugar, and the other raw materials available," writes A.E. Smith: "-[T]he real stimulus to emigration was not the desire of servants to go to America, but the desire of merchants to secure them as cargo." Investors found the trade attractive. In England, votaries of what today is euphemized as "market principles" sold English men and women for £2 per head (or even less, sometimes) if they had them already in captivity as convicts or workhouse inmates. In all, some 92,000 European immigrants were brought to Virginia and Maryland between 1607 and 1682, the great majority being sent to Virginia. More than three-quarters of them were chattel bond-laborers, the great majority of them English. In 1676, it was Governor Berkeley's estimate that about 1,500 European chattel bond-laborers were then arriving in Virginia yearly, "the majority English, with a few Scots and fewer Irish." Others were brought to the Chesapeake after the defeat of the Catholic cause in 1689, and they were for a time especially worrisome to the colonial authorities for fear that they might "confederate with the Negroes," as Francis Nicholson warned when he was Governor of Maryland.

12. The problem of ballast will be explored in greater detail at other locations in this Kouroo Contexture. Suffice it to say here that the reason why it was economical to carry Chinese porcelain products from Canton to New England was that crates of these dishes could be stored low in the hold as needed ballast, and the reason why Providence, Rhode Island's alleys are paved with cobblestones is that they had been brought here as ship ballast, and the reason why the original experimental ice shipments from New England ponds to Calcutta were made was that the ice was serving an extra role aboard ship, low in the hold as needed ballast.



## PLANTS

SIK'AR



The lasting “plantation” of English culture in the Americas began at this point with the founding of the settlement of Jamestown on a coast which at that time was “all Virginia” for thousands of miles, as the Virginia Company of London disembarked yet another group of adventurers quite as ill-prepared as the groups that had gone before.

### READ ABOUT VIRGINIA

When she was first sighted by the English, frolicking with four of their cabin boys, [Pocahontas](#) seemed about ten years of age.

This attempt at settlement –wracked by [malaria](#), Indian attacks, intrigue, laziness, torture, starvation, and cannibalism– would be arguably saved not by the Indian princess, but by her husband [John Rolfe](#)’s cultivation of [tobacco](#) to break the monopoly of King Philip III of Spain.<sup>13</sup>

A log tells us that within a month they were able to compete the building of a large triangular fort on the banks of a river they named the James, after their King. At first the climate seemed mild, the Indians friendly. As [John Smith](#) commented, “heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man’s habitations.” Then came blistering heat, swarms of insects spawned in the nearby wetlands, [typhoid fever](#), unfit water supplies, starvation, fierce winters, Indian attacks, influxes of inappropriately-prepared “Colonists” sent from a

13. Without this success of the Jamestown VA plantation, the dominant culture everywhere south and west of New England could well have become Spanish.

changing England that had no other place for them, and a period of tyrannical martial law when missing church 3 times was a capital offense. Many of the colonists we could call gentlemen-adventurers, “whose breeding,” a contemporary said, “never knew what a day’s labour meant.” These were men, often lesser scions of nobility, with no future in England, who were lured by the Virginia Company by promises of land and wealth, much as people would be lured to California during the Gold Rush. But there was no gold in Virginia, and these “prospectors” didn’t know how to farm, didn’t know how to hunt, and –possibly feeling betrayed by the Virginia Company’s promises, and lacking any land of their own– were not known for their spirit of cooperation either among themselves, nor with the Americans of the Powhattan confederacy.

[Captain Smith](#) wrote of the [ground-nut](#)’s utility.



1608

William Alexander and a relative were made agents for the collection of debts which had fallen due the crown in Scotland from 1547 to 1588. They would be entitled to pocket, for their efforts, half of everything they might be able to collect. As it would seem, they would never be able to collect much, except hard feelings. The concession would turn out to be not so very lucrative.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER

As the smuggling of [tobacco](#) increased, King James I lowered the tariff and sold the right to collect it for government revenues.



1610

Sir [Francis Bacon](#) wrote that the use of [tobacco](#) was increasing in England and that the habit of it was proving to be hard to break.

Edmond Gardiner provided, in THE TRIAL OF [TOBACCO](#), a text of recipes and medicinal preparations.

William Barclay defended this plant in TRIAL OF [TOBACCO](#), but only as a medicinal herb — it was not for casual use.



## XIII

SMOKING BY WOMEN<sup>14</sup>

Ladies, when pipes are brought, affect to swoon;  
They love no smoke, except the smoke of Town.  
Isaac Hawkins Browne, *circa* 1740.

A story is told of Sir Walter Raleigh by John Aubrey which seems to imply that at first women not only did not smoke, but that they disliked smoking by men. Aubrey says that Raleigh "standing in a stand at Sir R. Poyntz's parke at Acton, tooke a pipe of tobacco, which made the ladies quitt it till he had done." But this objection, whether general or not, soon vanished, for, as we have seen in a previous chapter, the gallant of Elizabethan and Jacobean days made a practice of smoking in his lady's presence. It seems certain, moreover, that some women, at least, smoked very soon after the introduction of tobacco; but it is not easy to find direct evidence, though there are sundry traditions and allusions which suggest that the practice was not unknown.

There is a tradition that Queen Elizabeth herself once smoked – with unpleasant results. Campbell, in his "History of Virginia," says that Raleigh having offered her Majesty "some tobacco to smoke, after two or three whiffs she was seized with a nausea, upon observing which some of the Earl of Leicester's faction whispered that Sir Walter had certainly poisoned her. But her Majesty in a short while recovering made the countess of Nottingham and all her maids smoke a whole pipe out among them." The Queen had no selfish desire to monopolize the novel sensations caused by smoking. An eighteenth-century writer, Oldys, in his "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," declares that tobacco "soon became of such vogue in Queen Elizabeth's court, that some of the great ladies, as well as noblemen therein, would not scruple to take a pipe sometimes very sociably." But these stories rest on vague tradition, and probably have no foundation in fact.

King James I in his famous "Counter-blaste to Tobacco," hinted that the husband, by his indulgence in the habit, might "reduce thereby his delicate, wholesome, and cleane complexioned wife to that extremitie, that either shee must also corrupt her sweete breath therewith, or else resolve to live in a perpetuall stinking torment." His Majesty's style was forcible, if not elegant. There are also one or two references in the early dramatists. In Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," for instance, which was first acted in 1598, six years before King

14. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



James blew his royal "Counter-blaste," Cob, the water-bearer, says that he would have any "man or woman that should but deal with a tobacco-pipe," immediately whipped. Prynne, in his attack on the stage, declared that women smoked pipes in theatres; but the truth of this statement may well be doubted. The habit was probably far from general among women, although Joshua Sylvester, a doughty opponent of the weed, was pleased to declare that "Fooles of all Sexes haunt it," *i.e.* tobacco.

The ballads of the period abound in rough woodcuts in which tavern scenes are often figured, wherein pewter pots and tobacco-pipes are shown lying on the table or in the hands or at the mouths of the male carousers. Men and women are figured together, but it would be very hard to find a woman in one of these rough cuts with a pipe in her hand or at her mouth. An example, in the "Shirburn Ballads" lies before me. The cut, which is very rough, heads a bacchanalian ballad characteristic of the Elizabethan period, called "A Knotte of Good Fellows," and beginning:

Come hither, mine host, come hither!  
Come hither, mine host, come hither!  
I pray thee, mine host,  
Give us a pot and a tost,  
And let us drinke all together.

The scene is a tavern interior. Around the table are four men and a woman, while a boy approaches carrying two huge measures of ale. One man is smoking furiously, while on the table lie three other pipes – one for each man – and sundry pots and glasses. The woman is plainly a convivial soul; but there is no pipe for her, and such provision was no doubt unusual.

There is direct evidence, too, besides the story in the first paragraph of this chapter, that women disliked the prevalence of smoking. In Marston's "Antonio and Mellinda," 1602, Rosaline, when asked by her uncle when she will marry, makes the spirited reply – "Faith, kind uncle, when men abandon jealousy, forsake taking of tobacco, and cease to wear their beards so rudely long. Oh, to have a husband with a mouth continually smoking, with a bush of furs on the ridge of his chin, readie still to flop into his foaming chops, 'tis more than most intolerable;" and similar indications of dislike to smoking could be quoted from other plays.

On the other hand, it is certain that from comparatively early in the seventeenth century there were to be found here and there women who smoked.

On the title-page of Middleton's comedy, "The Roaring Girle," 1611, is a picture of the heroine, Moll Cutpurse, in man's apparel, smoking a pipe, from which a great cloud of smoke is issuing.

In the record of an early libel action brought in the court of the Archdeacon of Essex, some domestic scenes of 1621 are vividly represented. We need not trouble about the libel action, but two of the *dramatis personæ* were a certain George Thresher, who sold beer and tobacco at his "shopp in Romford," and a good



friend and customer of his named Elizabeth Savage, who, sad to say, was described as much given to "stronge drincke and tobacco." In the course of the trial, on June 8, 1621, Mistress Savage had to tell her tale, part of which is reported as follows:

"George Thresher kept a shoppe in Romford and sold tobacco there. She came divers tymes to his shoppe to buy tobacco there; and sometimes, with company of her acquaintance, did take tobacco and drincke beere in the hall of George Thresher's house, sometimes with the said George, and sometimes with his father and his brothers. And sometimes shee hath had a joint of meat and a cople of chickens dressed there; and shee, and they, and some other of her freinds, have dined there together, and paid their share for their dinner, shee being many times more willing to dine there than at an inne or taverne."

Elizabeth was evidently of a sociable turn, and though she turned her nose up at a tavern, there seems to have been little difference between these festive dinners at Mr. Thresher's "shopp," where Mistress Savage indulged her taste for ale and tobacco, and similar pleasures at an inn or tavern.

Some of the references to women smokers occur in curious connexions. When one George Glapthorne, of Whittlesey, J.P., was returned to Parliament for the Isle of Ely in 1654, his return was petitioned against, and among other charges it was said that just before the election, in a certain Martin's ale-house, he had promised to give Mrs. Martin a roll of tobacco, and had also undertaken to grant her husband a licence to brew, thus unduly influencing and corrupting the electors.

Women smokers were not confined to any one class of society. The Rev. Giles Moore, Rector of Horsted Keynes, Sussex, made a note in his journal and account book in 1665 of "Tobacco for my wyfe, 3d." As from other entries in Mr. Moore's account book we know that two ounces cost him one shilling, we may wonder what Mrs. Moore was going to do with her half-ounce. There is no other reference to tobacco for her in the journal and account book. Possibly she was not a smoker at all, but needed the tobacco for some medicinal purpose. There is ample evidence to show that in the seventeenth century extraordinary medicinal virtues continued to be attributed to the "divine weed."

In some letters of the Appleton family, printed some time ago from the originals in the Bodleian Library, there is a curious letter, undated, but of 1652 or 1653, from Susan Crane, the widow of Sir Robert Crane, who was the second wife of Isaac Appleton of Buckman Vall, Norfolk. Writing to her husband, Isaac Appleton, at his chamber in Grayes Inn, as his "Afextinat wife," the good Susan, whose spelling is marvellous, tells her "Sweet Hart" - "I have done all the tobakcre you left mee; I pray send mee sum this weeke; and some angelleco ceedd and sum cerret sed." How much tobacco Mr. Appleton had provisioned his wife with cannot be known, but it looks as if she were a regular smoker and did not care to be long without a supply. In 1631 Edmond Howes, who edited Stow's "Chronicles," and continued them "onto the end of this present yeare 1631," wrote that tobacco was "at





this day commonly used by most men and many women."

Anything like general smoking by women in the seventeenth century would appear to have been confined to certain parts of the country. Celia Fiennes, who travelled about England on horseback in the reign of William and Mary, tells us that at St. Austell in Cornwall ("St. Austins," she calls it) she disliked "the custome of the country which is a universal smoaking; both men, women, and children have all their pipes of tobacco in their mouths and soe sit round the fire smoaking, which was not delightful to me when I went down to talk with my Landlady for information of any matter and customes amongst them." What would King James have thought of these depraved Cornish folk? Other witnesses bear testimony to the prevalence of smoking among women in the west of England. Dunton, in that *Athenian Oracle* which was a kind of early forerunner of *Notes and Queries*, alluded to pipe-smoking by "the good Women and Children in the West." Misson, the French traveller, who was here in 1698, after remarking that "Tabacco" is very much used in England, says that "the very Women take it in abundance, particularly in the Western Counties. But why the very Women? What Occasion is there for that very? We wonder that in certain Places it should be common for Women to take Tabacco; and why should we wonder at it? The Women of Devonshire and Cornwall wonder that the Women of Middlesex do *not* take Tabacco: And why should they wonder at it? In truth, our Wonderments are very pleasant Things!" And with that sage and satisfactory conclusion to his catechism we may leave M. Misson, though he goes on to philosophize about the effect of smoking by the English clergy upon their theology!

Another French visitor to our shores, M. Jorevin, whose rare book of travels was published at Paris in 1672, was wandering in the west of England about the year 1666, and in the course of his journey stayed at the Stag Inn at Worcester, where he found he had to make himself quite at home with the family of his hostess. He tells us that according to the custom of the country the landladies sup with strangers and passengers, and if they have daughters, these also are of the company to entertain the guests at table with pleasant conceits where they drink as much as the men. But what quite disgusted our visitor was "that when one drinks the health of any person in company, the custom of the country does not permit you to drink more than half the cup, which is filled up and presented to him or her whose health you have drunk. Moreover, the supper being finished, they set on the table half a dozen pipes, and a packet of tobacco, for smoking, which is a general custom as well among women as men, who think that without tobacco one cannot live in England, because, say they, it dissipates the evil humours of the brain."

Although, according to M. Misson, the women of Devon and Cornwall might wonder why the women of Middlesex did not take tobacco, it is certain that London and its neighbourhood did contain at least a few female smokers. Tom Brown, often dubbed "the facetious," but to whom a sterner epithet might well be applied, writing about the end of the seventeenth century, mentions a vintner's wife who, having "made her pile," as might



be said nowadays, retires to a little country-house at Hampstead, where she drinks sack too plentifully, smokes tobacco in an elbow-chair, and snores away the remainder of her life. And the same writer was responsible for a satirical letter "to an Old Lady that smook'd Tobacco," which shows that the practice was not general, for the letter begins: "Madam, Tho' the ill-natur'd world censures you for smoaking." Brown advised her to continue the "innocent diversion" because, first, it was good for the toothache, "the constant persecutor of old ladies," and, secondly, it was a great help to meditation, "which is the reason, I suppose," he continues, "that recommends it to your parsons; the generality of whom can no more write a sermon without a pipe in their mouths, than a concordance in their hands."

From the evidence so far adduced it may fairly be concluded, I think, that during the seventeenth century smoking was not fashionable, or indeed anything but rare, among the women of the more well-to-do classes, while among women of humbler rank it was an occasional, and in a few districts a fairly general habit.

The same conclusion holds good for the eighteenth century. Among women of the lowest class smoking was probably common enough. In Fielding's "Amelia," a woman of the lowest character is spoken of as "smoking tobacco, drinking punch, talking obscenely and swearing and cursing" – which accomplishments are all carefully noted, because none of them would be applicable to the ordinary respectable female.

The fine lady disliked tobacco. The author of "A Pipe of Tobacco," in Dodsley's well-known "Collection," to which reference has already been made, wrote:

Ladies, when pipes are brought, affect to swoon;  
They love no smoke, except the smoke of Town.  
\* \* \* \* \*

Citronia vows it has an odious stink;  
She will not smoke (ye gods!) – but she will drink;

and the same writer describes tobacco as "By ladies hated, hated by the beaux." Although the fine lady may have affected to swoon at the sight of pipes, and belles generally, like the beaux, may have disdained tobacco as vulgar, yet there were doubtless still to be found here and there respectable women who occasionally indulged in a smoke. In an early *Spectator*, Addison gives the rules of a "Twopenny Club, erected in this Place, for the Preservation of Friendship and good Neighbourhood," which met in a little ale-house and was frequented by artisans and mechanics. Rule II was, "Every member shall fill his pipe out of his own box"; and Rule VII was, "If any member brings his wife into the club, he shall pay for whatever she drinks or smokes."

In one of the valuable volumes issued by the Georgian Society of Dublin a year or two ago, Dr. Mahaffy, writing on the mid-eighteenth century society of the Irish capital, quotes an advertisement by a Dublin tobacconist of "mild pigtail for ladies" which suggests the alarming question – Did Irish ladies chew?



It has sometimes been supposed that the companion of Swift's Stella, Mrs. Rebecca Dingley, was addicted to smoking. In the letters which make up the famous "Journal to Stella," there are several references by Swift to the presents of tobacco which he was in the habit of sending to Mrs. Dingley. On September 21, 1710, he wrote: "I have the finest piece of Brazil tobacco for Dingley that ever was born." In the following month he again had a great piece of Brazil tobacco for the same lady, and again in November: "I have made Delaval promise to send me some Brazil tobacco from Portugal for you, Madam Dingley." In December, Swift was expressing his hope that Dingley's tobacco had not spoiled the chocolate which he had sent for Stella in the same parcel; and three months later he wrote: "No news of your box? I hope you have it, and are this minute drinking the chocolate, and that the smell of the Brazil tobacco has not affected it." The explanation of all this tobacco for Mistress Dingley is to be found in Swift's letter to Stella of October 23, 1711. "Then there's the miscellany," he writes, "an apron for Stella, a pound of chocolate, without sugar, for Stella, a fine snuff-rasp of ivory, given me by Mrs. St. John for Dingley, and a large roll of tobacco which she must hide or cut shorter out of modesty, and four pair of spectacles for the Lord knows who." The tobacco was clearly not for smoking, but for Dingley to operate upon with the snuff-rasp, and so supply herself with snuff - a luxury, which in those days, was as much enjoyed and as universally used by women as by men.

Even Quakeresses sometimes smoked. A list of the sea-stores put on board the ship in which certain friends - Samuel Fothergill, Mary Peisly, Katherine Payton and others- sailed from Philadelphia for England in June 1756, is still extant. In those days Atlantic passages were long, and might last for an indefinite period, and passengers provisioned themselves accordingly. On this occasion the passage though stormy was very quick, for it lasted only thirty-four days. The list of provisions taken is truly formidable. It includes all sorts of eatables and drinkables in astonishing quantities. The "Women's Chest," we are told, contained, among a host of other good and useful things, "Balm, sage, summer Savoury, horehound, Tobacco, and Oranges; two bottles of Brandy, two bottles of Jamaica Spirrit, A Canister of green tea, a Jar of Almond paste, Ginger bread." Samuel Fothergill's "new chest" contained tobacco among many other things; and a box of pipes was among the miscellaneous stores.

The history of smoking by women through Victorian days need not detain us long. There have always been pipe-smokers among the women of the poorer classes. Up to the middle of the last century smoking was very common among the hard-working women of Northumberland and the Scottish border. Nor has the practice by any means yet died out. In May 1913, a woman, who was charged with drunkenness at the West Ham police court, laid the blame for her condition on her pipe. She said she had smoked it for twenty years, and "it always makes me giddy!" The writer, in August 1913, saw a woman seated by the roadside in County Down, Ireland, calmly smoking a large briar pipe.



It is not so very long ago that an English traveller heard a working-man courteously ask a Scottish fish-wife, who had entered a smoking-compartment of the train, whether she objected to smoking. The good woman slowly produced a well-seasoned "cutty" pipe, and as she began to cut up a "fill" from a rank-smelling tobacco, replied: "Na, na, laddie, I've come in here for a smoke ma'sel."

The *Darlington and Stockton Times* in 1856 recorded the death on December 10, at Wallbury, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, in the 110th year of her age, of Jane Garbutt, widow. Mrs. Garbutt had been twice married, her husbands having been sailors during the Napoleonic wars. The old woman, said the journal, "had dwindled into a small compass, but she was free from pain, retaining all her faculties to the last, and enjoying her pipe. About a year ago the writer of this notice paid her a visit, and took her, as a 'brother-piper,' a present of tobacco, which ingredient of bliss was always acceptable from her visitors. Asking of her the question how long she had smoked, her reply was 'Vary nigh a hundred years'!" In 1845 there died at Buxton, at the age of ninety-six, a woman named Pheasy Molly, who had been for many years an inveterate smoker. Her death was caused by the accidental ignition of her clothes as she was lighting her pipe at the fire. She had burned herself more than once before in performing the same operation; but her pipe she was bound to have, and so met her end.

The old Irishwomen who were once a familiar feature of London street-life as sellers of apples and other small wares at street corners, were often hardened smokers; and so were, and doubtless still are, many of the gipsy women who tramp the country. An old Seven Dials ballad has the following choice stanza –

When first I saw Miss Bailey,  
'Twas on a Saturday,  
At the Corner Pin she was drinking gin,  
And smoking a yard of clay.

Up to about the middle of Queen Victoria's reign female smoking in the nineteenth century in England may be said to have been pretty well confined to women of the classes and type already mentioned. Respectable folk in the middle and upper classes would have been horrified at the idea of a pipe or a cigar between feminine lips; and cigarettes had been used by men for a long time before it began to be whispered that here and there a lady – who was usually considered dreadfully "fast" for her pains – was accustomed to venture upon a cigarette.

In "Puck," 1870, Ouida represented one of her beautiful young men, Vy Bruce, as "murmuring idlest nonsense to Lilian Lee, as he lighted one of his cigarettes for her use" – but Lilian Lee was a *cocotte*.

An amusing incident is related in Forster's "Life of Dickens," which shows how entirely unknown was smoking among women of the middle and upper classes in England some ten years after Queen Victoria came to the throne. Dickens was at Lausanne and Geneva in the autumn of 1846. At his hotel in Geneva he met a remarkable mother and daughter, both English, who admired him greatly, and



whom he had previously known at Genoa. The younger lady's conversation would have shocked the prim maids and matrons of that day. She asked Dickens if he had ever "read such infernal trash" as Mrs. Gore's; and exclaimed "Oh God! what a sermon we had here, last Sunday." Dickens and his two daughters – "who were decidedly in the way, as we agreed afterwards" – dined by invitation with the mother and daughter. The daughter asked him if he smoked. "Yes," said Dickens, "I generally take a cigar after dinner when I'm alone." Thereupon said the young lady, "I'll give you a good 'un when we go upstairs." But the sequel must be told in the novelist's own inimitable style. "Well, sir," he wrote, "in due course we went upstairs, and there we were joined by an American lady residing in the same hotel ... also a daughter ... American lady married at sixteen; American daughter sixteen now, often mistaken for sisters, &c. &c. &c. When that was over, the younger of our entertainers brought out a cigar-box, and gave me a cigar, made of negrohead she said, which would quell an elephant in six whiffs. The box was full of cigarettes – good large ones, made of pretty strong tobacco; I always smoke them here, and used to smoke them at Genoa, and I knew them well. When I lighted my cigar, daughter lighted hers, at mine; leaned against the mantelpiece, in conversation with me; put out her stomach, folded her arms, and with her pretty face cocked up sideways and her cigarette smoking away like a Manchester cotton mill, laughed, and talked, and smoked, in the most gentlemanly manner I ever beheld. Mother immediately lighted her cigar; American lady immediately lighted hers; and in five minutes the room was a cloud of smoke, with us four in the centre pulling away bravely, while American lady related stories of her 'Hookah' upstairs, and described different kinds of pipes. But even this was not all. For presently two Frenchmen came in, with whom, and the American lady, daughter sat down to whist. The Frenchmen smoked of course (they were really modest gentlemen and seemed dismayed), and daughter played for the next hour or two with a cigar continually in her mouth – never out of it. She certainly smoked six or eight. Mother gave in soon – I think she only did it out of vanity. American lady had been smoking all the morning. I took no more; and daughter and the Frenchmen had it all to themselves. Conceive this in a great hotel, with not only their own servants, but half a dozen waiters coming constantly in and out! I showed no atom of surprise, but I never was so surprised, so ridiculously taken aback, in my life; for in all my experience of 'ladies' of one kind and another, I never saw a woman – not a basket woman or a gipsy – smoke before!" This last remark is highly significant. Forster says that Dickens "lived to have larger and wider experience, but there was enough to startle as well as amuse him in the scene described." The words "cigar" and "cigarette" are used indifferently by the novelist, but it seems clear from the description and from the number smoked by the lady in an hour or two, that it was a cigarette and not a cigar, properly so called, which was never out of her mouth.

The ladies who so surprised Dickens were English and American, but at the period in question – the early 'forties of the last century – one of the freaks of fashion at Paris was the giving



of luncheon parties for ladies only, at which cigars were handed round.

The first hints of feminine smoking in England may be traced, like so many other changes in fashion, in the pages of *Punch*. In 1851, steady-going folk were alarmed and shocked at a sudden and short-lived outburst of "bloomerism," imported from the United States. Of course it was at once suggested that women who would go so far as to imitate masculine attire and to emancipate themselves from the usual conventions of feminine dress, would naturally seek to imitate men in other ways also. Leech had a picture of "A Quiet Smoke" in *Punch*, which depicted five ladies in short wide skirts and "bloomers" in a tobacconist's shop, two smoking cigars and one a pipe, while "one of the inferior animals" behind the counter was selling tobacco. But this was satire and hardly had much relation to fact.

It was not until the 'sixties of the last century that cigarette-smoking by women began to creep in. Mortimer Collins, writing in 1869, in a curious outburst against the use of tobacco by young men, said, "When one hears of sly cigarettes between feminine lips at croquet parties, there is no more to be said." Since that date cigarette-smoking has become increasingly popular among women, and the term "sly" has long ceased to be applicable. "Punch's Pocket-Book" for 1878 had an amusing skit on a ladies' reading-party, to which Mr. Punch acted as "coach." After breakfast the reading ladies lounged on the lawn with cigarettes.

What Queen Victoria, who hated tobacco and banished it from her presence and from her abodes as far as she could, would have thought and said of the extent to which cigarette-smoking is indulged in now by women, is a question quite unanswerable. Yet Queen Victoria once received a present of pipes and tobacco. By the hands of Sir Richard Burton the Queen had sent a damask tent, a silver pipe, and two silver trays to the King of Dahomey. That potentate told Sir Richard that the tent was very handsome, but too small; that the silver pipe did not smoke so well as his old red clay with a wooden stem; and that though he liked the trays very much, he thought them hardly large enough to serve as shields. He hoped that the next gifts would include a carriage and pair, and a white woman, both of which he would appreciate very much. However, he sent gifts in return to her Britannic Majesty, and among them were a West African state umbrella, a selection of highly coloured clothing materials, and some native pipes and tobacco for the Queen to smoke.

Many royal ladies of Europe, contemporaries of Queen Victoria and her son, have had the reputation of being confirmed smokers. Among them may be named Carmen Sylva, the poetess – Queen of Roumania, the Dowager Tsaritsa of Russia, the late Empress of Austria, King Alfonso's mother, formerly Queen-Regent of Spain, the Dowager Queen Margherita of Italy and ex-Queen Amélie of Portugal. It is, of course, well known that Austrian and Russian ladies generally are fond of cigarette-smoking. On Russian railways it is not unusual to find a compartment labelled "For ladies who do not smoke."



The newspapers reported not long ago from the other side of the Atlantic that the "smart" women of Chicago had substituted cigars for cigarettes. According to an interview with a Chicago hotel proprietor, the fair smokers "select their cigars as men do, either black and strong, or light, according to taste." How in the world else could they select them? It is not likely, however, that cigar-smoking will become popular among women. For one thing, it leaves too strong and too clinging an odour on the clothes.

One of the latest announcements, however, in the fashion pages of the newspapers is the advent of "Smoking Jackets" for ladies! We are informed in the usual style of such pages, that "the well-dressed woman has begun to consider the little smoking-jacket indispensable." This jacket, we are told "is a very different matter to the braided velvet coats which were donned by our masculine forbears in the days of long drooping cavalry moustaches, tightly buttoned frock-coats, and flexible canes. The feminine smoking-jacket of to-day is worn with entrancing little evening or semi-evening frocks, and represents a compromise between a cloak and a coat, being exquisitely draped and fashioned of the softest and most attractive of the season's beautiful fabrics."

There are still many good people nowadays who are shocked at the idea of women smoking; and to them may be commended the common-sense words of Bishop Boyd-Carpenter, formerly of Ripon, who arrived in New York early in 1913 to deliver a series of lectures at Harvard University. The American newspapers reported him as saying, with reference to this subject: "Many women in England who are well thought of, smoke. I do not attempt to enter into the ethical part of this matter, but this much I say: if men find it such a pleasure to smoke, why shouldn't women? There are many colours in the rainbow; so there are many tastes in people. What may be a pleasure to men may be given to women. When we find women smoking, as they do in some branches of society to-day, the mere pleasure of that habit must be accepted as belonging to both sexes."

1611

The mild species of [tobacco](#) *Nicotiana rustica* which the natives of the east coast of the American mainland had been cultivating has a small, round leaf and was commonly referred to as poke. (Because it was cultivated by native persons of color rather than by white people, it has come now to be referred to as "wild" tobacco.) In this year John Rolfe imported another stronger-tasting species *Nicotiana tabacum* from Trinidad, that had a broad, long leaf, pointed at the end. (Whether this early switcheroo in and of itself was enough to create our modern lung-cancer epidemic is quite unknown.)

DOPERS



1612

March 12, Thursday (1611, Old Style): The 3d Virginia Charter. Virginia Governor Sir Thomas Dale enacted the Divine, Moral and Martial Laws, which provided [capital punishment](#) even for the pilfering of someone else's grapes, the killing of someone else's chickens — and, of course, it goes without saying, trading with the local natives.

[READ ABOUT VIRGINIA](#)

To help save the desperately struggling Jamestown settlement, John Rolfe (whose English wife and child had recently died in the New World) was experimenting with a crop of “tall [tobacco](#).”<sup>15</sup> Rolfe shunned the harsh product grown by the local Indians, *Nicotiana rustica* or “poke,” and somehow obtained seeds of the coveted *Nicotiana tabacum* strain then being grown in Trinidad and South America. Then Pocahontas (who, although

15. [Tobacco](#) is a pioneer species, and although the second crop on virgin land is better than the first, after four crops the land must be abandoned to crops such as maize that do not place such heavy demands upon the richness of the soil. Tobacco would be profitably grown only where there were vast quantities of virgin land to be wrested from nature and from the native Americans, and where great numbers of black slaves could be brought in from Africa to clear and plant these new fields and process the crop. Otherwise, white man, forget tobacco as a crop, because you're never going to become a rich planter and sit on the cool porch of a colonnaded mansion sipping mint juleps and whipping your darkies for fun — you're going to become, instead, a poor-white-trash tobacco grubber and chewer with a red neck living in an unpainted shack by the side of the road and swigging moonshine out of a Mason jar.



## PLANTS

SIK'AR

young, already had a husband in her tribe) entered Rolfe's life. Relations with the natives had continually



plagued the settlers. While the Americans were holding several English captive, the colonists captured the chief's beloved young daughter, Pocahontas, in order to have an important hostage of their own. [John Smith's](#) later writings assure us that a few years earlier at the age of 12, Pocahontas had dramatically saved Smith from her father, the Powhattan's, wrath. The incident could more likely have been a ceremonial "saving," or nonexistent, but it is more verifiably established that in the early days she did indeed help the colony — with food or with warnings of attack. How much did Pocahontas know about tobacco? It is true that Powhattan women grew the food, while in a completely separate sector, in a sort of back area of the village, the men grew the tobacco. "Frisky," however, had a seemingly insatiable curiosity, and tended to roam where she wanted. It is likely she either already knew a great deal about tobacco cultivation, or knew how to get answers.

But, how did Pocahontas become a captive, a hostage? We can read what Sir Samuel Argall or Argoll wrote about his expedition to capture the princess Pocahontas and hold her for ransom in PURCHAS: HIS PILGRIMES (1625) Volume IV, page 1765, "A letter of Sir Samuel Argoll touching his Voyage to Virginia, and actions there. Written to Master Nicholas Hawes, June, 1613.":

Whilst I was in this business, I was told by certaine Indians, my friends, that the Great Powhatans Daughter Pokahuntis was



with the great King Patowoneck, whether I presently repaired, resolving to possesse myselfe of her by any strategem that I could use, for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with Powhatan; as also to get such armes and tooles, as hee, and other Indians had got by murther and stealing from others of our Nation, with some quantitie of corne, for the Colonies reliefe. ... As soon as I had unladen this corne, I set my men to the felling of Timber, for the building of a Frigat, which I had left half finished at Point Comfort, the 19. of March: and returned myself with the ship into Pembrook [Potomac] River, and so discovered to the head of it, which is about 65 leagues into the Land, and navigable for any ship. And then marching into the Countrie, I found great store of Cattle as big as Kine [Eastern Wood Bison, *Bison bison pennsylvanicus*], of which the Indians that were my guides killed a couple, which we found to be very good and wholesome meate, and are very easie to be killed, in regard they are heavy, slow, and not so wild as other beasts of the wildernesse.

The dramatic success of the white settlers' tobacco crop is credited not only to Rolfe's importation of the Spanish strain, but to his finding better ways of growing and curing it, and we may only conjecture how much he was guided in this by Pocahontas. During captivity, the girl received daily bible lessons, and eventually converted to Christianity, her name becoming "Rebecca."



Jamestown would grow rich on [tobacco](#) and the import duties would alter King James I's attitude toward tobacco. In [China](#) in this year, however, an imperial edict forbade either the cultivation or the use of this plant.

1613

The Powhatan has shown the Virginia English how to grow [tobacco](#) and the increasing demand for it in England brought even more colonists, with more claims to Indian land. The war escalated with prisoners being captured on both sides. Pocahontas was kidnapped and she was offered in exchange for all English prisoners. The Indians complied but Pocahontas was not returned by the English. She had converted to Christianity, was baptized and took the name Rebecca, and announced she would marry (despite already being married in the tribe) the widower John Rolfe, her teacher. Peace terms were arranged the next year and another year later Pocahontas/Lady Rebecca would give birth to a son.

From this year until 1689, in Russia under the early Romanovs, [tobacco](#) would be prohibited.



June: John Rolfe (whose English wife and child had died subsequent to their emigration to the New World) exported his 1st crop of his improved “tall [tobacco](#)” *Nicotiana tabacum* of the West Indies grown on the Virginia coast, to England (other sources declare the date to be June 28, 1614 and July 22, 1620).

## READ ABOUT VIRGINIA

### 1614

Isaac Casaubon's *DE REBUS SACRIS*.

- 1610 Henry IV. is murdered at Paris by Ravaillac, a priest.
- 1611 Baronets first created in England by James I.
- 1614 Napier of Marcheston, in Scotland, invents the logarithms.  
Sir Hugh Middleton brings the New River to London, from Ware.
- 1616 The first permanent settlement in Virginia.
- 1619 Dr. W. Harvey, an Englishman, discovers the doctrine of the circulation of the blood.
- 1620 The broad silk manufactory from raw silk introduced into England.
- 1621 New England planted by the Puritans.
- 1625 King James dies, and is succeeded by his son, Charles I.  
The island of Barbadoes, the first English settlement in the West Indies, is planted.
- 1632 The battle of Lutzen, in which Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and head of the protestants in Germany, is killed,
- 1635 Province of Maryland planted by lord Baltimore.  
Regular posts established from London to Scotland, Ireland, &c.
- 1640 King Charles disobliges his Scottish subjects, on which their army, under general Lesley, enters England, and takes Newcastle, being encouraged by the malcontents in England.
- 1641 The massacre in Ireland, when 40,000 English protestants were killed.
- 1642 King Charles impeaches five members, who had opposed his arbitrary measures, which begins the civil war in England.
- 1643 Excise on beer, ale, &c. first imposed by parliament.
- 1649 Charles I. beheaded at Whitehall, January 30, aged 49.
- 1654 Cromwell assumes the protectorship.
- 1655 The English, under admiral Penn, take Jamaica from the Spaniards.
- 1658 Cromwell dies, and is succeeded in the protectorship by his son Richard.
- 1660 King Charles II. is restored by Monk, commander of the army, after an exile of twelve years in France and Holland.

➡ Presumably the *Datura stramonium* Jimsonweed was brought along with some *Nicotiana tabacum* imported from Trinidad, unless it had already been imported to the continent as a native American trade item for use in initiation ceremonies.

A

## Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of America, known to us by the name of NEW-ENGLAND.*

*Anno Dom.*

1614. *Bermudas* Planted.

➡ First sale in England of *tobacco* produced along the Virginia coast. The smoking of *tobacco* had spread rapidly in England, and this had become an expensive fad among the court and nobility. Many also took up smoking as a preventative against the plague. NEPENTHES, OR THE VERTUES OF TABACCO, by William Barclay of Edinburgh, touted the plant's medicinal qualities, recommending exclusively that of American origin, but concern was increasing that *tobacco* was undermining the moral and economic well being of the country. Anti-*tobacco* writings were beginning to appear, attacking the exorbitant medicinal claims and excessive recreational use by fashionable dandies. King James I made the import of this suspicious vegetable substance a Royal monopoly, available for a yearly fee of £14,000.



King Philip III of Spain ordered that all tobacco grown in the Spanish New World be shipped to a central location, Seville, Spain. Seville was to become the world center for the production of *cigars*. European



SIK'AR

PLANTS

[cigarette](#) use would begin here as beggars patched together tobacco from used cigars into *papeletes* by rolling it in paper. Spanish and Portuguese sailors would spread the practice to Russia and the Levant.

“[T]here be 7000 shops, in and about London, that doth vent tobacco”

— THE HONESTIE OF THIS AGE,  
PROOVING BY GOOD CIRCUMSTANCE  
THAT THE WORLD WAS NEVER HONEST TILL NOW,  
BY BARNABEE RYCH GENTLEMAN.

But for the time being the drug delivery apparatus of choice was the [pipe](#), with its attendant pipe dreams.

June 28, Tuesday (Old Style): John Rolfe exported his 1st crop of his improved “tall [tobacco](#)” *Nicotiana tabacum* of the West Indies grown on the Virginia coast, to England (other sources declare the date to be June 1613 and July 22, 1620).



## II

## TOBACCO TRIUMPHANT: SMOKING FASHIONABLE AND UNIVERSAL<sup>16</sup>

Tobacco engages  
Both sexes, all ages,  
The poor as well as the wealthy;  
From the court to the cottage,  
From childhood to dotage,  
Both those that are sick and the healthy.  
*Wits' Recreations*, 1640.

This chapter and the next deal with the history of smoking during the first fifty years after its introduction as a social habit – roughly to 1630.

The use of tobacco spread with extraordinary rapidity among all classes of society. During the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign and through the early decades of the seventeenth century tobacco-pipes were in full blast. Tobacco was triumphant.

Perhaps the most noteworthy thing about smoking at this period, from the social point of view, was its fashionableness. One of the marked characteristics of the gallant – the beau or dandy or "swell" of the time – was his devotion to tobacco. Earle says that a gallant was one that was born and shaped for his clothes – but clothes were only a part of his equipment. Bishop Hall, satirizing the young man of fashion in 1597, describes the delicacies with which he was accustomed to indulge his appetite, and adds that, having eaten, he "Quaffs a whole tunnel of tobacco smoke"; and old Robert Burton, in satirically enumerating the accomplishments of "a complete, a well-qualified gentleman," names to "take tobacco with a grace," with hawking, riding, hunting, card-playing, dicing and the like. The qualifications for a gallant were described by another writer in 1603 as "to make good faces, to take Tobacco well, to spit well, to laugh like a waiting gentlewoman, to lie well, to blush for nothing, to looke big upon little fellowes, to scoffe with a grace ... and, for a neede, to ride prettie and well."

A curious feature of tobacco-manners among fashionable smokers of the period was the practice of passing a pipe from one to another, after the fashion of the "loving cup." There is a scene in "Greene's Tu Quoque," 1614, laid in a fashionable ordinary, where the London gallants meet as usual, and one says to a companion who is smoking: "Please you to impart your smoke?" "Very willingly, sir," says the smoker. Number two takes a whiff or two and courteously says: "In good faith, a pipe of excellent vapour!" The owner of the pipe then explains that it is "the

16. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



best the house yields," whereupon the other immediately depreciates it, saying affectedly: "Had you it in the house? I thought it had been your own: 'tis not so good now as I took it for!" Another writer of this time speaks of one pipe of tobacco sufficing "three or four men at once."

The rich young gallant carried about with him his tobacco apparatus (often of gold or silver) in the form of tobacco-box, tobacco-tongs – wherewith to lift a live coal to light his pipe, ladle "for the cold snuffe into the nostrill," and priming-iron. Sometimes the tobacco-box was of ivory; and occasionally a gallant would have looking-glass set in his box, so that when he took it out to obtain tobacco, he could at the same time have a view of his own delectable person. When our gallant went to dine at the ordinary, according to the custom of the time, he brought out these possessions, and smoked while the dinner was being served. Before dinner, after taking a few turns up and down Paul's Walk in the old cathedral, he might look into the booksellers' shops, and, pipe in mouth, inquire for the most recent attack upon the "divine weed" – the contemporary tobacco literature was abundant – or drop into an apothecary's, which was usually a tobacco-shop also, and there meet his fellow-smokers.

In the afternoon the gallant might attend what Dekker calls a "Tobacco-ordinary," by which may possibly have been meant a smoking-club, or, more probably, the gathering after dinner at one of the many ordinaries in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Cathedral of "tobacconists," as smokers were then called, to discuss the merits of their respective pipes, and of the various kinds of tobacco – "whether your Cane or your Pudding be sweetest."

Of course he often bragged, like Julio in Day's "Law Trickes": "Tobacco? the best in Europe, 't cost me ten Crownes an ounce, by this vapour."

An amusing example of the bragging "tobacconist" is pictured for us in Ben Jonson's "Bobadil." Bobadil may perhaps be somewhat of an exaggerated caricature, but it is probable that the dramatist in drawing him simply exaggerated the characteristic traits of many smokers of the day. This hero, drawing tobacco from his pocket, declares that it is all that is left of seven pounds which he had bought only "yesterday was seven-night." A consumption of seven pounds of tobacco in eight days is a pretty "tall order"! Then he goes on to brag of its quality – your right Trinidado – and to assert that he had been in the Indies, where the herb grows, and where he himself and a dozen other gentlemen had for the space of one-and-twenty weeks known no other nutriment than the fume of tobacco. This again was tolerably "steep" even for this Falstaff-like braggart. He continues with more bombast in praise of the medicinal virtues of the herb – virtues which were then very firmly and widely believed in – and is replied to by Cob, the anti-tobacconist, who, with equal exaggeration on the other side, denounces tobacco, and declares that four people had died in one house from the use of it in the preceding week, and that one had "voided a bushel of soot"!





The properly accomplished gallant not only professed to be curiously learned in pipes and tobacco, but his knowledge of prices and their fluctuations, of the apothecaries' and other shops where the herb was sold, and of the latest and most fashionable ways of inhaling and exhaling the smoke, was, like Mr. Weller's knowledge of London, "extensive and peculiar." It was knowledge of this kind that gained for a gallant reputation and respect by no means to be acquired by mere scholarship and learning.

The satirical Dekker might class "tobacconists" with "feather-makers, cobweb-lawne-weavers, perfumers, young country gentlemen and fools," but he bears invaluable witness to the devotion of the fashionable men of the day to the "costlye and gentleman-like Smoak."

It was customary for a man to carry a case of pipes about with him. In a play of 1609 ("Everie Woman in her Humour") there is an inventory of the contents of a gentleman's pocket, with a value given for each item, which displays certainly a curious assortment of articles. First comes a brush and comb worth fivepence, and next a looking-glass worth three halfpence. With these aids to vanity are a case of tobacco-pipes valued at fourpence, half an ounce of tobacco valued at sixpence, and three pence in coin, or, as it is quaintly worded, "in money and golde." Satirists of course made fun of the smoker's pocketful of apparatus. A pamphleteer of 1609 says: "I behelde pipes in his pocket; now he draweth forth his tinder-box and his touchwood, and falleth to his tacklings; sure his throat is on fire, the smoke flyeth so fast from his mouth."

It may be noted, by the way, that the gallant had no hesitation about smoking in the presence of ladies. Gostanzo, in Chapman's "All Fools," 1605, says:

And for discourse in my fair mistress's presence  
I did not, as you barren gallants do,  
Fill my discourses up drinking tobacco.

And in Ben Jonson's "Every Man out of his Humour," 1600, Fastidious Brisk, "a neat, spruce, affecting courtier," smokes while he talks to his mistress. A feather-headed gallant, when in the presence of ladies, often found himself, like others of his tribe of later date, gravelled for lack of matter for conversation, and the puffing of tobacco-smoke helped to occupy the pauses.

When our gallant went to the theatre he loved to occupy one of the stools at the side of the stage. There he could sit and smoke and embarrass the actors with his audible criticisms of play and players.

It chaunc'd me gazing at the Theater,  
To spie a Lock-Tabacco Chevalier  
Clowding the loathing ayr with foggie fume  
Of Dock Tobacco friendly foe to rhume -

says a versifier of 1599, who did not like smoking in the theatre and so abused the quality of the tobacco smoked - though



admitting its medicinal virtue. Dekker suggests, probably with truth, that one reason why the young gallant liked to push his way to a stool on the stage, notwithstanding "the mewes and hisses of the opposed rascality" – the "mewes" must have been the squeals or whistles produced by the instrument which was later known as a cat-call – was the opportunity such a prominent position afforded for the display of "the best and most essential parts of a gallant – good cloathes, a proportionable legge, white hand, the Persian lock, and a tolerable beard." Apparently, too, serving-boys were within call, and thus lights could easily be obtained, which were handed to one another by the smokers on the points of their swords.

Ben Jonson has given us an amusing picture of the behaviour of gallants on the Elizabethan stage, in his "Cynthia's Revels." In this scene a child thus mimics the obtrusive beau: "Now, sir, suppose I am one of your genteel auditors, that am come in (having paid my money at the door, with much ado), and here I take my place, and sit downe. I have my three sorts of tobacco in my pocket, my light by me, and thus I begin. 'By this light, I wonder that any man is so mad, to come to see these rascally tits play here – they do act like so many wrens – not the fifth part of a good face amongst them all – and then their musick is abominable – able to stretch a man's ears worse than ten – pillories, and their ditties – most lamentable things, like the pitiful fellows that make them – poets. By this vapour – an't were not for tobacco – I think – the very smell of them would poison me, I should not dare to come in at their gates. A man were better visit fifteen jails – or a dozen or two hospitals – than once adventure to come near them.'" And the young rascal, who at each pause marked by a dash had puffed his pipe, no doubt blowing an extra large "cloud" when he swore "by this vapour," turns to his companions and says: "How is't? Well?" and they pronounce his mimicry "Excellent!"

Smoking was not confined to the auditors on the stage, who paid sixpence each for a stool. There was the "lords' room" over the stage, which seems to have corresponded with the modern stage boxes, the price of admission to which appears to have been a shilling, where the pipe was also in full blast. Dekker tells how a gallant at a new play would take a place in the "twelve penny room, next the stage, because the lords and you may seem to be hail fellow, well met"; and Jonson, in "Every Man out of his Humour," 1600, speaks of one who pretended familiarity with courtiers, that he talked of them as if he had "taken tobacco with them over the stage, in the lords' room."

Among the general audience of the theatre smoking seems to have been usual also. The anti-tobacconists among those present, few of whom were men, must have suffered by the practice. In that admirable burlesque comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher, "The Knight of the Burning Pestle," 1613, the citizen's wife, addressing herself either to the gallants on the stage, or to her fellow-spectators sitting around her, exclaims: "Fy! This stinking tobacco kills men! Would there were none in England! Now I pray, gentlemen, what good does this stinking tobacco do you? Nothing, I warrant you; make chimneys a' your faces!" But many women



viewed tobacco differently, as we shall see in the chapter on "Smoking by Women." Moreover, this good woman herself, in the epilogue to the burlesque, invites the gentlemen whom she has before abused for smoking, to come to her house where she will entertain them with "a pottle of wine, and a pipe of tobacco."

Hentzner, the German traveller, who visited London in 1598, speaks of smoking being customary among the audience at plays, who were also supplied with "fruits, such as apples, pears and nuts, according to the season, carried about to be sold, as well as ale and wine." He was struck with the universal prevalence of the tobacco-habit. Not only at plays, but "everywhere else," he says, the "English are constantly smoking tobacco," and then he proceeds to describe how they did it: "They have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the further end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder; and putting fire to it, they draw the smoak into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils, like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxions from the head." This suggests that the unpleasant and quite unnecessary habit of spitting was common with these early smokers, a suggestion which is amply supported by other contemporary evidence.

Tobacco was smoked by all classes and in almost all places. It was smoked freely in the streets. In some verses prefixed to an edition of Skelton's "Elinour Rummyng" which appeared in 1624, the ghost of Skelton, who was poet-laureate to King Henry VIII, was made to say that he constantly saw smoking:

As I walked between  
Westminster Hall  
And the Church of Saint Paul,  
And so thorow the citie,  
Where I saw and did pittie  
My country men's cases,  
With fiery-smoke faces,  
Sucking and drinking  
A filthie weede stinking.

Tobacco-selling was sometimes curiously combined with other trades. A Fleet Street tobacconist of this time was also a dealer in worsted stockings. A mercer of Mansfield who died at the beginning of 1624, and who apparently carried on business also at Southwell, had a considerable stock of tobacco. In the Inventory of all his "cattalles and goods" which is dated 24 January 1624, there is included "It. in Tobacco 19.li 0. 0." Nineteen pounds' worth of tobacco, considering the then value of money, was no small stock for a mercer-tobacconist to carry.

But the apothecaries were the most usual salesmen, and their shops and the ordinaries were the customary day meeting-places for the more fashionable smokers. The taverns and inns, however, were also filled with smoke, and taverns were frequented by men of all social grades. Dekker speaks of the gallant leaving the tavern at night when "the spirit of wine and tobacco walkes" in his train. On the occasion of the accession of James I, 1603, when London was given up to rejoicing and revelry, we are told that "tobacconists [*i.e.* smokers] filled up whole Tavernes."



King James himself is an unwilling witness to the popularity of tobacco. He tells us that a man could not heartily welcome his friend without at once proposing a smoke. It had become, he says, a point of good-fellowship, and he that would refuse to take a pipe among his fellows was accounted "peevish and no good company." "Yea," he continues, with rising indignation, "the mistress cannot in a more mannerly kind entertain her servant than by giving him out of her fair hand a pipe of tobacco."

Smoking was soon as common in the country as in London. On Wednesday, April 16, 1621, in the course of a debate in the House of Commons, Sir William Stroud, who seems to have been a worthy disciple of that tobacco-hater, King James I, moved that he "would have tobacco banished wholly out of the kingdom, and that it may not be brought in from any part, nor used amongst us"; and Sir Grey Palmes said "that if tobacco be not banished, it will overthrow 100,000 men in England, for now it is so common that he hath seen ploughmen take it as they are at plough." Perhaps this terrible picture of a ploughman smoking as he followed his lonely furrow did not impress the House so much as Sir Grey evidently thought it would; at all events, tobacco was not banished.

Peers and squires and parsons and peasants alike smoked. The parson of Thornton, in Buckinghamshire, was so devoted to tobacco that when his supply of the weed ran short, he is said to have cut up the bell-ropes and smoked them! This is dated about 1630. In the well-known description of the famous country squire, Mr. Hastings, who was remarkable for keeping up old customs in the early years of the seventeenth century, we read of how his hall tables were littered with hawks' hoods, bells, old hats with their crowns thrust in, full of pheasants' eggs; tables, dice, cards, and store of tobacco-pipes.

Sir Francis Vere, in the account of his services by sea and land which he wrote about 1606, mentions that on an expedition to the Azores in 1597, the Earl of Essex, waiting for news of the enemy at St. Michael, "called for tobacco ... and so on horseback, with those Noblemen and Gentlemen on foot beside him, took tobacco, whilst I was telling his Lordship of the men I had sent forth, and orders I had given." Presently came the sound of guns, which "made his Lordship cast his pipe from him, and listen to the shooting."

Another famous nobleman, Lord Herbert of Cherbury —

All-virtuous Herbert! on whose every part

Truth might spend all her voice, fame all her art! —

was a smoker, as we know from a very curious passage in his well-known autobiography. He appears to have smoked not so much for pleasure as for supposed reasons of health. "It is well known," he wrote, "to those that wait in my chamber, that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body, are sweet, beyond what either can easily be believed, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my breath above others, before I used to take tobacco, which towards my latter time I was forced to take against certain rheums and



catarrhs that trouble me, which yet did not taint my breath for any long time." The autobiography was written about 1645, so as Lord Herbert did not smoke till towards the latter part of his life – he died in 1648 – he clearly was not one of those who took to tobacco in the first enthusiasm for the new indulgence.

When Robert, Earl of Essex, and Henry, Earl of Southampton, were tried for high treason in Westminster Hall on February 19, 1600-1, the members of the House of Lords, who with the Judges formed the Court, if we may believe the French Ambassador of the time, behaved in a remarkable and unseemly manner. In a letter to Monsieur de Rohan, the Ambassador declared that while the Earls and the Counsel were pleading, their lordships guzzled and smoked; and that when they gave their votes condemning the two Earls, they were stupid with eating and "yvres de tabac" – drunk with smoking. This was probably quite untrue as a representation of what actually took place; but it would hardly have been written had smoking not been a common practice among noble lords.

Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil, would appear to have been a smoker. In a letter addressed to him, John Watts, an alderman of London, wrote: "According to your request, I have sent the greatest part of my store of tobaca by the bearer, wishing that the same may be to your good liking. But this tobaca I have had this six months, which was such as my son brought home, but since that time I have had none. At this period there is none that is good to be had for money. Wishing you to make store thereof, for I do not know where to have the like, I have sent you of two sorts. Mincing Lane, 12 Dec. 1600."

A curious scene took place at Oxford in 1605 when King James visited the University. Two subjects were debated by learned dons before his Majesty, and one of them, at his own suggestion, was, "Whether the frequent use of tobacco is good for healthy men?" Among those who spoke were Doctors Ailworth, Gwyn, Gifford and Cheynell. The discussion, needless to say, being conducted in the presence of the author of the "Counterblaste to Tobacco," was not favourable to the herb. The King summed up in a speech which hopelessly begged the question while it contained plenty of strong denunciation. After his Majesty had spoken, one learned doctor, Cheynell, who is described by the recorder, Isaac Wake, the Public Orator of the University, as second to none of the doctors, had the courage to rise and, with a pipe held forth in his hand, to speak both wittily and eloquently in favour of tobacco from the medicinal point of view, praising it to the skies, says Wake, as of virtue beyond all other remedial agents. His wit pleased both the King and the whole assembly, whom it moved to laughter; but when he had finished, his Majesty made a lengthy rejoinder in which he said some curious things. He objected to the medicinal use of tobacco, and quite agreed with previous speakers that such a use must have arisen among Barbarians and Indians, who he went on to say had as much knowledge of medicine as they had of civilized customs. If, he argued, there were men whose bodies were benefited by tobacco-smoke, this did not so much redound to the credit of tobacco, as it did reflect upon the depraved condition of such men, that



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their bodies should have sunk to the level of those of Barbarians so as to be affected by remedies such as were effective on the bodies of Barbarians and Indians! His Majesty kindly suggested that doctors who believed in tobacco as a remedial agent should take themselves and their medicine of pollution off to join the Indians.

1616

June 3, Monday (Old Style): John Rolfe and Pocahontas arrived in London. With them was their one child, Thomas Rolfe.<sup>17</sup>



Each of them had been married before, although this factoid somewhat spoils the illusion.

Despite King James I's disapproval of the Jamestown colony's dependence on a crop he despised,<sup>18</sup> the very survival of the colony could be in Rolfe's hands, and, of course, James could not ignore the enormous import duties Rolfe's Virginia [tobacco](#), termed "Orinoco,"<sup>19</sup> brought to the royal treasury — Londoners and others around the world liked its taste and had begun to demand it. Since all sales had to be made through London, the English treasury was growing with every transaction. Rolfe's trip was a success despite the English king's fury at the idea that Rolfe, a mere commoner, had managed to marry a princess, and his fury at the thought

17. Rolfe's English wife and child had died after leaving with him for the New World, and young Pocahontas already had a native husband before she was kidnapped and took up housekeeping with this white widower. On an unknown date Thomas Rolfe would remarry a 3d time, with Jane Poythress. Their only child, date of birth unknown, would be given the name of Jane. Jane Rolfe married Colonel Robert Bolling in 1675, gave birth to a child in 1676 which was named John Bolling, and died either during or shortly after childbirth. This child grew up to be a Colonel like his father, was married to Mary Kennon, and left six children when he died in 1729: John Bolling, Jane Bolling Randolph, Mary Bolling Fleming, Elizabeth Bolling Gay, Martha Bolling Eldridge, and Anne Bolling Murray. These six children have descendants in at least the following families: Alfriend, Allen, Ambler, Archer, Austin, Bannister, Baskerville, Bentley, Berkeley, Bernard, Berry, Bland, Bolling, Bolton, Bott, Botts, Bradford, Branch, Brown, Buchanan, Buford, Burton, Byrd, Cabell, Carr, Cary, Catlett, Chalmers, Clarke, Cobbs, Coleman, Covington, Cross, Dandridge, Davies, Deane, Dixon, Doswell, Douglass, Duval, Eggleston, Elam, Eldridge, Ellett, Feing, Flood, Fox, Friend, Garrett, Gay, Gifford, Glover, Goode, Gordon, Grattan, Graves, Grayson, Green, Gregg, Griffin, Hackley, Hamilton, Hamlin, Hardaway, Harris, Harrison, Hereford, Houston, Hubbard, Irving, James, Jeffrey, Jones, Kincaid, Knox, Lea, Lewis, Logan, McRae, Macon, Markham, Maury, May, Meade, Megginson, Meredith, Mewburn, Michaux, Morris, Morrison, Murray, Page, Paulett, Perkins, Pleasants, Powell, Randolph, Rawlins, Robertson, Robinson, Roper, Ruffin, Russell, Scott, Shield, Skein, Skipwith, Southall, Stanard, Stockdell, Strange, Tazewell, Thornton, Throckmorton, Tucker, Vaughn, Walke, Wallace, Watkins, Watson, Webber, Weisiger, West, White, Whittle, Wiley, Willard, Williams, Winston, Woodlief, Woodridge, Yates, and Yuilee. (If any of your early Colonial family relatives are listed above, then you may conceivably be a descendant of Pocahontas, and you may consider that it is currently considered socially acceptable to be the descendant of an "Indian Princess" (in case you haven't noticed, race contamination applies primarily, in the public mentation, to the offspring of male nonwhites upon female whites — rather than vice versa). If you believe you have found an honorable ancestry, you should write to The Pocahontas Trails Genealogical Society, 3628 Cherokee Lane, Modesto CA 95356, for, should you be able to establish to these people's satisfaction that you are of blood descent from Pocahontas, you may be invited to pay dues. (Incidentally, as a point of information, are there any black Americans who take pride in descent from such an Indian Princess? Are there any red Americans who take pride in descent from such an Indian Princess? Or would this sort of thing be exclusively a pride mode of the white Americans?)

18. He had authored what many consider the 1st anti-smoking tract, "*De abusu tobacci*" ("A Counterblaste to Tobacco") in 1603.

19. John Rolfe had named his brand of [tobacco](#) "Orinoco" in order to evoke the mystery and exotic adventure of tobacco-popularizer [Sir Walter Raleigh](#)'s expeditions up the Orinoco river in Guiana in search of the legendary City of Gold, El Dorado.

that, should Powhattan die, Rolfe would become in the New World a king on a par with himself.<sup>20</sup>



The princess, Pocahontas, encountered [John Smith](#) once again in London, but because of their newly created class difference they were unable to rekindle their old relationship.

20. In a ceremony he had ordered a few years earlier, James had actually had a reluctant Powhatan crowned “King of Virginia.” Powhatan would die in April 1618 but King James I’s trepidations would not be realized. Note carefully that James’s objection was not that Rolfe had married outside his race, down, to a person of color, but that, a mere commoner, he had married up, outside his class.



1610 Henry IV. is murdered at Paris by Ravaillac, a priest.  
 1611 Baronets first created in England by James I.  
 1614 Napier of Marcheston, in Scotland, invents the logarithms.  
 Sir Hugh Middleton brings the New River to London, from Ware.  
 1616 The first permanent settlement in Virginia.  
 1619 Dr. W. Harvey, an Englishman, discovers the doctrine of the circulation of the blood.  
 1620 The broad silk manufactory from raw silk introduced into England.  
 1621 New England planted by the Puritans.  
 1625 King James dies, and is succeeded by his son, Charles I.  
 The island of Barbadoes, the first English settlement in the West Indies, is planted.  
 1632 The battle of Lutzen, in which Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and head of the protestants in Germany, is killed,  
 1635 Province of Maryland planted by lord Baltimore.  
 Regular posts established from London to Scotland, Ireland, &c.  
 1640 King Charles disobliges his Scottish subjects, on which their army, under general Lesley, enters England, and takes Newcastle, being encouraged by the malcontents in England.  
 1641 The massacre in Ireland, when 40,000 English protestants were killed.  
 1642 King Charles impeaches five members, who had opposed his arbitrary measures, which begins the civil war in England.  
 1643 Excise on beer, ale, &c. first imposed by parliament.  
 1649 Charles I. beheaded at Whitehall, January 30, aged 49.  
 1654 Cromwell assumes the protectorship.  
 1655 The English, under admiral Penn, take Jamaica from the Spaniards.  
 1658 Cromwell dies, and is succeeded in the protectorship by his son Richard.  
 1660 King Charles II. is restored by Monk, commander of the army, after an exile of twelve years in France and Holland.

1617

Despite their King James' belief that dipping and chewing tobacco was vile, Virginia planters start sending boatloads of *Nicotiana tabacum* to London. They advertised their product as medicine. Within twenty years, the settlers' annual tobacco exports exceed three million pounds weight, and within fifty years, fuel a land hunger that drives the Woodland Indians into near-extinction. The settlers changed European buyers' perceptions by sending only "mild," or non-hallucinogenic, tobaccos. (Earlier shipments had included the considerably more hallucinogenic *Nicotiana rustica*.) The tobacco was chewed or dipped, and advertised as a defense against bubonic plague. In 1665, for instance, diarist Samuel Pepys wrote that seeing quarantined houses "put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell and to chew — which took away my apprehension." Joseph Swetnam becomes the first English swordsman to encourage the use of the Italian-style lunge in a book (*The Schoole of the noble and worthy Science of Defence*). However, rather than naming the techniques Swetnam simply gave them several paragraphs of text.

English merchants carry Japanese matchlocks into Thailand "three or four at a Tyme" so that the government "would not take notice thereof." Japanese firearms were brought partly because they were better made, and



mainly because the Christian samurai in the Siamese king's bodyguard preferred them. Chinese merchants living in Sumatra start mixing cheap Bengali opium with expensive Dutch tobacco, and smoking the mixture in long pipes. While the practice quickly spreads throughout Indonesia, it takes a Ming Dynasty ban on tobacco smoking to popularize opium smoking inside China itself. Several Italian cities prohibit civilians from carrying pistols or swords without a license. Sometimes claimed as a prohibition against dueling, these restrictions actually protected wealthy merchants from kidnappers and robbers.

The emperor of Mongolia threatened the death penalty for use of [tobacco](#).

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Dr. William Vaughn wrote:

Tobacco that outlandish weede  
It spends the braine and spoiles the seede  
It dulls the spirite, it dims the sight  
It robs a woman of her right

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)

1618

As the smuggling of [tobacco](#) from Virginia into ports in England had increased, King James I had lowered the tariff in 1608 and had sold the right to collect it for government revenues. In this year such royal activities were expanded.

During this year and the next, the City of London provided £500 toward the transportation of its street children to the American coast known as Virginia, and rounded up some 200 and sent them off under the charge of a ship captain. This captain presumably, when his ship arrived off the colonies, would be forging indenture papers, forcing the children to make their marks upon these papers under the view of witnesses, and then selling off the children as indentured servants to the highest bidders.

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October 29, Thursday (Old Style): [Sir Walter Raleigh](#) smoked one last pipe of [tobacco](#) and, with a little help from a king and a commoner, had his head amputated in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, in London (On the scaffold he ran his finger along the edge of the axe and exclaimed, “’Tis a sharp remedy, but a sure cure for all ills.” With the charge having been treason, after its [beheading](#) the body needed of course to be quartered and eviscerated — so perhaps he should have run his finger along the edge of the executioner’s butcher knife as well as along the edge of his axe.)<sup>21</sup>



HEADCHOPPING

21. When their son Carew would die, the well-traveled head of the father and husband would finally be interred, on the south side of the altar at St. Margaret’s in Westminster, between the son’s body and the body from which since 1618 it had been detached.

## Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."



— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787

**"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."**

**—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853**

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>"Let me not seem to have lived in vain."</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>"Strike, man, strike."</i>
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	<i>Stay for the sign.</i>
1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: "We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience' sake." Friend William: "I die for Christ."</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>"Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus."</i>
<i>... other famous last words ...</i>			

**1619**

The Virginia colony made [cannabis](#) (hemp) cultivation mandatory.  
In Europe, hemp bounties were being paid.

**READ ABOUT VIRGINIA**

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1660 King Charles II. is restored by Monk, commander of the army, after an exile of twelve years in France and Holland.

The makers of clay pipes in London sought to associate themselves into a charter body choosing for themselves, as a sign, an image of a Moor holding a [pipe](#) and roll of [tobacco](#). Although anything that smacked of the encouragement of smoking made [King James I](#) unhappy, he did feel obliged to go along with

this economic activity of his subjects.



(man smoking clay pipe)

By this point Jamestown had exported 10 tons of [tobacco](#) to Europe and had become a boomtown. The export business was going so well the colonists were able to afford two imports which would greatly contribute to their productivity and quality of life. Upon arrival, 20 blacks and 90 “Young maids to make wives for so many of the former Tenants” were paid for in tobacco at so many pounds per person. The Virginia Company dictated they were to be priced at not less than “one hundredth and fiftie [pounds] of the best leafe Tobacco.” The Blacks were bought as indentured servants from a passing Dutch ship, but the young maids had been supplied by a private English company. The price the men paid for the young maids was primarily reimbursement of this company for the cost of their transportation.

End of August: From the diary of John Rolfe, back on the Virginia coast after the death of his wife, “About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty negars.” This first slave transport had arrived at Point Comfort in Virginia (not at Jamestown) a few days after the first meeting of the House of Burgesses. The standard account by W.F. Craven, pages 77-80 of *WHITE, RED, AND BLACK: THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIRGINIAN*, notes that this ship was of about 160 tons and that its Captain sold to the Governor, Sir George Yeardley, and to the Cape Merchant, Abraham Piersey, “20. and odd Negroes.” The ship *Treasurer* under Captain Daniel Elfrith, which was sailing along with this Dutch vessel as the result of “an accidental consortship in the West Indies,” did not arrive at Point Comfort until three or four days afterward, and there is no record of any blacks having been delivered or sold from the *Treasurer* – though there is a record that this ship went on to Bermuda and there did offload 14 blacks. All standard textbook accounts of this are in need of revision because of the recent discovery of a large cache of early Virginia records in the Ferrar Papers in the Old Library of Magdalen College, Cambridge. There is reported to be in these records an item marked March 1619 that lists 15 black men and 17 black women already living in the colony as well as 4 native Americans in service to the planters. Clearly persons of color were living and working in the colony well before the canonical date. When that famous 20 and odd people brought from Africa arrived as described above by the [tobacco](#) planter, there were according to the record already 32 persons of African descent present in the English colony and there is every reason to presume that these African persons of color were expected to work and work hard but no reason whatever to presume that at this point such persons would have been enslaved



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for life or would have been treated in any particular any different than, say, your normal Irish or Scotch bond-laborer. It is suspected that from this point forward, however, about 11,500,000 persons would be loaded aboard ships to be brought across from Africa, but that about 2,000,000 of these 11,500,000 persons would have to be thrown overboard as damaged merchandise leaving only about 9,500,000 persons to follow this initial consignment<sup>22</sup> of 20 persons onto the slave auction blocks of America.

This is what Howard Pyle (1853-1911) would make of it, for publication in the Harper's Monthly Magazine issue of January 1901 (Volume 102, page 172):

22. I use the term "consignment" because, according to a poorly recollected albeit well documented clause of the US Constitution, a white person coming to the New World is to be considered to be a passenger whereas a person of color coming to the New World is to be considered to constitute a cargo item!

HDT

WHAT?

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That Dutch man-of-war was out of Flushing, in Zeeland. The name *Jesus*, traditionally assigned, has been challenged:



SLAVERY

An interesting side issue: miscegenation in the USA began early, as the female captives disembarked from this ship had already been serviced and impregnated, by its crew. (At least, this will be found to be interesting by those who find this sort of thing interesting.)

These blacks were exchanged for food because that was what this ship needed. According to tradition, if the Africans had not been sellable, it is likely that they would have been thrown overboard to save their rations. The 90 English women that were being supplied by a private company cost 120 pounds of tobacco each, nominally to pay for their passage.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The Dutch seem to have commenced the slave-trade to the American continent, the Middle colonies and some of the Southern receiving supplies from them. John Rolfe relates that the last of August, 1619, there came to Virginia "a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars."<sup>23</sup> This was probably one of the ships of the numerous private Dutch trading-companies which early entered into and developed the lucrative African slave-trade. Ships sailed from Holland to Africa, got slaves in exchange for their goods, carried the slaves to the West Indies or Brazil, and returned home laden with sugar.<sup>24</sup> Through the enterprise of one of these trading-companies the settlement of New Amsterdam was begun, in 1614. In 1621 the private companies trading in the West were all merged into the Dutch West India Company, and given a monopoly of American trade. This company was very active, sending in four years 15,430 Negroes to Brazil,<sup>25</sup> carrying on war with Spain, supplying even the English plantations,<sup>26</sup> and gradually becoming the great slave carrier of the day.

The commercial supremacy of the Dutch early excited the envy and emulation of the English. The Navigation Ordinance of 1651 was aimed at them, and two wars were necessary to wrest the slave-

23. Smith, *GENERALL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA* (1626 and 1632), page 126.

24. Cf. Southey, *HISTORY OF BRAZIL*.

25. De Laet, in O'Callaghan, *VOYAGES OF THE SLAVERS*, etc., page viii.

26. See, e.g., Sainsbury, *CAL. STATE PAPERS; COL. SER., AMERICA AND W. INDIES, 1574-1660*, page 279.



trade from them and place it in the hands of the English. The final terms of peace among other things surrendered New Netherland to England, and opened the way for England to become henceforth the world's greatest slave-trader. Although the Dutch had thus commenced the continental slave-trade, they had not actually furnished a very large number of slaves to the English colonies outside the West Indies. A small trade had, by 1698, brought a few thousand to New York, and still fewer to New Jersey.<sup>27</sup> It was left to the English, with their strong policy in its favor, to develop this trade.

### READ ABOUT VIRGINIA

December 4, Saturday (Old Style): In the Berkeley Plantation of Virginia, an American Thanksgiving celebrated a good [tobacco](#) crop. (The holiday would be abandoned after the massacre of 1622.)

Wee ordaine that the day of our ships arrivall at the place assigned for plantacon in the land of Virginia shall be yearly and perpetually kept holy as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God.<sup>28</sup>

### 1620



In about this year [tobacco](#) was banned in [Japan](#) — indulging in tobacco is bad for you. (This decade would mark the beginning of the Japanese national policy of restriction of contact with the outside world. Indulging in the outside world is bad for you.)

A trade agreement between the Crown and the Virginia Company placed a ban upon commercial growing of the plant in England in return for a royal one-shilling/pound duty on Virginia production. 40,000 pounds of product were imported into England in this year from the Virginia coast of the New World.

### READ ABOUT VIRGINIA

27. Cf. below, pages 27, 32, notes; also FREEDOMS, XXX., in O'Callaghan, LAWS OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1638-74 (ed. 1868), page 10; Brodhead, HISTORY OF NEW YORK, I. 312.

28. On the Internet, Gabe Helou wrote: "In 1619 America's first Thanksgiving Day is celebrated in Virginia."

I responded to this that it was tendentious to refer to that locale as Virginia as opposed to New England, because in 1619 the entire American continental coastline under English influence, from Labrador to Georgia, was being considered to be Virginia (the northern portion of this coastline not yet being referred to as North Virginia, let alone as New England), and also because actually, the cultural tradition which began to be established among white Americans at that point may have been merely a continuation of a preexisting harvest-festival cultural tradition already in place among red Americans. However, the chief error Helou committed is that the very first thanksgiving celebrated on this continent by white people, of which now we have any preserved record, had already occurred half a century earlier than this. That first thanksgiving celebration among white people had taken place on June 30, 1564 in a place called Fort Caroline, in what we today consider to be Florida. (It had been staged by a group of French Huguenot dissenters who were soon afterward to be wiped out by a Spanish Catholic army which was dissing them not so much because the perceived polarization was Catholics vs Protestants but because it was Spanish vs French.)



1621

Sixty future wives arrived in Virginia and were marketed for 150 pounds of [tobacco](#) each (this was better than the price obtained for a shipment of women that had arrived in 1619).

Tobias Venner published A BRIEF AND ACCURATE TREATISE, CONCERNING ... TOBACCO claiming medicinal properties for [tobacco](#) but condemning the use of the leaf for mere pleasure.

1624

Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644), considering the paroxysm of sneezing to be uncomfortably similar to the paroxysm of sexual orgasm, threatened excommunication for those caught in the act of taking [snuff](#) in a holy place.

As the smuggling of [tobacco](#) increased, King James I had lowered the tariff and sold the right to collect it for government revenues. In this year he declared a royal monopoly, aiming to generate revenues by keeping the duty high but not so high as to unduly encourage smuggling.

1627

The smoking of [tobacco](#) was still such a novelty, for white people at least, that it was not yet theorized. In the course of the 17th Century “smoking” would become the expected term, but at this point the breathing of tobacco fumes was still being referred to as “drinking smoke” and as “drinking tobacco.” Of course no-one asked native Americans what the received term was, for the high caused by nicotine.

1628

Shah Sefi Sultan of Persia punished two merchants for selling [tobacco](#) by pouring hot lead down their throats.



## III

TOBACCO TRIUMPHANT (*CONTINUED*) —

## SELLERS OF TOBACCO AND PROFESSORS OF SMOKING —

ABUSE AND PRAISE OF TOBACCO<sup>29</sup>

This is my friend Abel, an honest fellow;  
He lets me have good tobacco.  
Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*.

The druggists and other tradesmen who sold tobacco in Elizabethan and Jacobean days had every provision for the convenience of their numerous customers. Some so-called druggists, it may be shrewdly suspected, did much more business in tobacco than they did in drugs. Dekker tells us of an apothecary and his wife who had no customers resorting to their shop "for any phisicall stuffe," but whose shop had many frequenters in the shape of gentlemen who "came to take their pipes of the divine smoake." That tobacco was often the most profitable part of a druggist's stock is also clear from the last sentence in Bishop Earle's character of "A Tobacco-Seller," one of the shortest in that remarkable collection of "Characters" which the Bishop issued in 1628 under the title of "Micro-Cosmographie."

"A Tobacco-Seller," says Earle, "is the onely man that findes good in it which others brag of, but do not; for it is meate, drinke, and clothes to him. No man opens his ware with greater seriousnessse, or challenges your judgement more in the approbation. His shop is the Randevous of spitting, where men dialogue with their noses, and their communication is smoake. It is the place onely where Spaine is commended, and prefer'd before England itselife. He should be well experienc'd in the world: for he ha's daily tryall of mens nostrils, and none is better acquainted with humors. Hee is the piecing commonly of some other trade which is bawde to his Tobacco, and that to his wife, which is the flame that follows this smoke."

This brief "Character" is hardly so pointed or so effective as some of the others in the "Micro-Cosmographie," but it would seem that the Bishop was not very friendly to tobacco. In the character of "A Drunkard" he says: "Tobacco serves to aire him after a washing [*i.e.* a drinking-bout], and is his onely breath, and breathing while." In another, a tavern "is the common consumption of the Afternoone, and the murderer, or maker away of a rainy day. It is the Torrid Zone that scorches the face,

29. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



and Tobacco the gunpowder that blows it up."

The druggist-tobacconists were well stocked with abundance of pipes – those known as Winchester pipes were highly popular – with maple blocks for cutting or shredding the tobacco upon, juniper wood charcoal fires, and silver tongs with which the hot charcoal could be lifted to light the customer's pipe. The maple block was in constant use in those days, when the many present forms of prepared tobacco and varied mixtures were unknown. In Middleton and Dekker's "Roaring Girl," 1611, the "mincing and shredding of tobacco" is mentioned; and in the same play, by the way, we are told that "a pipe of rich smoak" was sold for sixpence.

The tobacco-tongs were more properly called ember-or brand-tongs. They sometimes had a tobacco-stopper riveted in near the axis of the tongs, and thus could be easily distinguished from other kinds of tongs. An example in the Guildhall Museum, made of brass, and probably of late seventeenth-century date, has the end of one of the handles formed into a stopper. In the same collection there are several pairs of ember-tongs with handles or jaws decorated. In one or two a handle terminates in a hook, by which they could be hung up when not required for use. In that delightful book of pictures and gossip concerning old household and farming gear, and old-fashioned domestic plenishings of many kinds, called "Old West Surrey," Miss Jekyll figures two pairs of old ember-or brand-tongs. One of these quite deserves the praise which she bestows upon it. "Its lines," says Miss Jekyll, "fill one with the satisfaction caused by a thing that is exactly right, and with admiration for the art and skill of a true artist." These homely tongs are fashioned with a fine eye for symmetry, and, indeed, for beauty of design and perfect fitness for the intended purpose. The ends which were to pick up the coal are shaped like two little hands, while "the edges have slight mouldings and even a low bead enrichment. The circular flat on the side away from the projecting stopper has two tiny engraved pictures; on one side of the joint a bottle and tall wine-glass, on the other a pair of long clay pipes crossed, and a bowl of tobacco shown in section." This beautiful little implement bears the engraved name of its Surrey maker, and the date 1795.

Country-folk nowadays often light their pipes in the old way, by picking up a live coal, or, in Ireland, a fragment of glowing peat, from the kitchen fire, with the ordinary tongs, and applying it to the pipe-bowl; but the old ember-tongs are seldom seen. They may still be found in some farmhouses and country cottages, which have not been raided by the agents of dealers in antique furniture and implements, but examples are rare. This is a digression, however, which has carried us far away from the early years of the seventeenth century.

It is pretty clear that not a few of the druggists who sold tobacco were great rascals. Ben Jonson has let us into some of their secrets of adulteration – the treatment of the leaf with oil and the lees of sack, the increase of its weight by other artificial additions to its moisture, washing it in muscadell and grains, keeping it in greased leather and oiled rags buried in



gravel under ground, and by like devices. Other writers speak of black spice, galanga, *aqua vitæ*, Spanish wine, aniseeds and other things as being used for purposes of adulteration.

Trickery of another kind is revealed in a scene in Chapman's play "A Humorous Day's Mirth," 1599. A customer at an ordinary says: "Hark you, my host, have you a pipe of good tobacco?" "The best in the town," says mine host, after the manner of his class. "Boy, dry a leaf." Quietly the boy tells him, "There's none in the house, sir," to which the worthy host replies *sotto voce*, "Dry a dock leaf." But the diner's potations must have been powerful if they had left him unable to distinguish between the taste of tobacco and that of dried dock-leaf.

Sometimes coltsfoot was mixed with tobacco. Ursula, the pig-woman and refreshment-booth keeper in Bartholomew Fair, in Ben Jonson's play of that name, says to her assistant: "Threepence a pipe-full I will have made, of all my whole half-pound of tobacco and a quarter of a pound of coltsfoot mixt with it too to eke it out."

The fumes of dried coltsfoot leaves were used as a remedy in cases of difficulty of breathing, both in ancient Roman times and in Tudor England. Lyte, in his translation, 1578, of Dodoens' "Historie of Plants," says of coltsfoot: "The parfume of the dried leaves layde upon quicke coles, taken into the mouth through the pipe of a funnell, or tunnell, helpeth suche as are troubled with the shortnesse of winde, and fetche their breath thicke or often, and do breake without daunger the impostems of the breast." The leaves of coltsfoot and of other plants have often been used as a substitute for tobacco in modern days. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, in 1897, said that when he was a boy he knew an old Calvinist minister, who used to smoke a dried mixture of the leaves of horehound, yarrow and "foal's foot" intermingled with a small quantity of tobacco. He said it was a very good substitute for the genuine article. Similar mixtures, or the leaves of coltsfoot alone, have often been smoked in bygone days by folk who could not afford to smoke tobacco only.

The number of shops where tobacco was sold in the early days of its triumph seems to have been extraordinary. Barnaby Rich, one of the most prolific parents of pamphlets in an age of prolific writers, wrote a satire on "The Honestie of this Age," which was printed in 1614. In this production Rich declares that every fellow who came into an ale-house and called for his pot, must have his pipe also, for tobacco was then a commodity as much sold in every tavern, inn and ale-house as wine, ale, or beer. He goes on to say that apothecaries' shops, grocers' shops, and chandlers' shops were (almost) never without company who from morning to night were still taking tobacco; and what a number there are besides, he adds, "that doe keepe houses, set open shoppes, that have no other trade to live by but by the selling of tobacco." Rich says he had been told that a list had been recently made of all the houses that traded in tobacco in and near about London, and that if a man might believe what was confidently reported, there were found to be upwards of 7000 houses that lived by that trade; but he could not say whether



the apothecaries', grocers' and chandlers' shops, where tobacco was also sold, were included in that number. He proceeds to calculate what the annual expenditure on smoke must be. The number of 7000 seems very large and is perhaps exaggerated. Round numbers are apt to be over rather than under the mark.

Another proof of the extraordinary popularity of the new habit is to be found in the fact that by the seventeenth year of the reign of James I – the arch-enemy of tobacco – that is, by 1620, the Society of Tobacco-pipe-makers had become so very numerous and considerable a body that they were incorporated by royal charter, and bore on their shield a tobacco plant in full blossom. The Society's motto was happily chosen – "Let brotherly love continue."

A further witness to the prevalence of smoking and to the enormous number of tobacco-sellers' shops is Camden, the antiquary. In his "Annales," 1625, he remarks with curious detail that since its introduction – "that Indian plant called Tobacco, or Nicotiana, is growne so frequent in use and of such price, that many, nay, the most part, with an insatiable desire doe take of it, drawing into their mouth the smoke thereof, which is of a strong scent, through a pipe made of earth, and venting of it againe through their nose; some for wantownesse, or rather fashion sake, and other for health sake, insomuch that Tobacco shops are set up in greater number than either Alehouses or Tavernes."

One result of the herb's popularity was found in frequent attempts by tradesmen of various kinds to sell it without being duly licensed to do so. Mr. W.G. Bell, in his valuable book on "Fleet Street in Seven Centuries," mentions the arrest of a Fleet Street grocer by the Star Chamber for unlicensed trading in tobacco. He also quotes from the St. Dunstan's Wardmote Register of 1630 several cases of complaint against unlicensed traders and others. Four men were presented "for selling ale and tobacco unlicensed, and for annoying the Judges of Serjeants Inn whose chambers are near adjoining." Two other men, one of them hailing from the notorious Ram Alley, were presented "for annoying the Judges at Serjeants Inn with the stench and smell of their tobacco," which looks as if the Judges were of King James's mind about smoking. The same Register of 1630 records the presentment of two men of the same family name – Thomas Bouringe and Philip Bouringe – "for keeping open their shops and selling tobacco at unlawful hours, and having disorderly people in their house to the great disturbance of all the inhabitants and neighbours near adjoining." The Ram Alley, Fleet Street, mentioned above, was notorious in sundry ways. Mr. Bell mentions that in 1618 the wardmote laid complaint against Timothy Louse and John Barker, of Ram Alley, "for keeping their tobacco-shoppes open all night and fyers in the same without any chimney and suffering hot waters [spirits] and selling also without licence, to the great disquietness and annoyance of that neighbourhood." There were sad goings on of many kinds in Ram Alley.

It is uncertain when licences were first issued for the sale of tobacco. Probably they were issued in London some time before



it was considered necessary to license dealers in other parts of the country. Among the Municipal Records of Exeter is the following note: "358. Whitehall, 31 August 1633. The Lords of the Council to the Chamber. 'Whereas his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to prevent the excesse of the use of Tobacco, and to set an order to those that regrate and sell or utter it by retayle, who observe noe reasonable rates or prizes [prices], nor take care that it be wholesome for men's bodyes that shall use it,' has caused letters to be sent to the chief Officers of Citties and towns requiring them to certify 'in what places it might be fitt to suffer ye retayleing of Tobacco and how many be licenced in each of those places to use trade'; and the City of Exeter having made a return the Lords sent a list of those which are to be licensed, and order that no others be permitted to sell."

In the neighbouring county of Somerset the Justices of the Peace sent presentments to the Council in 1632 of persons within the Hundred of Milverton and Kingsbury West thought fit to sell tobacco by retail; and for Wiveliscombe, Mr. Hancock says in his book on that old town, a mercer and a hosier were selected.

It would seem, from one example I have noted, as if in some places smoking were not allowed in public-houses. In the account-book of St. Stephen's Church and Parish, Norwich, the income for the year 1628-29 included on one occasion 20s. received by way of fine from one Edmond Nockals for selling a pot of beer "wanting in measure, contrary to the law," and another sovereign from William Howlyns for a like offence. This is right and intelligible enough; but on another occasion in the same year each of these men, who presumably were ale-house keepers, had to pay 30s. — a substantial sum considering the then value of money — for the same offence and "for suffering parishioners to smoke in his house." I have been unable to obtain any information as to why a publican should have been fined an additional 10s. for the heinous offence of allowing a brother parishioner to smoke in his house.

Penalties for "offences" of this fanciful kind were not common in England; but in Puritan New England they were abundant. In the early days of the American Colonies the use of the "creature called Tobacco" was by no means encouraged. In Connecticut a man was permitted by the law to smoke once if he went on a journey of ten miles, but not more than once a day and by no means in another man's house. It could hardly have been difficult to evade so absurd a regulation as this.

It has been already stated that the Elizabethan gallant was acquainted with the most fashionable methods of inhaling and exhaling the smoke of tobacco. A singular feature of the enthusiasm for tobacco in the early years of the seventeenth century was the existence of professors of the art of smoking.

Some of the apothecaries whose shops were in most repute for the quality of the tobacco kept, took pupils and taught them the "slights," as tricks with the pipe were called. These included exhaling the smoke in little globes, rings and so forth. The invaluable Ben Jonson, in the preliminary account of the characters in his "Every Man out of his Humour," 1600, describes





one Sogliardo as "an essential clown ... yet so enamoured of the name of a gentleman that he will have it though he buys it. He comes up every term to learn to take tobacco and see new motions." Sogliardo was accustomed to hire a private room to practise in. The fashionable way was to expel the smoke through the nose. In a play by Field of 1618, a foolish nobleman is asked by some boon companions in a tavern: "Will your lordship take any tobacco?" when another sneers, "'Sheart! he cannot put it through his nose!" His lordship was apparently not well versed in the "slights."

Taking tobacco was clearly an accomplishment to be studied seriously. Shift, a professor of the art in Jonson's play, puts up a bill in St. Paul's - the recognized centre for advertisements and commercial business of every kind - in which he offers to teach any young gentleman newly come into his inheritance, who wishes to be as exactly qualified as the best of the ordinary-hunting gallants are - "to entertain the most gentlemanlike use of tobacco; as first, to give it the most exquisite perfume; then to know all the delicate sweet forms for the assumption of it; as also the rare corollary and practice of the Cuban ebolition, euripus and whiff, which he shall receive, or take in here at London, and evaporate at Uxbridge, or farther, if it please him."

Taking the whiff, it has been suggested, may have been either a swallowing of the smoke, or a retaining it in the throat for a given space of time; but what may be meant by the "Cuban ebolition" or the "euripus" is perhaps best left to the imagination. "Ebolition" is simply a variant of "ebullition," and "ebullition," as applied with burlesque intent to rapid smoking - the vapour bubbling rapidly from the pipe-bowl - is intelligible enough, but why Cuban? "Euripus" was the name, in ancient geography, of the channel between Eubúá (Negropont) and the mainland - a passage which was celebrated for the violence and uncertainty of its currents - and hence the name was occasionally applied by our older writers to any strait or sea-channel having like characteristics. The use of the word in connexion with tobacco may, like that of "ebolition," have some reference to furious smoking, but the meaning is not clear.

If one contemporary writer may be believed, some of these early smokers acquired the art of emitting the smoke through their ears, but a healthy scepticism is permissible here.

The accomplished Shift promises a would-be pupil in the art of taking tobacco that if he pleases to be a practitioner, he shall learn in a fortnight to "take it plausibly in any ordinary, theatre, or the Tiltyard, if need be, in the most popular assembly that is." The Tiltyard adjoined Whitehall Palace and was the frequent scene of sports in which Queen Elizabeth took the greatest delight. Here took place, not only tilting properly so called, but rope-walking performances, bear- and bull-baiting, dancing and other diversions which her Majesty held in high favour. Consequently the Tiltyard was constantly the scene of courtly gatherings; and if smoking were permitted on such occasions - as Shift's boasting promises would appear to indicate - then it may be reasonably inferred that Queen



Elizabeth did not entertain the objections to the new practice that her successor, King James, set forth with such vehemence in his famous "Counterblaste to Tobacco." There is, however, no positive evidence one way or the other, to show what the attitude of the Virgin Queen towards tobacco really was. A tradition as to her smoking herself on one occasion is referred to in a subsequent chapter – that on "Smoking by Women."

Although tobacco was in such general use it yet had plenty of enemies. It was extravagantly abused and extravagantly praised. Robert Burton, of "Anatomy of Melancholy" fame, like many other writers of his time, was prepared to admit the medicinal value of the herb, though he detested the general habit of smoking. Tobacco was supposed in those days to be "good for" a surprising variety of ailments and diseases; but to explore that little section of popular medicine would be foreign to my purpose. Burton believed in tobacco as medicine; but with regard to habitual smoking he was a worthy follower of King James, the strength of whose language he sought to emulate and exceed when he denounced the common taking of tobacco "by most men, which take it as tinkers do ale" – as "a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health, hellish, devilish, and damned tobacco, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul." No anti-tobacconist could wish for a more whole-hearted denunciation than that.

Thomas Dekker, to whose pictures of London social life at the opening of the seventeenth century we are so much indebted for information both with regard to smoking and in respect of many other matters of interest, was himself an enemy of tobacco. He politely refers to "that great Tobacconist, the Prince of Smoake and Darkness, Don Pluto"; and in another place addresses tobacco as "thou beggarly Monarche of Indians, and setter up of rotten-lungd chimney-sweepers," and proceeds in a like strain of abuse.

One of the most curious of the early publications on tobacco, in which an attempt is made to hold the balance fairly between the legitimate use and the "licentious" abuse of the herb, is Tobias Venner's tract with the long-winded title: "A Brief and Accurate Treatise concerning The taking of the Fume of Tobacco, Which very many, in these dayes doe too licenciously use. In which the immoderate, irregular, and unseasonable use thereof is reprehended, and the true nature and best manner of using it, perspicuously demonstrated." Venner described himself as a doctor of physic in Bath, and his tract was published in London in 1637. Venner says that tobacco is of "ineffable force" for the rapid healing of wounds, cuts, sores and so on, by external application, but thinks little of its use for any other purpose. Like others of his school, he attacks the "licentious Tobacconists [smokers] who spend and consume, not only their time, but also their health, wealth, and witts in taking of this loathsome and unsavorie fume." He admits the popularity of the herb, but expresses his own personal objection to the "detestable savour or smack that it leaveth behind upon the taking of it"; from which one is inclined to surmise that the doctor's first pipe was not an entire success. With an evident desire to be fair, Venner, notwithstanding his dislike of the



"savour," refuses to condemn tobacco utterly, because of what he considers its valuable medicinal qualities, and he goes so far as to give "10 precepts in the use of" tobacco. The sixth is "that you drink not between the taking of the fumes, as our idle and smoakie Tobacconists are wont" – there must be no alliance, in short, between the pipe and the cheerful glass. The tenth and last precept is "that you goe not abroad into the aire presently [immediately] upon the taking of the fume, but rather refrain therefrom the space of halfe an houre, or more, especially if the season be cold, or moist." The suggestion that the smoker, when he has finished his pipe, shall wait for half an hour or so before he ventures into the outer air is very quaint.

Venner goes on to give a terrible catalogue of the ills that will befall the smoker who uses tobacco "contrary to the order and way I have set down." It is a dreadful list which may possibly have frightened a few nervous smokers; but probably it had no greater effect than the terrible curse in the "Jackdaw of Rheims."

Another tract which may be classed with Venner's "Treatise" was the "Nepenthes or the Vertues of Tobacco," by Dr. William Barclay, which was published at Edinburgh in 1614. This is sometimes referred to and quoted, as by Fairholt, as if it were a whole-hearted defence of tobacco-taking. But Barclay enlarges mainly on the medicinal virtues of the herb. "If Tabacco," he says, "were used physically and with discretion there were no medicament in the worlde comparable to it"; and again: "In Tabacco there is nothing which is not medicine, the root, the stalke, the leaves, the seeds, the smoake, the ashes." The doctor gives sundry directions for administering tobacco – "to be used in infusion, in decoction, in substance, in smoke, in salt." But Barclay clearly does not sympathize with its indiscriminate use for pleasure. "As concerning the smoke," he says, "it may be taken more frequently, and for the said effects, but always fasting, and with emptie stomach, not as the English abusers do, which make a smoke-boxe of their skull, more fit to be carried under his arme that selleth at Paris *dunoir a noircir* to blacke mens shoos then to carie the braine of him that can not walke, can not ryde except the Tabacco Pype be in his mouth." He goes on to say that he was once in company with an English merchant in Normandy – "betweene Rowen and New-haven" – who was a merry fellow, but was constantly wanting a coal to kindle his tobacco. "The Frenchman wondered and I laughed at his intemperancie."

It is a little curious, considering the devotion of latter-day men of letters to tobacco, that in their early days so many of the men who wrote on the subject attacked the social use of tobacco with violence and virulence. Perhaps, courtier-like, they followed the lead of the British Solomon, King James I. Their titles are characteristic of their style. A writer named Deacon published in 1616 a quarto entitled "Tobacco tortured in the filthy Fumes of Tobacco refined"; but Joshua Sylvester had easily surpassed this when he wrote his "Tobacco Battered and the Pipes Shattered about their Eares, that idely Idolize so



base and barbarous a Weed, or at least overlove so loathsome a Vanity, by a Volley of Holy Shot Thundered from Mount Helicon," 1615. Controversialists of that period rejoiced in full-worded titles and in full-blooded praise or abuse.

Deacon, as the title of his book just quoted shows, was very fond of alliteration, and one sentence of his diatribe may be quoted. He warned his readers that tobacco-smoke was "very pernicious unto their bodies, too profluvius for many of their purses, and most pestiferous to the publike State." Much may be forgiven, however, to the introducer of so charming a term of abuse as "profluvius." Deacon's book takes the form of a dialogue, and after nearly 200 pages of argument, in which the unfortunate herb gets no mercy, one of the interlocutors, a trader in tobacco, is so convinced of the iniquity of his trade, and of his own parlous state if he continue therein, that he declares that the two hundred pounds' worth of this "beastly tobacco" which he owns, shall "presently packe to the fire," or else be sent "swimming down the Thames."

Many good folk would seem to have associated smoking with idling. In the rules of the Grammar School at Chigwell, Essex, which was founded in 1629, it is prescribed that "the Master must be a man of sound religion, neither a Papist nor a Puritan, of a grave behaviour, and sober and honest conversation, no tippler or haunter of alehouses, no puffer of tobacco." A worthy Derbyshire man named Campbell, in his will dated 20 October 1616, left all his household goods to his son, "on this condition that yf at any time hereafter, any of his brothers or sisters shall fynd him takeing of tobacco, that then he or she so fynding him, shall have the said goods" – a testamentary arrangement which suggests to the fancy some amusing strategic evasions and manœuvres on the part of the conditional legatee and his watchful relations.

A converse view of smoking may be seen in Izaak Walton's "Life" of Sir Henry Wotton, who died in 1639. Walton says that Wotton obtained relief to some extent from asthma by leaving off smoking which he had practised "somewhat immoderately" – "*as many thoughtful men do.*" The italics are mine.

Tobacco, as has been said, was praised as well as abused extravagantly. Much absurdity was written in glorification of the medicinal and therapeutic properties of tobacco, but a more sensible note was struck by some lauders of the weed. Marston wrote in 1607:

Musicke, tobacco, sacke and sleepe,  
The tide of sorrow backward keep.

An ingenious lover of his pipe declared ironically in the same year that he had found three bad qualities in tobacco, for it made a man a thief (which meant danger), a good fellow (which meant cost), and a niggard ("the name of which is hateful"). "It makes him a theefe," he continued "for he will steale it from his father; a good fellow, for he will give the smoake to a beggar; a niggard, for he will not part with his box to an Emperour!" A character in one of Chapman's plays, 1606, calls tobacco "the gentleman's saint and the soldier's idol." A



little-known bard of 1630 – Barten Holiday – wrote a poem of eight stanzas with chorus to each in praise of tobacco, in which he showed with a touch of burlesque that the herb was a musician, a lawyer, a physician, a traveller, a critic, an ignis fatuus, and a whiffler, *i.e.* a braggart. The first verse may suffice as a specimen:

Tobacco's a musician,  
And in a pipe delighteth,  
It descends in a close  
Through the organ of the nose  
With a relish that inviteth.

These are merely a few examples of both the praise and the abuse which were lavished upon tobacco at this early stage in the history of smoking. It would be easy to fill many pages with the like testimonials and denunciations, especially the latter, from writers of the early decades of the seventeenth century. Perhaps the most curious thing in connexion with the immense number of allusions to smoking in the literature of the period is that there is no mention whatever of tobacco or smoking in the plays of William Shakespeare. As Edmund Spenser, in the "Faerie Queene," speaks of

*The souveraine weede, divine tobacco,*  
it may be presumed that he was a smoker.

1629

Cardinal Richelieu, feeling that taxation would be more profitable than direct prohibition, imposed high duties on [tobacco](#) in France to discourage use and to create general revenues.

1630

Tsar Michael Romanov and the Orthodox clergy had attacked [smoking](#) not only as a cause of structure fires, but as a sin and an abomination. The [Russian](#) literature was extremely hostile and [tobacco](#) was being termed "the devil's plant." In this year smoking was forbidden under pain not only of exile but also of torture.

Sweden learned to smoke [tobacco](#).

In his THE TRUE TRAVELS, ADVENTURES, AND OBSERVATIONS OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA, FROM ANNO DOMINI 1593 TO 1629 ..., Captain [John Smith](#) mentioned a drink the Turks called "coffa from a graine they call coava." Perhaps we may presume that at this particular point in his book about his grand adventures Smith may have been more or less telling the truth — the existence of [coffee](#) being otherwise attested.

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)

**1631**

The cultivation of [tobacco](#) destined for European markets began in the [Maryland](#) colony.

The group of settlers that had been organized in Holland by [David Pietersz. de Vries](#) disembarked from the *Walvis* (“Whale”) to form the whale hunting station and agricultural settlement that they would name *Zwaanendael* “Valley of the Swans” in the lower Delaware valley. They found, of course, human beings already on the scene — members of an Algonquian grouping, the Cinconicins, Sickoneyns, Sikonessink, Siconesius, Siconese, or Great Siconese — a peaceable folk but not to be trifled with.

[Captain John Mason](#) built himself a house at the mouth of the Piscataqua River, naming the spot Portsmouth (to explain these names: Mason had been governor of Portsmouth in County Hampshire, England).

**1632**

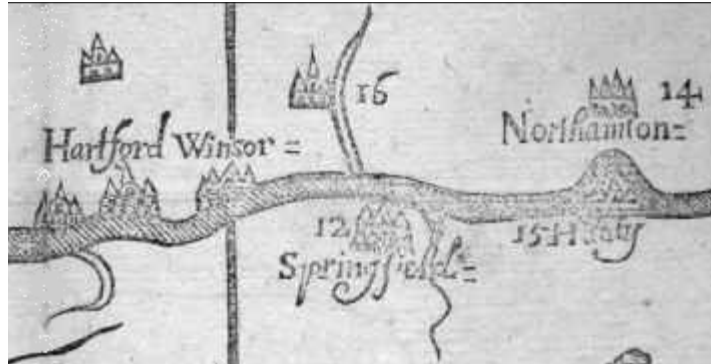
The Massachusetts Bay colony forbade smoking [tobacco](#) in public. Distribution, possession, and use of the substance was not, however, entirely proscribed:

**Nor shall any take tobacco in any inne, or common victual house, except in a private room there, so as the master of said house nor any guest there shall take offence, under pain of 2 shillings and sixpence for every such offence.**

This measure would be found to be inadequate, and would be enlarged upon in 1634.

1633

By this point [Boston](#) furtraders were constructing a trading post at Windsor CT on the Quinni-tukq-ut River (that's Quinni-tukq-ut as in "Connecticut," folks), a violation of the agreement which had been entered into between the Dutch and the [Plymouth](#) settlers in 1627.



They immediately planted some [tobacco](#).


The English were intercepting furs from the interior upstream before they could reach the Dutch down on the coastline. The Mattabesic and Nipmuc peoples who normally paid tribute to the Pequot welcomed the English trading post, not only as an opportunity for a better deal but also as a chance to escape paying tribute wampum to the Pequot grouping. Sassacus, the Pequot grand sachem, was as annoyed by this as he was by the English manufacture of wampum.<sup>30</sup> The Dutch purchased, from the Pequot, land that belonged not to the Pequot but to the Mattabesic, and began constructing a competitive fortified trading post they named their House of Good Hope.

Sultan Murad IV of Turkey ordered that [tobacco](#) users be executed as infidels and as many as 18 a day were being executed. (Some historians consider this ban on tobacco to have been an anti-plague measure, while others consider it to have been a fire-prevention measure. I personally suspect that there needs to be some more personal explanation — such as that thinking about how he was offing people may have been helping this sultan in his sexual functioning.)

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

30. A cottage industry had sprung up among the Owanux on the coast to transform beach shells into wampum for trade. Because the white people were able to utilize steel drills, the market for wampum belts would soon be flooded.

1634

The control measures of 1632  having been determined to have been inadequate, the stronger-tasting species of *Nicotiana tabacum* that had been imported by John Rolfe from Trinidad in 1611 to replace the local “poke” plant was by this time well recognized as a cause of multiple problems. Thus the Massachusetts colony outlawed the “taking **tobacco**” of two or more persons together — this weed was to be a solitary vice only (the Connecticut colony would soon follow suit):

**No person shall take tobacco publicly, on fine of 2s 6d., or privately in his own or another’s house, before acquaintances or strangers.**

In Russia, Czar Alexis initiated even more Draconian penalties for the smoking of **tobacco**: for the 1st offense, the smoker was to be whipped, his nose was to be slit, and he was to undergo transportation to Siberia. Upon a 2nd offense, this Siberian exile with slit nose and scarred back was to be executed.



The Greek Church, alleging that it had been **tobacco** smoke that had intoxicated Noah, banned its use. Naughty Noah, they should have spanked him while he was naked — and then slit his nose!





## IV

CAVALIER AND ROUNDHEAD SMOKERS<sup>31</sup>

"A custom lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomelesse." – James I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*.

The social history of smoking from the point of view of fashion, during the period covered by this and the next two chapters may be summarized in a sentence. Through the middle of the seventeenth century smoking maintained its hold upon all classes of society, but in the later decades there are distinct signs that the habit was becoming less universal; and it seems pretty clear that by the time of Queen Anne, smoking, though still extensively practised in many classes of society, was to a considerable extent out of vogue among those most amenable to the dictates of Fashion.

It is certain that the armies of the Parliament were great smokers, for the finds of seventeenth-century pipes on the sites of their camps have been numerous. A considerable number of pipes of the Caroline period, with the usual small elongated bowls, were found in 1902 at Chichester, in the course of excavating the foundations of the Old Swan Inn, East Street, for building the present branch of the London and County Bank.

We know also that the Roundhead soldiers smoked in circumstances that did them no credit. In the account of the trial of Charles I, written by Dr. George Bates, principal physician to his Majesty, and to Charles II also, we read that when the sentence of the Court presided over by Bradshaw, condemning the King "to death by severing his Head from his Body," had been read, the soldiers treated the fallen monarch with great indignity and barbarity. They spat on his clothes as he passed by, and even in his face; and they "blew the smoak of Tobacco, a thing which they knew his Majesty hated, in his sacred mouth, throwing their broken Pipes in his way as he passed along."

Time brought its revenges. The dead Protector was not treated too respectfully by his soldiery. Evelyn, describing Cromwell's "superb funeral," says that the soldiers in the procession were "drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went."

Whether the use of tobacco prevailed as generally among the Cavalier forces is less certain; but as King Charles hated the weed, courtiers may have frowned upon its use. One distinguished cavalier, however, either smoked his pipe, or proposed to do so, on a historic occasion. In Markham's "Life of the Great Lord Fairfax" there is a lively account of how the Duke, then Marquis,

31. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



of Newcastle, with his brother Charles Cavendish, drove in a coach and six to the field of Marston Moor on the afternoon before the battle. His Grace was in a very bad humour. "He applied to Rupert," says Markham, "for orders as to the disposal of his own most noble person, and was told that there would be no battle that night, and that he had better get into his coach and go to sleep, which he accordingly did." But the decision as to battle or no battle did not rest with Prince Rupert. Cromwell attacked the royal army with the most disastrous results to the King's cause. His Grace of Newcastle woke up, left his coach, and fought bravely, being, according to his Duchess, the last to ride off the fatal field, leaving his coach and six behind him.

So far Markham: but according to another account, when Rupert told him that there would be no battle, the Duke betook himself to his coach, "lit his pipe, and making himself very comfortable, fell asleep." The original authority, however, for the whole story is to be found in a paper of notes by Clarendon on the affairs of the North, preserved among his MSS. In this paper Clarendon writes: "The marq. asked the prince what he would do? His highness answered, 'Wee will charge them to-morrow morninge.' My lord asked him whether he were sure the enemy would not fall on them sooner? He answered, 'No'; and the marquise thereupon going to his coach hard by, and callinge for a pype of tobacco, before he could take it the enemy charged, and instantly all the prince's horse were routed."

Gardiner evidently follows this account, for his version of the story is: "Newcastle strolled towards his coach to solace himself with a pipe. Before he had time to take a whiff, the battle had begun." The incident was made the subject of a picture by Ernest Crofts, A.R.A., which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1888. It shows the Duke leaning out of his carriage window, with his pipe in his hand.

Among the documents in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland there is a letter patent under the great seal of Charles I, in 1634, granted for the purpose of correcting the irregular sales and restraining the immoderate use of tobacco in Scotland. The letter states that tobacco was used on its first introduction as a medicine, but had since been so largely indulged in and was frequently of such bad quality, as not only to injure the health, but deprave the morals of the King's subjects. These were sentiments worthy of King James. Mr. Matthew Livingstone, who has calendared this document, says that the King therein proceeds, in order to prevent such injurious results of the use of tobacco, to appoint Sir James Leslie and Thomas Dalmahoy to enjoy for seven years the sole power of appointing licensed vendors of the commodity. These vendors, after due examination as to their fitness, were to be permitted, on payment of certain compositions and an annual rent in augmentation of the King's revenue, to sell tobacco in small quantities. The letter further directs that the licensees so appointed shall become bound to sell only sound tobacco – an admirable provision, if a trifle difficult to enforce – and to keep good order in their houses and shops. "The latter clause,"



adds Mr. Livingstone, "would almost suggest that the tobacco was to be sold for consumption on the premises," – as I have no doubt it was – "and that the smokers were probably in the habit at their symposiums of using, even as they may still, I dare say, other indulgences not so soothing in their effects as the coveted weed" – a suggestion for which there seems little foundation in the clause to which Mr. Livingstone refers.

One inference at least may be fairly drawn, I think, from this document, and that is that smoking was very popular north as well as south of the Tweed.

Tobacco was certainly cheap in Scotland. The following entries are from a MS. account of household expenses kept by the minister of the parish of Eastwood, near Glasgow, the Rev. William Hamilton. They cover two months only and show that the minister was a furious smoker. The prices given are in Scots currency, the pound Scots being worth about twenty pence sterling:

Maii, 1651

It. to Andro Carnduff for 4 pund of Tobacco	£1.0.0.
It. to Robert Hamilton Chapman for Tobacco	0.18.0.
It. 9 June to my wife to give for sax trenchers and tobacco	1.13.4.
It. 10 June, The sd day for tobacco and stuffes	0.14.4.
28 June, It. for tobacco	0.13.9.

It may perhaps be interesting to compare with these prices, from which, apparently, it may be inferred that near Glasgow tobacco could be bought for some 5*d.* a pound, which seems incredibly cheap, the occasional expenditure upon tobacco of a worthy citizen of Exeter some few years earlier. Extracts from the "Financial Diary" of this good man, whose name was John Hayne, and who was an extensive dealer in serges and woollen goods generally, as well as in a smaller degree of cotton goods also, were printed some years ago, with copious annotations, by the late Dr. Brushfield.

In this "Diary," covering the years 1631-43, there are some forty entries concerning the purchase of what is always, save in one case, called "tobacka." These entries give valuable information as to the prices of the two chief kinds of tobacco. One was imported from Spanish America, which up to 1639 Hayne calls "Varinaes," and after that date "Spanish"; the other was imported from English colonies – chiefly from Virginia. The "Varinaes" kind, Dr. Brushfield suggests, was obtained from Varina, near the foot of the range of mountains forming the west boundary of Venezuela, and watered by a branch of the Orinoco River. Hayne also notes the purchase of "Tertudoes" tobacco, but what that may have been I cannot say. From the various entries relating respectively to Varinaes or Spanish tobacco, and to Virginia tobacco, it is clear that the former ranged in price from 8*s.* to 13*s.* per lb., while the latter was from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* per lb. There is one entry of "perfumed Tobacka," 10 oz. of which were bought at the very high price of 15*s.* 6*d.*



The variations in price of both Spanish and Virginia tobacco were largely due to the frequent changes in the amount of the duty thereon. In 1604 King James I, newly come to the throne, and full of iconoclastic fervour against the weed, raised the duty to 6s. 8d. per lb. in addition to the original duty of 2d. On March 29, 1615, there was a grant to a licensed importer "of the late imposition of 2s. per lb. on tobacco" – which shows that there must have been considerable fluctuation between 1604 and 1615 – while in September 1621 the duty stood at 9d. Through James's reign much dissatisfaction was expressed about the importation of Spanish tobacco, and the outcome of this may probably be seen in the proclamations issued by the King in his last two years forbidding "the importation, buying, or selling tobacco which was not of the proper growth of the colonies of Virginia and the Somers Islands." These proclamations were several times confirmed by Charles I, the latest being on January 8, 1631; but they do not seem to have had much effect.

Hayne's "Diary" contains one or two entries relating to smokers' requisites. In September 1639 he spent 2d. on a new spring to his "Tobacka tonges." These were the tongs used for lifting a live coal to light the pipe, to which I have referred on a previous page. On the last day of 1640 Hayne paid "Mr. Drakes man" 1s. 5d. for "6 doz: Tobacka-pipes."

From the various entries in the "Diary" relating to the purchase of tobacco, it seems clear that there was no shop in Exeter devoted specially or exclusively to the sale of the weed. Hayne bought his supplies from four of the leading goldsmiths of the city, who can be identified by the fact that he had dealings with them in their own special wares, also from two drapers, one grocer, and four other tradesmen (on a single occasion each) whose particular occupations are unknown.

But to turn from this worthy Exeter citizen to more famous names: I do not know of any good evidence as to whether or not Cromwell smoked, although he is said to have taken an occasional pipe while considering the offer of the crown, but John Milton certainly did. The account of how the blind poet passed his days, after his retirement from public office, was first told by his contemporary Richardson, and has since been repeated by all his biographers. His placid day ended early. The poet took his frugal supper at eight o'clock, and at nine, having smoked a pipe and drunk a glass of water, he went to bed. Apparently this modest allowance of a daily evening pipe was the extent of Milton's indulgence in tobacco. He knew nothing of what most smokers regard as the best pipe of the day – the after-breakfast pipe.

It is somewhat singular that the Puritans, who denounced most amusements and pleasures, and who frowned upon most of the occupations or diversions that make for gaiety and the enjoyment of life, did not, as Puritans, denounce the use of tobacco. One or two of their writers abused it roundly; but these were not representative of Puritan feeling on the subject. The explanation doubtless is that the practice of smoking was so very general and so much a matter of course among men of all ranks and of all opinions, that the mouths of Puritans were



closed, so to speak, by their own pipes. A precisian, however, could take his tobacco with a difference. The seventeenth-century diarist, Abraham de la Pryme, says that he had heard of a Presbyterian minister who was so precise that "he would not as much as take a pipe of tobacco before that he had first sayed grace over it." George Wither, one of the most noteworthy of the poets who took the side of the Parliament, was confined in Newgate after the Restoration, and found comfort in his pipe.

Some of the Puritan colonists in America took a strong line on the subject. Under the famous "Blue Laws" of 1650 it was ordered by the General Court of Connecticut that no one under twenty-one was to smoke – "nor any other that hath not already accustomed himself to the use thereof." And no smoker could enjoy his pipe unless he obtained a doctor's certificate that tobacco would be "usefull for him, and allso that he hath received a lycense from the Courte for the same." But the unhappy smoker having passed the doctor and obtained his licence was still harassed by restrictions, for it was ordered that no man within the colony, after the publication of the order, should take any tobacco publicly "in the streett, highwayes, or any barn-yardes, or uppon training dayes, in any open places, under the penalty of six-pence for each offence against this order." The ingenuities of petty tyranny are ineffable. It is said that these "Blue Laws" are not authentic; but if they are not literally true, they are certainly well invented, for most of them can be paralleled and illustrated by laws and regulations of undoubted authenticity.

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, in her interesting book, abounding in curious information, on "The Sabbath in Puritan New England," says that the use of tobacco "was absolutely forbidden under any circumstances on the Sabbath within two miles of the meeting-house, which (since at that date all the houses were clustered round the church-green) was equivalent to not smoking it at all on the Lord's Day, if the law were obeyed. But wicked backsliders existed, poor slaves of habit, who were in Duxbury fined 10s. for each offence, and in Portsmouth, not only were fined, but to their shame be it told, set as jail-birds in the Portsmouth cage. In Sandwich and in Boston the fine for 'drinking tobacco in the meeting-house' was 5s. for each drink, which I take to mean chewing tobacco rather than smoking it; many men were fined for thus drinking, and solacing the weary hours, though doubtless they were as sly and kept themselves as unobserved as possible. Four Yarmouth men – old sea-dogs, perhaps, who loved their pipe – were in 1687 fined 4s. each for smoking tobacco around the end of the meeting-house. Silly, ostrich-brained Yarmouth men! to fancy to escape detection by hiding around the corner of the church; and to think that the tithing-man had no nose when he was so Argus-eyed."

On weekdays many New England Puritans probably smoked as their friends in old England did. A contemporary painting of a group of Puritan divines over the mantelpiece of Parson Lowell, of Newbury, shows them well provided with punch-bowl and drinking-cups, tobacco and pipes. One parson, the Rev. Mr. Bradstreet, of the First Church of Charlestown, was very unconventional in



his attire. He seldom wore a coat, "but generally appeared in a plaid gown, and was always seen with a pipe in his mouth." John Eliot, the noble preacher and missionary to the Indians, warmly denounced both the wearing of wigs and the smoking of tobacco. But his denunciations were ineffectual in both matters – heads continued to be adorned with curls of foreign growth, and pipe-smoke continued to ascend.

In this country tobacco is said to have invaded even the House of Commons itself. Mr. J.H. Burn, in his "Descriptive Catalogue of London Tokens," writes: "About the middle of the seventeenth century it was ordered: That no member of the House do presume to smoke tobacco in the gallery or at the table of the House sitting as Committees." I do not know what the authority for this order may be, but there is no doubt that smoking was practised in the precincts of the House. In "Mercurius Pragmaticus," December 19-26, 1648, the writer says on December 20, speaking of the excluded members: "Col. Pride standing sentinell at the door, denyed entrance, and caused them to retreat into the Lobby where they used to drink ale and tobacco."

There is a curious entry in Thomas Burton's diary of the proceedings of Cromwell's Parliament, which suggests that there may then have been the luxury of a members' smoking-room. Burton was a member of the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell from 1656 to 1659, and made a practice – for which historical students have been and are much his debtors – of taking notes of the debates as he sat in the House. Members sometimes objected to and protested against this note-taking, but Burton quietly went on using his pencil, and though his summaries of speeches are often difficult to follow, argument and sense suffering by compression, he has preserved much very valuable matter. Referring to a debate on January 7, 1656-57, on an attempt to go behind the previously passed Act of Oblivion, the diarist records that "Sir John Reynolds had numbered the House, and said at rising there were 220 at the least, besides tobacconists." This can only mean that there were at least 220 members actually present in the House when it rose, not counting the "tobacconists" or smokers, who were enjoying their pipes, not in the Chamber itself, but in some conveniently adjoining place, which may have been a room for the purpose, or may simply have been the lobby referred to above in the extract from "Mercurius Pragmaticus."

It seems likely that Richard Cromwell was a smoker. In 1689, long after he had retired into private life and had ample leisure for blowing clouds, he sent to a friend a "Boxe of Tobacco," which was described as "A.J. Bod (den's) ... best Virginnea." In a letter to his daughter Elizabeth, dated 21 January 1705, there is a reference to this same dealer, whom he describes as "Adam Bodden, Bacconist in George Yard, Lumber [Lombard] Street." The allusion is worth noting as a very early instance of the colloquial trick of abbreviation familiar in later days in such forms as "baccy" and "bacca" and their compounds.



1635

In France, sales of [tobacco](#) were restricted to being sold only upon prescription by a physician. By the reign of King Louis XIV (1643-1715) use of the substance would be widespread and highly praised despite the monarch's personal disapproval.

September: An attempt was made in the Bay colony at this point to proscribe both purchase and sale of [tobacco](#) products. The penalty was set at 10s. This attempt would fail utterly.

1636

A Dutch planter introduced [sugar cane](#) from Brazil to Barbados, where the English settlers had been growing [cotton](#), indigo, [ginger](#), and [tobacco](#).

A sailor, mistaking a tulip bulb for an onion, ate it for breakfast with his herring. An investor had hoped to realize, with that bulb in the tulip frenzy of the day, the equivalent of \$25,000 to \$50,000 in today's money. –And presumably it didn't even taste that good!

PLANTS

“Tabacalera,” which has by now become the oldest [tobacco](#) company in the world, was formed in Spain.

1637

[Johannes de Laet](#)'s [SUIKER](#) VERFHOUT [dyewood] & [TABAK](#): HET BRAZILIAANSE HANDBOEK VAN JOHANNES DE LAET.

The General Court of Hartford, Connecticut ordered all families to plant at least a single teaspoonful of [cannabis](#) (hemp) seed.



Each New England town was required to establish a man to sell [wines](#) and “strong water” so that the public would not suffer from lack of proper accommodations.

In France, King Louis XIII, who enjoyed [snuff](#), repealed restrictions on its use.





1638

Becoming much more rigorous about [tobacco](#) than the Massachusetts Bay colony, the government of [China](#) forbade all distribution, possession, or use of such a narcotic substance.

The Ch'ing 清 Dynasty was intending to transform the Chinese into a regime of purity, and therefore the penalty for sale or possession or use of such an enslaving substance was going to be decapitation into the cabbage fragments and offal of the public marketplace.<sup>32</sup>

HEADCHOPPING  
DOPERS

February: At the end of the war upon the Pequot of Connecticut, what had been known as the Pequot River was renamed the Thames, the village of Pequot was renamed New London, and the bulk of the surviving redskins were distributed as [slaves](#) among the tribes that had allied with the English. The English did receive a share of the slaves, fifteen Pequot boys and two women, and Captain William Pierce took them to Providence Island and there traded them off for some salt, some [tobacco](#), some cotton, and some black slaves.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

32. Smoking would nevertheless spread within the imperial court, and the emperor would need again to reassert this decree in 1641. [Snuff](#), introduced by the Jesuits in the mid-17th century, soon however would become quite popular, from the court on down, and would remain so during much of the Qing dynasty, from this point until 1912.



"...the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."

– Declaration of Independence



W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The rigorous climate of New England, the character of her settlers, and their pronounced political views gave slavery an even slighter basis here than in the Middle colonies. The significance of New England in the African slave-trade does not therefore lie in the fact that she early discountenanced the system of slavery and stopped importation; but rather in the fact that her citizens, being the traders of the New World, early took part in the carrying slave-trade and furnished slaves to the other colonies. An inquiry, therefore, into the efforts of the New England colonies to suppress the slave-trade would fall naturally into two parts: first, and chiefly, an investigation of the efforts to stop the participation of citizens in the carrying slave-trade; secondly, an examination of the efforts made to banish the slave-trade from New England soil.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In the individual efforts of the various colonies to suppress the African slave-trade there may be traced certain general movements. First, from 1638 to 1664, there was a tendency to take a high moral stand against the traffic. This is illustrated in the laws of New England, in the plans for the settlement of Delaware and, later, that of Georgia, and in the



protest of the German Friends. The second period, from about 1664 to 1760, has no general unity, but is marked by statutes laying duties varying in design from encouragement to absolute prohibition, by some cases of moral opposition, and by the slow but steady growth of a spirit unfavorable to the long continuance of the trade. The last colonial period, from about 1760 to 1787, is one of pronounced effort to regulate, limit, or totally prohibit the traffic. Beside these general movements, there are many waves of legislation, easily distinguishable, which rolled over several or all of the colonies at various times, such as the series of high duties following the Assiento, and the acts inspired by various Negro "plots."

Notwithstanding this, the laws of the colonies before 1774 had no national unity, the peculiar circumstances of each colony determining its legislation. With the outbreak of the Revolution came unison in action with regard to the slave-trade, as with regard to other matters, which may justly be called national. It was, of course, a critical period, — a period when, in the rapid upheaval of a few years, the complicated and diverse forces of decades meet, combine, act, and react, until the resultant seems almost the work of chance. In the settlement of the fate of slavery and the slave-trade, however, the real crisis came in the calm that succeeded the storm, in that day when, in the opinion of most men, the question seemed already settled. And indeed it needed an exceptionally clear and discerning mind, in 1787, to deny that slavery and the slave-trade in the United States of America were doomed to early annihilation. It seemed certainly a legitimate deduction from the history of the preceding century to conclude that, as the system had risen, flourished, and fallen in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, and as South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland were apparently following in the same legislative path, the next generation would in all probability witness the last throes of the system on our soil.

To be sure, the problem had its uncertain quantities. The motives of the law-makers in South Carolina and Pennsylvania were dangerously different; the century of industrial expansion was slowly dawning and awakening that vast economic revolution in which American slavery was to play so prominent and fatal a rôle; and, finally, there were already in the South faint signs of a changing moral attitude toward slavery, which would no longer regard the system as a temporary makeshift, but rather as a permanent though perhaps unfortunate necessity. With regard to the slave-trade, however, there appeared to be substantial unity of opinion; and there were, in 1787, few things to indicate that a cargo of five hundred African slaves would openly be landed in Georgia in 1860.



February 26, Monday (Old Style): Governor John Winthrop made an entry in his journal that is now the earliest document we have of a trade in black [slaves](#) in Massachusetts. He noted that the Massachusetts ship *Desire* in returning from the West Indies had brought “some cotton, and [tobacco](#), and negroes, etc.”

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

### JOHN WINTHROP JOURNAL

Since we have a record from this year that Samuel Maverick already had a number of blacks at his home on Noddles Island (which is now part of the general East [Boston](#) landfill), it would appear that there had been previous slave deliveries to the Bay Colony.

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS



“Don’t think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed.”



– [Dwight David Eisenhower](#)

### 1639

Governor Kieft banned the smoking of [tobacco](#) in New Amsterdam, as would happen again on March 31, 2003. (Doesn’t that sound like getting ahead of the curve?)

### 1640

The Dutch seized Malacca and took control of most [spice](#) production in the East.

The British West Indies had a population of 20,000, most of it employed in the growing of [sugar cane](#). During this decade the plant would be being cultivated on the island of Barbados by mixed teams of white and black laborers.

Greenwich Village had been known to Native Americans as, among other variants of the term, *Sapponckanican* — “tobacco fields,” or “land where the tobacco grows.” Nieuw Amsterdam’s Gov. Wouter Van Twiller had in 1629 appropriated a farm belonging to the Dutch West India Company in the Bossen Bouwery (“Farm in the woods”) area of Manhattan island, and there he had begun growing [tobacco](#). The first Dutch references to the name *Sapponckanican* appear around this year.

In this year, also, a Dutch church was erected inside the stockade.



1641

The shogun Iemitsu, who had previously restricted all interaction with foreigners to the single port of [Nagasaki](#), in this year banned all foreigners except the [Chinese](#) and Dutch.

The emperor of [China](#) again decreed, as he had ineffectually in 1638, that any person caught trafficking in [tobacco](#) was to be decapitated. This decree would prove ineffectual as smoking and the taking of [snuff](#) spread within the imperial court.

HEADCHOPPING

Russia's Michael Romanov made [tobacco](#) a state monopoly — and declared that both users and sellers of the substance were to be flogged.

1642

The Virginia colony enacted a law to fine those who might harbor or otherwise succor slaves who were attempting to steal themselves away from their lawful masters. They were to be fined 20 pounds of [tobacco](#) for each night of refuge they had granted. After a 2d such attempt to steal themselves, slaves were to be branded on their skin in such manner as to indicate their dishonorable intentions.

Pope Urban VIII issued a papal bull after smoking was discovered in churches in Seville, banning [tobacco](#) use by the clergy under penalty of excommunication.

1643

In Russia, financial pressures were such as to cause the ban on [tobacco](#) to be placed temporarily in abeyance.

1644

The Manchu overlords revoked all existing bans on the smoking of [tobacco](#): [China](#) was to become the great smoking nation of Asia. The Jesuits would introduce [snuff](#).

**1647**

Sultan Ahmed I of Turkey lifted his prohibition of [tobacco](#). The poet Pecevi described [tobacco](#), [coffee](#), [opium](#), and [wine](#) as the four “cushions on the sofa of pleasure.”

Connecticut banned public [smoking](#): citizens might smoke only once a day “and then not in company with any other.”

Rice was introduced into cultivation in the Carolinas (nowadays California, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas are our main rice-producing states).

Correspondence from the Caribbean to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts confirmed that workers at [sugar cane](#) plantations would require food provisions from the outside, because the production of sugar was more profitable than the production of other provisions. The most important export for Massachusetts was salt [cod](#) sold to feed slaves in West Indian plantations. Returning ships brought quantities of sugar and molasses sufficient to spur the New England [spirits](#) industry.

**PLANTS****1648**

The 30 Years' War of 1618 to 1648 had spread [smoking](#) throughout Central and Eastern Europe. In Luneberg, [Germany](#), the penalty for [tobacco](#) use was set at death. Smoking was being generally prohibited. Writers had become hostile to use of this substance.

**CAPITAL PUNISHMENT**

Czar Alexis Mikhailovich abolished the Russian state monopoly in [tobacco](#) and reimposed the ban on smoking.



1650

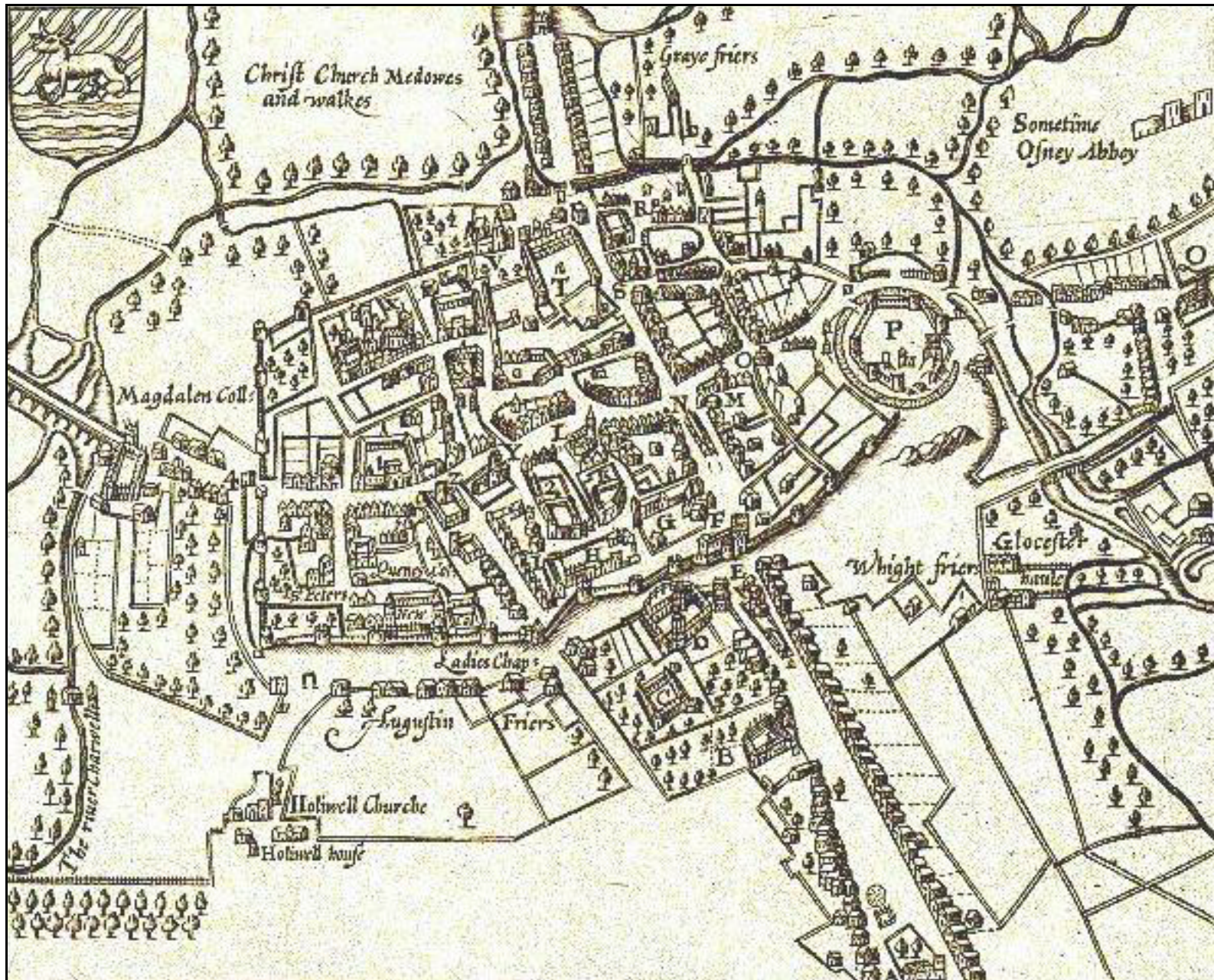
In [Japan](#) during this decade, all injunctions against the use of [tobacco](#) were repealed.

With peace, there evolved a new kind of noble, literate warrior according to *bushido* (“way of the warrior”).

In 1642 a papal bull had banned [tobacco](#) use by the clergy under penalty of excommunication. In this year another papal bull reinforced this threat.

Although Sultan Murad IV had established the death penalty for [smoking](#) in the Ottoman Empire, the use of [tobacco](#) had nevertheless spread. Many Turkish subjects were instead taking [snuff](#) because such use could be more surreptitious. At this point, the ban was repealed and cultivation of the plant spread across Turkey.

At this point both [coffee](#) and [tea](#) were virtually unheard-of as hot beverages in Europe and America, although coffee had been playing a minor role as a medication. Tea, *Camellia sinensis*, was still merely a [Chinese](#) crop, and it was [alcoholic](#) beverages that remained the universal unchallenged daily drink of “Europeans” everywhere. The New England colonies would be attempting to establish a precise definition of [drunkenness](#) that would include the time spent drinking, the amount that was drunk, and the related behavior. However, the 1st shipment of tea was received in New Amsterdam during this year, plus, as of this year the beverage made from the scorched Arabica bean was being introduced into England at a head shop “at the [sign of the] Angel in the parish of St. Peter in the East” in the university town of Oxford.



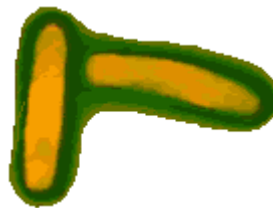
By 1675 there would be over 3,000 such [coffee](#) houses in England.



Rumor has it that the proprietor of this 1st coffee shop was a Jew from the Lebanon. Soon there would also be a similar outlet in Exeter in Devonshire, which would be being patronized by the spiritual descendants of [Walter Raleigh](#) not only for the consumption of the beverage from Arabia but also for the “drinking” of the smoke from the burning of the leaves of a plant from America, the [tobacco](#). Although many [coffee](#) houses would also serve [beer](#) and [wine](#), the spread of [coffee](#) use in Europe’s rapidly growing cities would be facilitated by growing resentment against the effects of [alcohol](#) and the need for a center for sober social intercourse and intellectual discussions. In general, [tobacco](#) use would begin among the upper classes and aristocrats and then be copied by the lower and middle classes as prices declined.

SWEETS WITHOUT SLAVERY

In Holland, Dr. Sylvius de la Boe described the tubercle.



Although [sugar](#) made from the boiled juice of the [sugar cane](#) plant had been present in the European diet since about 1100 CE, at this point it was beginning to become fairly common in the diet of those who could afford it, whereas before this point the primary sources of sweetness had been fruit and honey. The commodity was beginning to change its status in recipes from that of a spice<sup>33</sup> to that of a foodstuff, and in the economy from that of a rare luxury item to that of an available expectation ([tobacco](#) had preceded it in this transition from luxury to expectation). In England, the wealthy and the noble had become inveterate sugar consumers, with sugar figuring not only in their medicine and in their literary imagery, but also in their displays of rank.

The General Court of the colony of Connecticut ordered that there was to be no smoking of [tobacco](#) by any person under the age of 21, and there was to be no smoking except upon the order of a physician.

The habit of smoking [tobacco](#) was spreading in Austria.

Pope Innocent X issued a bull against smoking [tobacco](#) on the grounds of St. Peter’s in [Rome](#).

1657

A Frenchman opened the 1st [chocolate](#) shop in London, in Bishopsgate Street. The London coffee houses began serving Spanish-style cakes and rolls containing chocolate. New chocolate houses begin to spring up all over London, the most famous being White’s and The Cocoa Tree.

The use of [tobacco](#) was prohibited in Switzerland.

33. When sugar is used in recipes as a spice, in the trace quantities in which [saffron](#) or sage or [nutmeg](#) is used, it more or less has an effect like a very small quantity of MSG and rather than having a pronounced sweetening effect instead brings out certain flavors which are otherwise present but muted. In 12th-Century Europe, the recognized spices were, besides [sugar](#), cardamom, coriander, [ginger](#) and its relative galingale, [mace](#), [nutmeg](#), [pepper](#), and [saffron](#).



SIK'AR

PLANTS

1659

Venice established the 1st [tobacco](#) appalto, which is to say, the 1st contract whereby exclusive rights to import, manufacture, and trade in tobacco were farmed out by the government for a certain consideration, to a private person.

1660

The restoration of the English monarchy, with the court of Charles II returning to London from exile in Paris, bringing with it French court practices: the [snuff](#) of pulverized [tobacco](#) was on its way to becoming the aristocratic form of use. The West Indies colonies were granted a virtual monopoly upon England's production of [cane sugar](#).

SWEETS  
WITHOUT  
SLAVERY

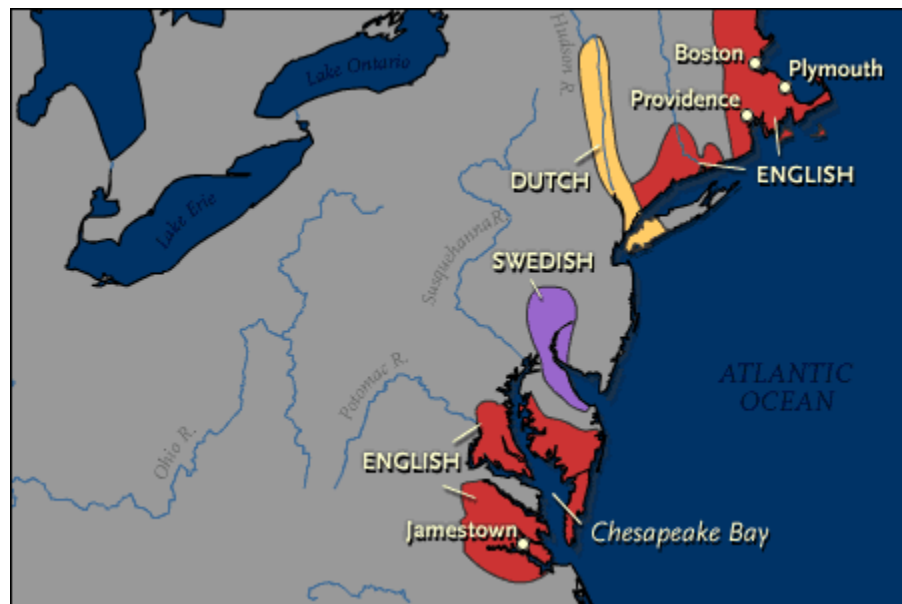
[John Dryden](#)'s "Astraea Redux" and "To his Sacred Majesty" were designed to strengthen the monarchy. The monarch granted patents for two theaters (one hand washes the other).

In [Italy](#), Pope Alexander VII was farming out [tobacco](#) monopolies.

PLANTS

SIK'AR

The Navigation Act mandated that the colonies of England might ship seven enumerated items, one of them [tobacco](#), only to England or to another of the English colonies. During Charles II's reign (1660-1685) the growing of the tobacco plant in England, except for small lots in physic gardens, would be forbidden — so as to preserve the taxes coming in from Virginian imports.





## V

SMOKING IN THE RESTORATION PERIOD<sup>34</sup>

The Indian weed withered quite  
Green at noon, cut down at night,  
Shows thy decay —  
All flesh is hay:  
Thus think, then drink tobacco.  
George Wither (1588-1667).

The year 1660 that restored Charles II to his throne, restored a gaiety and brightness, not to say frivolity of tone, that had long been absent from English life. The following song in praise of tobacco, taken from a collection which was printed in 1660, is touched with the spirit of the time; though it is really founded on, and to no small extent taken from, some verses in praise of tobacco written by Samuel Rowlands in his "Knave of Clubs," 1611:

To feed on flesh is gluttony,  
It maketh men fat like swine;  
But is not he a frugal man  
That on a leaf can dine?

He needs no linnen for to foul  
His fingers' ends to wipe,  
That has his kitchin in a box,  
And roast meat in a pipe.

The cause wherefore few rich men's sons  
Prove disputants in schools,  
Is that their fathers fed on flesh,  
And they begat fat fools.

This fulsome feeding cloggs the brain  
And doth the stomach choak  
But he's a brave spark that can dine  
With one light dish of smoak.

There is nothing to show that King Charles smoked, nor what his personal attitude towards tobacco may have been.

His Majesty was pleased, however, in a letter to Cambridge University, officially to condemn smoking by parsons, as at the same time he condemned the practice of wig-wearing and of sermon-reading by the clergy. But the royal frown was without effect. Wigs soon covered nearly every clerical head from the bench of bishops downwards; and it is very doubtful indeed whether a single parson put his pipe out.

34. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



Clouds were blown under archiepiscopal roofs. At Lambeth Palace one Sunday in February 1672 John Eachard, the author of the famous book or tract on "The Contempt of the Clergy," 1670, which Macaulay turned to such account, dined with Archbishop Sheldon. He sat at the lower end of the table between the archbishop's two chaplains; and when dinner was finished, Sheldon, we are told, retired to his withdrawing-room, while Eachard went with the chaplains and another convive to their lodgings "to drink and smook."

If the restored king did not himself smoke, tobacco was far from unknown at the Palace of Whitehall. We get a curious glimpse of one aspect of life there in the picture which Lilly, the notorious astrologer, paints in his story of his arrest in January 1661. He was taken to Whitehall at night, and kept in a large room with some sixty other prisoners till daylight, when he was transferred to the guardroom, which, he says, "I thought to be hell; some therein were sleeping, others swearing, others smooking tobacco. In the chimney of the room I believe there was two bushels of broken tobacco pipes, almost half one load of ashes." What would the king's grandfather, the author of the "Counterblaste," have said, could he have imagined such a spectacle within the palace walls?

General Monk, to whom Charles II owed so much, is said to have indulged in the unpleasant habit of chewing tobacco, and to have been imitated by others; but the practice can never have been common.

Tobacco was still the symbol of good-fellowship. Winstanley, who was an enemy of what he called "this Heathenish Weed," and who thought the "folly" of smoking might never have spread so much if stringent "means of prevention" had been exercised, yet had to declare in 1660 that "Tobacco it self is by few taken now as medicinal, it is grown a good-fellow, and fallen from a Physician to a Complement. 'He's no good-fellow that's without ... burnt Pipes, Tobacco, and his Tinder-Box.'"

At the time of the Restoration tobacco-boxes which were considered suitable to the occasion were made in large numbers. The outside of the lid bore a portrait of the Royal Martyr; within the lid was a picture of the restored king, His Majesty King Charles II; while on the inside of the bottom of the box was a representation of Oliver Cromwell leaning against a post, a gallows-tree over his head, and about his neck a halter tied to the tree, while beside him was pictured the devil, wide-mouthed. Another form of memorial tobacco-box is described in an advertisement in the *London Gazette* of September 15, 1687. This was a silver box which had either been "taken out of the Bull's Head Tavern, Cheapside, or left in a Hackney Coach." It was "ingraved on the Lid with a Coat of Arms, etc., and a Medal of Charles the First fastened to the inside of the Lid, and engraved on the inside 'to Jacob Smith it doth belong, at the Black Lyon in High Holborn, date August 1671.'"

Smokers of the period were often curious in tobacco-boxes. Mr. Richard Stapley, gentleman, of Twineham, Sussex, whose diary is full of curious information, was presented in 1691 by his friend



Mr. John Hill with a "tobacco-box made of tortoise." Seven years earlier Stapley had sold to Hill his silver tobacco-box for 10s. in cash – the rest of the value of the box, he noted, "I freely forgave him for writing at our first commission for me, and for copying of answers and ye like in our law concerns; so yt I reckon I have as good as 30s. for my box: 5s. he gave me, and 5s. more he promised to pay me ... and I had his steel box with the bargain, and full of smoake." Apparently Mr. Hill's secretarial labours were valued at 20s. This same Sussex squire bought a pound of tobacco in December 1685 for 20d., which seems decidedly cheap, and in the following year a 5 lb. box for 7s. 6d. – which was cheaper still.

A Sussex rector, the Rev. Giles Moore, of Horsted Keynes, in 1656 and again in 1662, paid 1s. for two ounces of tobacco, *i.e.* at the rate of 8s. per lb. Presumably the rector bought the more expensive Spanish tobacco and the squire the cheaper Virginian. At the annual parish feast held at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, London, on May 24, 1666, the expenses included 3d. for tobacco for twenty or more adults. This too was doubtless Virginian or colonial tobacco. The North Elmham Church Accounts (Norfolk) for 1673 show that 12s. 4 d. was paid for "Butter, cheese, Bread, Cakes, Beere and Tobacco and Tobacco Pipes at the goeing of the Rounds of the Towne." On the occasion of a similar perambulation of the parish boundaries in 1714-15 the churchwardens paid for beer, pipes and tobacco, cakes and wine. The account-books of the church and parish of St. Stephen, Norwich, for 1696-97 show 2s. as the price of a pound of tobacco. These entries, and many others of similar import, show that at feasts and at social and convivial gatherings of all kinds, tobacco maintained its ascendancy. Pipes and tobacco were included in the usual provision for city feasts, mayoral and other; and smoking was made a particular feature of the Lord Mayor's Show of 1672. A contemporary pamphleteer says that in the Show of that year were "two extreme great giants, each of them at least 15 foot high, that do sit, and are drawn by horses in two several chariots, moving, talking, and taking tobacco as they ride along, to the great admiration and delight of all the spectators." Among the guests at a wedding in London in 1683 were the Lord Mayor, Sheriff and Aldermen of the City, the Lord Chief Justice – the afterwards notorious Jeffreys – and other "bigwigs." Evelyn records with grave disapproval that "these great men spent the rest of the afternoon till 11 at night, in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of judges, who had but a day or two before condemned Mr. Algernon Sidney."

Although smoking was general among parsons, yet attacks on tobacco were occasionally heard from pulpits. A Lancashire preacher named Thomas Jollie, who was one of the ministers ejected from Church livings by the Act of Uniformity, 1662, has left a manuscript diary relating to his religious work. In it, under date 1687, he mentions that he had spoken "against the inordinate affection to and the immoderate use of tobacco which did caus much trouble in some of my hearers and some reformation did follow." He then goes on to record two remarkable examples of such "reformation" – examples, he says, "which did stirr me up in that case more than ordinary. The one I had from my



reverend Brother Mr. Robert Whittaker, concerning a professor [*i.e.* a person who professed to have been "converted"] who could not follow his calling without his pipe in his mouth, but that text Isaiah 55, 2, coming into his mind hee layd aside his taking of tobacco. The other instance was of a profane person living nigh Haslingdon (who was but poor) and took up his time in the trade of smoking and also spent what should relieve his poor family. This man dreamed that he was taking tobacco, and that the devill stood by him filling one pipe upon another for him. In the morning hee fell to his old cours notwithstanding; thinking it was but a dream: but when hee came to take his pipe, hee had such an apprehension that the devill did indeed stand by him and doe the office as hee dreamed that hee was struck speechless for a time and when hee came to himself hee threw his tobacco in the fire and his pipes at the walls; resolving never to meddle more with it: soe much money as was formerly wasted by the week in to serving his family afterward weekly."

Among the many medicinal virtues attributed to tobacco was its supposed value as a preservative from contagion at times of plague. Hearne, the antiquary, writing early in 1721, said that he had been told that in the Great Plague of London of 1665 none of those who kept tobacconists' shops suffered from it, and this belief no doubt enhanced the medical reputation of the weed. I have also seen it stated that during the cholera epidemics of 1831, 1849, and 1866 not one London tobacconist died from that disease; but good authority for the statement seems to be lacking. Hutton, in his "History of Derby," says that when that town was visited by the plague in 1665, that at the "Headless-cross ... the market-people, having their mouths primed with tobacco as a preservative, brought their provisions.... It was observed, that this cruel affliction never attempted the premises of a tobacconist, a tanner or a shoemaker." Whatever ground there may have been for the belief in the prophylactic effect of smoking, there can be no doubt that in the seventeenth century it was firmly held. Howell in one of his "Familiar Letters" dated January 1, 1646, says that the smoke of tobacco is "one of the wholesomest sents that is against all contagious airs, for it overmasters all other smells, as King James they say found true, when being once a hunting, a showr of rain drave him into a Pigsty for shelter, wher he caus'd a pipe full to Be taken of purpose." But here Mr. Howell is certainly drawing the long-bow. One cannot imagine the author of the "Counterblaste" countenancing the use of tobacco under any circumstances.

At the time of the Great Plague all kinds of nostrums were sold and recommended as preservatives or as cures. Most of these perished with the occasion that called them forth; but the names of some have been preserved in a rare quarto tract which was published in the Plague year, 1665, entitled "A Brief Treatise of the Nature, Causes, Signes, Preservation from and Cure of the Pestilence," "collected by W. Kemp, Mr. of Arts." In the list of devices for purifying infected air it is stated that "The American Silver-weed, or Tobacco, is very excellent for this purpose, and an excellent defence against bad air, being smoked in a pipe, either by itself, or with Nutmegs shred, and Rew Seeds mixed with it, especially if it be nosed" – which, I suppose,



means if the smoke be exhaled through the nose – “for it cleanseth the air, and choaketh, suppresseth and disperseth any venomous vapour.” Mr. Kemp warms to his subject and proceeds with a whole-hearted panegyric that must be quoted in full: “It hath singular and contrary effects, it is good to warm one being cold, and will cool one being hot. All ages, all Sexes, all Constitutions, Young and Old, Men and Women, the Sanguine, the Cholerick, the Melancholy, the phlegmatick, take it without any manifest inconvenience, it queneth thirst, and yet will make one more able, and fit to drink; it abates hunger, and yet will get one a good stomach; it is agreeable with mirth or sadness, with feasting and with fasting; it will make one rest that wants sleep, and will keep one waking that is drowsie; it hath an offensive smell to some, and is more desirable than any perfume to others; that it is a most excellent preservative, both experience and reason do teach; it corrects the air by Fumigation, and it avoids corrupt humours by Salivation; for when one takes it either by Chewing it in the leaf, or Smoaking it in the pipe, the humors are drawn and brought from all parts of the body, to the stomach, and from thence rising up to the mouth of the Tobacconist, as to the helme of a Sublimatory, are voided and spitten out.”

When plague was abroad even children were compelled to smoke. At the time of the dreadful visitation of 1665 all the boys at Eton were obliged to smoke in school every morning. One of these juvenile smokers, a certain Tom Rogers, years afterwards declared to Hearne, the Oxford antiquary, that he never was whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoking. Times have changed at Eton since this anti-tobacconist martyr received his whipping. It is sometimes stated that at this time smoking was generally practised in schools, and that at a stated hour each morning lessons were laid aside, and masters and scholars alike produced their pipes and proceeded to smoke tobacco. But I know of no authority for this wider statement; it seems to have grown out of Hearne's record of the practice at Eton.

The belief in the prophylactic power of tobacco was, however, very generally held. When Mr. Samuel Pepys on June 7, 1665, for the first time saw several houses marked with the ominous red cross, and the words “Lord, have mercy upon us” chalked upon the doors, he felt so ill at ease that he was obliged to buy some roll tobacco to smell and chew. There is nothing to show that Pepys even smoked, which considering his proficiency in the arts of good-fellowship, is perhaps a little surprising. Defoe, in his fictitious but graphic “Journal of the Plague Year in London,” says that the sexton of one of the London parishes, who personally handled a large number of the victims, never had the distemper at all, but lived about twenty years after it, and was sexton of the parish to the time of his death. This man, according to Defoe, “never used any preservative against the infection other than holding garlic and rue in his mouth, and smoking tobacco.”

When excavations were in progress early in 1901, preparatory to the construction of Kingsway and Aldwych, they included the





removal of bodies from the burying-grounds of St. Clement Danes and St. Mary-le-Strand; and among the bones were found a couple of the curious tobacco-pipes called "plague-pipes," because they are supposed to have been used as a protection against infection by those whose office it was to bury the dead. These pipes have been dug up from time to time in numbers so large that one antiquary, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, has ventured to infer that "almost every person who ventured from home invoked the protection of tobacco."

These seventeenth-century pipes were largely made in Holland of pipe-clay imported from England – to the disgust and loss of English pipe-makers. In 1663 the Company of Tobacco-Pipe Makers petitioned Parliament "to forbid the export of tobacco pipe clay, since by the manufacture of pipes in Holland their trade is much damaged." Further, they asked for "the confirmation of their charter of government so as to empower them to regulate abuses, as many persons engage in the trade without licence." The Company's request was granted; but in the next year they again found it necessary to come to Parliament, showing "the great improvement in their trade since their incorporation, 17 James I, and their threatened ruin because cooks, bakers, and ale-house keepers and others make pipes, but so unskilfully that they are brought into disesteem; they request to be comprehended in the Statute of Labourers of 5 Elizabeth, so that none may follow the trade who have not been apprentices seven years."

Tobacco-pipe making was a flourishing industry at this period and throughout the seventeenth and following century in most of the chief provincial towns and cities as well as in London.

"Old English 'clays,'" says Mr. T.P. Cooper, "are exceedingly interesting, as most of them are branded with the maker's initials. Monograms and designs were stamped or moulded upon the bowls and on the stems, but more generally upon the spur or flat heel of the pipe. Many pipes display on the heels various forms of lines, hatched and milled, which were perhaps the earliest marks of identification adopted by the pipe-makers. In a careful examination of the monograms we are able to identify the makers of certain pipes found in quantities at various places, by reference to the freeman and burgess rolls and parish registers. During the latter half of the seventeenth century English pipes were presented by colonists in America to the Indians; they subsequently became valuable as objects of barter or part purchase value in exchange for land. In 1677 one hundred and twenty pipes and one hundred Jew's harps were given for a strip of country near Timber Creek, in New Jersey. William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, purchased a tract of land, and 300 pipes were included in the articles given in the exchange."

The French traveller, Sorbière, who visited London in 1663, declared that the English were naturally lazy and spent half their time in taking tobacco. They smoked after meals, he observed, and conversed for a long time. "There is scarce a day passes," he wrote, "but a Tradesman goes to the Ale-house or Tavern to smoke with some of his Friends, and therefore Public Houses are numerous here, and Business goes on but slowly in the Shops"; but, curiously enough, he makes no mention of coffee-



houses. A little later they were too common and too much frequented to be overlooked. An English writer on thrift in 1676 said that it was customary for a "mechanic tradesman" to go to the coffee-house or ale-house in the morning to drink his morning's draught, and there he would spend twopence and consume an hour in smoking and talking, spending several hours of the evening in similar fashion.

Country gentlemen smoked just as much as town mechanics and tradesmen. In 1688 Hervey, afterwards Earl of Bristol, wrote to Mr. Thomas Cullum, of Hawsted Place, desiring "to be remembered by the witty smoakers of Hawsted." A later Cullum, Sir John, published in 1784 a "History and Antiquities of Hawsted," and in describing Hawsted Place, which was rebuilt about 1570, says that there was a small apartment called the smoking-room – "a name," he says, "it acquired probably soon after it was built; and which it retained with good reason, as long as it stood." I should like to know on what authority Sir John Cullum could have made the assertion that the room was called the smoking-room from so early a date as the end of the sixteenth century. No mention in print of a smoking-room has been found for the purposes of the Oxford Dictionary earlier than 1689. In Shadwell's "Bury Fair" of that date Lady Fantast says to her husband, Mr. Oldwit, who loves to tell of his early meetings with Ben Jonson and other literary heroes of a bygone day, "While all the Beau Monde, as my daughter says, are with us in the drawing-room, you have none but ill-bred, witless drunkards with you in your smoking-room." As Mr. Oldwit himself, in another scene of the same play, says to his friends, "We'll into my smoking-room and sport about a brimmer," there was probably some excuse for his wife's remark. These country smoking-rooms were known in later days as stone-parlours, the floor being flagged for safety's sake; and the "stone-parlour" in many a squire's house was the scene of much conviviality, including, no doubt, abundant smoking.

The arrival of coffee and the establishment of coffee-houses opened a new field for the victories of tobacco. The first house was opened in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, in 1652. Others soon followed, and in a short time the new beverage had captured the town, and coffee-houses had been opened in every direction. They sold many things besides coffee, and served a variety of purposes, but primarily they were temples of talk and good-fellowship. The buzz of conversation and the smoke of tobacco alike filled the rooms which were the forerunners of the club-houses of a much later day.




1662

Sir William Petty suggested that a condition of enslavement be imposed upon Englishmen who could be classified as “insolvent Thieves.” Don’t hang such persons, make full use of them. Transform an expense item into something of an asset:

“As **slaves** they may be forced to as much labour and as cheap fare as nature will endure.”

One thing that could be done with such “insolvent Thieves” was to transport them involuntarily to the colonies, and put them to work there at involuntary bond-labor allegedly to recoup the costs of their passage. In Virginia, the bond-laborers were kept very much on a corn-and-water diet, supplemented by whatever they might dare to scrounge or steal. If a bond-laborer should be caught during one of the usual dietary supplementations, which was stealing a hog, butchering and smoking it in the swamp, and consuming it on the sly, it was decided in this year that the penalty that would need to be paid for such theft would be one additional year of servitude.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

The Virginia Assembly discarded the English common-law rule whereby familial descent was to be traced through the father, adopting in its place the opposite Justinian standard, whereby the status of the child was *partvs seqvitr ventram* the status of its mother. Henceforth, if a master got his servant girl with child, it would no longer be necessary to prosecute the girl for her fornication and whip her, for the rule would be that “Children got by an Englishman upon a Negro woman shall be bond or free according to the condition of the mother.” The master would be considered merely to be using her services to generate another servant for himself to use or to sell to some other master to use. (This sort of understanding, however, had been being the regular practice in Virginia at least since the 1640s already. )

The 1st Virginia laws against intermarriage and against interracial sex:

“if any Christian shall committ fornication with a negro man or woman, hee or shee soe offending shall pay double the ffines imposed by the former act [which had set fines for fornication at 500 pounds of **tobacco**].”



“Don’t think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed.”

– Dwight David Eisenhower





1663

John Josselyn, Gent. visited Ipswich. He commented on the use of tobacco in England: "It is generally made the compliment of our entertainments and hath made more slaves than Mahomet."

A

Chronological TABLE

Of the most remarkable passages in that part of America, known to us by the name of NEW-ENGLAND.

Anno Dom.

1663. Mr. John Norton Pastor of Boston in New-England, Dyed suddenly.

Mr. Samuel Stone, Teacher of Hartford Church, Dyed this Year.

1665

Spring: When the Great Plague broke out in London, Dr. Thomas Sydenham abandoned its sufferers to their fate, seeking relative personal safety in the English countryside. In Europe during the Great Plague, the clouds of tobacco smoke would be hoped to be having some protective effect. In a Royal Society experiment, Samuel Pepys noted, a cat had quickly died upon being fed a single "drop of distilled oil of tobacco."

Villages such as Cheam on the far west side of Runnymede from London were being overrun with children of wealthy families, being rusticated there in an attempt to safeguard them from the mysterious and fatal epidemic.

Of course, people were suspicious that this disaster had been brought by the great comet that had just recently passed through their skies. Even as late as 1722, Daniel Defoe would be referring to this suspicion in his A JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR.

ASTRONOMY



1666

[Maryland](#) dealt with an oversupply of [tobacco](#) by banning production for one year.

1674

“At the [Coffee](#) Mill and [Tobacco](#) Roll” was the name of a famous London coffee-house in which, as early as this year, one might obtain [chocolate](#) in cakes and rolls “in the Spanish style.”

In France, King Louis XIV established a [tobacco](#) monopoly.

In Russia, if you were caught using [tobacco](#) you might very well be executed.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

1675

[Berne, Switzerland](#) established a special court known as *Chambres de Tabac* to deal with smokers, who were to face the same dire penalties in that Calvinist jurisdiction as adulterers.

TOBACCO

1676

In Russia, the ban on [smoking](#) was lifted.

At this point Dutch traders were purchasing 15,000 black Africans per year on the coast of Angola, at approximately 30 florins each, and selling them in the Americas at some 300 to 500 florins each. “[We must defend ourselves] against all Indians in general, for that they were all Enemies.” This was the unequivocal view of Nathaniel Bacon, a young, wealthy Englishman who had recently settled in the Virginia backcountry. The opinion that all Indians were enemies was also shared by a many other Virginians, especially those who lived like Bacon in the interior. It was not the view, however, of the governor of the colony, William Berkeley. Berkeley was not opposed to fighting Indians who were considered enemies, but attacking friendly Indians, he thought, could lead to what everyone wanted to avoid: a war with “all the Indians against us.” Berkeley also didn’t trust Bacon’s intentions, believing that the upstart’s true aim was to stir up trouble among settlers, who were already discontent with the colony’s government because of the heavy taxes he was levying on [tobacco](#). Bacon attracted a large following who, like him, wanted to kill or drive out every Indian in Virginia. The main fighting force of these rebels was made up of white and black bond laborers who were seeking an end to their servitude. At a place at the head of the York River in Virginia which had been named



“West Point” after its owner, a Colonel West, some “four hundred English and Negroes in Armes” were demanding “freedom from their [slavery](#).”<sup>35</sup>

In 1675, when Berkeley had denied Bacon a commission to lead soldiers, Bacon had taken it upon himself to lead his followers in a crusade against the “enemy.” They had marched to a fort held by a friendly tribe, the Occaneechees, and convinced them to capture warriors from an unfriendly tribe. When the Occaneechees had returned with captives, Bacon’s men had first killed the captives and then turned on their native “allies” and opened fire. Considerable booty was then collected, in the form of furs. All the Indians about the Chesapeake Bay were made tributary to the whites as the result of a campaign against them by Bacon, who defeated and nearly exterminated them in a battle fought on the present site of the city of Richmond. Berkeley declared Bacon a rebel and charged him with treason. Just to be safe, the next time Bacon returned to Jamestown VA, he had brought along 50 armed men. He had been arrested, but Berkeley had pardoned him instead of sentencing him to death, the usual punishment for such treason. Still without the commission he felt he deserved, Bacon had returned to Jamestown later the same month, this time accompanied by 500 men. Berkeley had been forced to give Bacon the commission, only to later declare that it was void. Bacon, in the meantime, had continued his fight against Indians. When he learned of the Governor’s declaration, he headed back to Jamestown. The governor immediately fled, along with a few of his supporters, to Virginia’s eastern shore. Each leader tried to muster support. Each promised freedom to slaves and servants who would join their cause. Bacon’s following was much greater than William Berkeley’s and in September, he and his men would be able to set Jamestown on fire. Britain sent a royal force to assist in quelling the uprising and arresting scores of committed rebels, white and black. When Nathaniel Bacon suddenly died in October, probably of dysentery, his rebellion fizzled out. Theodore W. Allen has commented on this history that:



[J]ust as the overthrow of the tenancy in the 1620s had cleared the way for the institution of chattel bond-servitude, so the defeat of Bacon’s Rebellion cleared the way for the establishment of the system of lifelong hereditary chattel bond-servitude.

35. Edmund S. Morgan has asserted that the Southrons would be seeking to prevent a replay of Bacon’s Rebellion by “racism, to separate dangerous free whites from dangerous slave blacks by a screen of racial contempt,” in accordance with Sir Francis Bacon’s advice, that the wise ruler divides and breaks off “all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at a distance, or at least distrust among themselves.”

What this strategy would of course not contemplate would be that circumstances might be brought to occur, in which the black slaves could be divided away from the protection of their rich white owners, and then slaughtered by the poor whites in a spasm of genocide, bringing about the destruction not only of the black slaves which these poor whites had been trained so to contemn, but also their rich white owners who could not survive as such if divested of their investment in their chattel servants. — Which is **very much what almost would be brought about** in consequence of Captain John Brown’s ill-advised 1859 attempt to equip an army of escaping slaves with pikes at Harpers Ferry!

February 10, Thursday (Old Style), sunrise: In the absence from Lancaster of her minister husband Joseph, [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) and her family were attacked in their garrison house there by some 400 Nipmuc who had enlisted in this race war after three of their fellows had been executed in Plymouth MA. These were the same warriors who had marched into the Praying Indian villages on November 1st of the previous year and taken, among others, [James Printer](#). (Printer eventually would help produce Rowlandson's narrative at the Cambridge Press. Was he a willing participant in this attack? Does it matter?)



Printer realized that his future lay with her (and hers with him). In the coming weeks Printer served as scribe during negotiations for Mary Rowlandson's redemption. Then, when amnesty was offered to Christian Indians who had joined the enemy, Printer turned himself in to colonial authorities, bringing with him, as required by special instruction, the heads of two enemy Indians – testaments to his fidelity. Eventually Printer returned to his work at the press in Cambridge and, in 1682, in one of the most sublime ironies of King Philip's War, James Printer set the type for The Sovereignty and Goodness of God. Mary Rowlandson and James Printer are indeed a curious pair. Their intricately linked stories are at once uncannily similar and crucially divergent. Before the war, Mary's husband, Joseph Rowlandson, was the minister of her town, while James's brother, Joseph Tukapewillin, was the minister of his. Both Rowlandson and Printer spent the winter of 1675-1676 with enemy Nipmucs. Both returned to Boston months later to live, again, among the English. But while Rowlandson came to terms with her time among enemy Indians by writing a book, Printer supplied body parts.

Of the 50 white families resident at Lancaster, 37 whites had taken refuge in this particular garrison house. The first alert was hearing the sound of shots, as attacks were made on three of the other four garrison houses in the settlement. Four of the five fortifications would be able to withstand the attack,<sup>36</sup> but from her own garrison house and its surroundings, none of the pack of "six stout Dogs belonging to our Garrison," she would complain, would be willing to stir,<sup>37</sup>

though another time, if any Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord thereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is always in him.



CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

After two hours of assault, the attackers managed to set the house ablaze. Of the occupants, 12 would be killed,

36. These surviving colonists of Lancaster, including the family of Daniel Hudson (1), would seek shelter in [Concord](#).

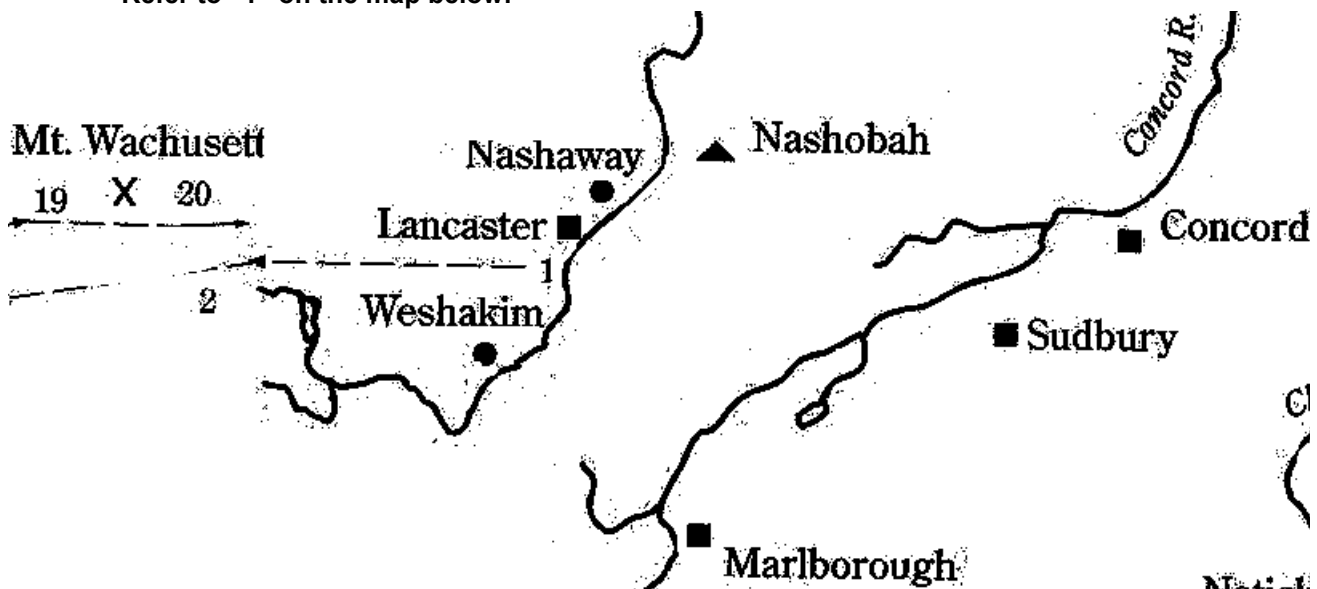


one would escape, and 24 would be held for ransom.



By now, Indian captivity is just another roadside attraction. In Lancaster MA, a sign recounts where hostage [Mary Rowlandson](#) camped with Indians after they burned the town in 1676. In Letchworth State Park (NY) is a statue of Mary Jemison... Virginia's Hungry Mother State Park... In eastern Kentucky, Jenny Wiley State Resort Park... Texas marks the spot where, in 1836, Cynthia Ann Parker was grabbed... You don't have to drive far in America to find the roadside story of a white woman in distress.

Refer to "1" on the map below:



Mistress Rowlandson would relate, "Then I took Children (and one of my sisters, hers) to go forth and leave the house: but as soon as we came to the dore and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the House, as if one had taken an handfull of stones and threw them, so that we were fain to give back." Finally she was forced to leave the burning house. Immediately she saw her brother-in-law fall, dead from wounds; her nephew, whose leg was broken, killed, and her sister shot. She herself was shot through the side, the child she carried in her arms being struck by the same bullet. There were 13 killed and 24 taken captive. According to her account, "I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them then taken alive but when it came to the tryal my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along ... then that moment to end my days...." Mary Rowlandson would sojourn as a servant with her captors for almost three months, as they journeyed westward to the

37. You can consult [Mistress Mary Rowlandson's](#) captivity narrative THE SOVERAIGNTY AND GOODNESS OF GOD, TOGETHER WITH THE FAITHFULNESS OF HIS PROMISES DISPLAYED; BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE [CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION OF MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON](#) most conveniently (on paper) in Richard VanDerBeets's edition HELD CAPTIVE BY INDIANS: SELECTED NARRATIVES, 1642-1836 (Knoxville TN: U of Tennessee P, 1973). Also see Slotkin, Richard and James K. Folsom, ed., SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT: PURITAN RESPONSES TO KING PHILIP'S WAR, 1676-1677 (Middletown OH: Wesleyan UP, 1978). Those of us who interest themselves in this sort of thing will be interested to learn that, according to Friend [William Edmundson's](#) journal, pages 79-80 (Dublin, 1715), some [Quakers](#) of that period were carrying the doctrine of nonresistance to evil to such a point that when the Indian alarm was given, they were refusing to take refuge in the community blockhouses. Our history books tell us that this refusal to play war was very annoying to the other white people, to the point of beginning to persecute these refusers for their persistent utterly selfish refusal to stand guard in the common defense — strangely our history books do **not** inform us that nothing of the sort actually happened, because in fact despite what Friend William asserted, the Quakers did indeed seek refuge in blockhouses protected by guns. ~~just like all the other white people!~~



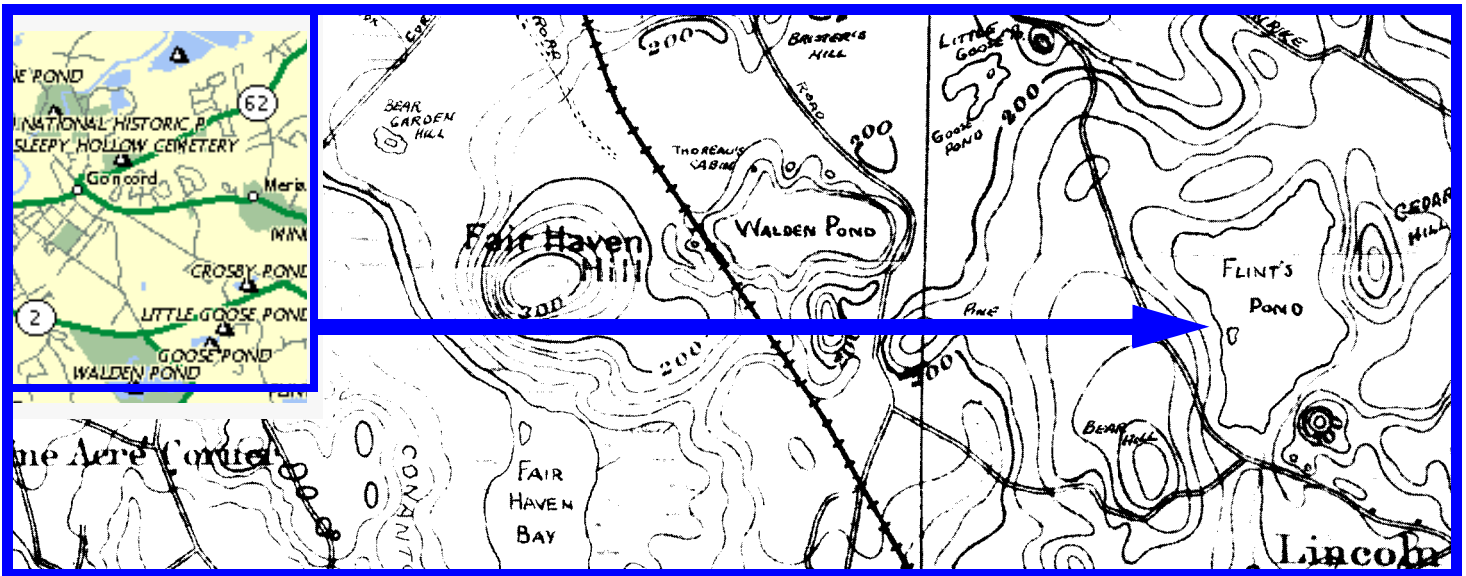


Connecticut River and northward into Vermont and New Hampshire. Wounded in her side and carrying the wounded child, for the first three days there would be not only no roof over their head, but nothing whatever to eat. At times a warrior would carry the child for her, but when she and the child were put on a horse she fell off, not knowing how to ride bareback. Finally she and her feverish child would be able to ride behind a warrior.

On the fourth day, Mistress Rowlandson would meet Robbert Pepper, who had been captured during the ambush at Beers Plain in Northfield the previous September. He would suggest that she put a poultice of oak leaves on her wound, as that had earlier cured a wound on his own leg. On February 18th, Mary's child would die in her arms and be buried by the warriors on a hillside. Her other daughter was in the custody of another warrior and she would soon learn that her son was alive, in a nearby encampment. Although she was a captive, the natives would make no attempt to prevent her from seeing her children. They would give her a Bible to read. At the end of February, Mary Rowlandson and her master and mistress would leave the main body of warriors behind, so she would not see her daughter again until she was ransomed. In March the small warrior band with which she traveled moved on to Miller's River (Baquaug) in Orange, Massachusetts, followed closely by a troop of English. Again, according to her account, "... then they made a stop, and chose some of their stoutest men, and sent them back to hold the English Army in play whilst the rest escaped: And then, like Jehu, they marched on furiously, with their old, and with their young: some carried their old decrepit mothers, some carried one, and some another." When the group would reach Miller's River, everyone would begin cutting dry trees to make rafts to cross the stream on that very cold day. Mistress Rowlandson would rejoice at being able to cross without chilling her feet. "The chief and commonest food was [Ground-nut](#): They eat also Nuts and Acorns, Harty-choaks, Lilly roots, Ground-beans, and several other weeds and roots, that I know not. They would pick up old bones, and cut them to pieces at the joynts, and if they were full of wormes and magots, they would scald them over the fire to make the vermine come out, and then boile them, and drink up the Liquor, and then beat the great ends of them in a Morter, and so eat them. They would eat Horses guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild Birds which they could catch: also Bear, Vennison, Beaver, Tortois, Frogs, Squirrels, Dogs, Skunks, Rattle-snakes; yea, the very Bark of Trees; besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the English." Rowlandson would be part of a very large Amerindian encampment at Squakeag (Northfield, Massachusetts). While the group remained there, her son Joseph would be able to come for a short visit. During her stay in this area, she would meet Metacom and he would offer her a pipe of [tobacco](#), which she would decline "though I had formerly used Tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a Bait, the Devil layes to make men loose their previous time: I remember with shame, how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another, such a bewitching thing it is. But I thank God, he has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed than to ly sucking a stinking Tobacco-pipe." Mrs. Rowlandson would make clothes and barter them to her captors. In this way, for instance, she would obtain a broth thickened with the bark of a tree, and a knife. When Metacom would give her a shilling for making a shirt for his boy, she would offer the shilling to her master and he would allow her to keep it. From Squakeag, the tribe would move up into New Hampshire near the Ashuelot valley and then up to Chesterfield. During this period of her captivity, Mistress Rowlandson would see her son several times, but then he would be sold to a new master and she wouldn't see him again until he would finally be ransomed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Finally, when she thought she would never be taken eastward again, the group began to retrace its route to Miller's River, then to Petersham, and finally to Mount Wachusett. Here negotiations for her ransom would begin toward the end of April. On May 2, 1676, Mary Rowlandson would be exchanged at Redemption Rock for a ransom of twenty English pounds. When she would return to Lancaster, there would be not a single English to be seen and not a single house still standing.

On this same date, or perhaps a week later than this: When the Praying Indians of [Concord](#), who were Nashobah, were restricted to within a mile of their settlement on Flint's Pond or Sandy Pond,

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

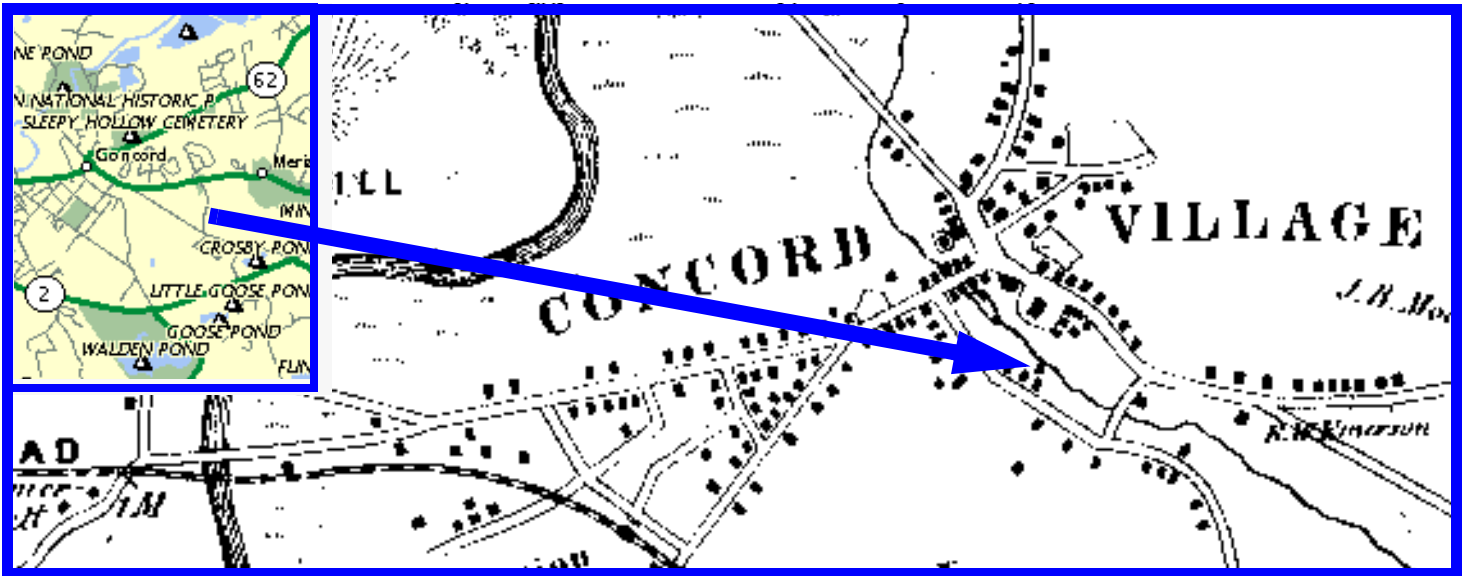


(or to within a mile from the outskirts of beautiful downtown [Concord](#), for it doesn't seem to be clear where the white people intended their local free-fire zone to begin and end) one of the things this meant was that they would starve. For this restriction prevented them from cultivating their cornfields. During a period of heavy snow the Native American villages of the Concord area, praying-ized by the Reverend John Eliot<sup>38</sup> and not, were surrounded while in their lodges by troops from Marlborough led by Captain Samuel Mosely, roped together at the neck, and herded through Concord to what can only be described as a concentration camp on barren Deer Island, a site chosen of course because no white people had been able to subsist there.<sup>39</sup> "Tis Satan's policy, to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration." Most of the hostages would die there of exposure and starvation. There were only 58 of the Reverend Eliot's Praying Indians left in the Concord area, mostly Nashobah women and children. [John Hoar](#) of Concord delegated himself to supervise these people, and built a stockade for them, with workshops, near his home south of the millpond:<sup>40</sup>

38. The Reverend John Eliot was doing what he could to shield his flock "when some of the people of Massachusetts, actuated by the most infuriate spirit, intended to have destroyed them" (ALLEN'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY), but his position was inevitably a compromised and therefore a compromising position. It was much easier to make them be Christians than it was to force Christians to treat them like Christians.

39. A concentration camp for Praying Indian hostages would also be set up on Clark's Island, off Plymouth MA.

40. The [John Hoar](#) stockade was near where the Alcott home known as "Orchard House" would one day stand.



These people worked during the day and were locked into the stockade at night, at least in part for their own defense. At one point [John Hoar](#) hitched up an ox team and went back the eleven miles to Nashobah Plantation, to retrieve some of the supply of corn that had been laid by for their winter sustenance. Because of this, these people would be in the very last of the detachments sent out to Deer Island. However, some townspeople were not in favor of this, and surreptitiously sent word to the infamous Captain Samuel Mosely.



An attempt was made to separate the friendly Christian Indians from the wild savages, and some were brought in to Deer Island in Boston harbor. Others [primarily women and young children, and excluding any males of warrior age] were brought to [Concord](#) and entrusted to [John Hoar](#), who built a workshop and stockade for them next to his own house, which is now known as Orchard House. This caused a furor in Concord. Many considered the Christian Indians just spies and informers. The town defenses were in a precarious state [due to the fact that many of the white men were away, fighting in the race war].

One Sunday soon afterward Captain Samuel Mosely, acting on his own authority, came with his soldiers to [Concord](#) worship, and afterward addressed the congregation. He then marched out to the Hoar stockade, followed by a rabble of townspeople, and demanded that [John Hoar](#) allow him to “inspect” the remaining Praying Indians. He placed his soldiers on guard around the stockade that night, and the next morning caused the Native Americans to be assembled and marched between two files of horsemen to internment on Deer Island. His soldiers of course stripped the Nashobah even of their shirts and shoes, stealing anything worth taking.<sup>41</sup> The town council of Concord did not reprove Mosely: of course not, for the Nashobah being gone meant more arable fields that could be seized by white farmers.

We have a note that the wife of Joseph Petuhanit<sup>42</sup> was in this group of hostages.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Meanwhile, it has been alleged, on February 10th at their farm near [Concord](#), the white brothers Isaac and Jacob Shepard were being killed by Americans, and their 15-year-old sister Mary Shepard was being kidnapped. —That, however, on the night of the 12th this intrepid Mary would be able to take a saddle from under her kidnapper’s head as he slept, and saddle a horse he had stolen in Lancaster, and swim the Nashua River to safety:



two Men were killed at a Farm about *Concord*, *Ifaac* and *Jacob Sheppard* by Name, about the middle of *February*; and a young Maid that was fet to watch upon an Hill, of about 15 Years of Age, was carried Captive; who ftrangely efcaped away upon an Horfe that the *Indians* had taken from *Lancafter* a little before.

[Lemuel Shattuck](#) tells us he obtained his information as to this incident from page 25 of “Hubbard. Foster’s Century Sermon”:

About the middle of February, Abraham and Isaac Shepherd were killed near Nashobah in Concord village while threshing grain in their barn. Apprehensive of danger, says tradition, they placed their sister Mary, a girl about fifteen years old, on a hill a little distance off to watch and forewarn them of the approach of an enemy. She was, however, suddenly surprised and captured, and her brothers were slain. She was carried captive into the Indian settlements but with great heroism made her escape. While the Indians were asleep in the night, probably under the influence of spiritous liquors, she seized a horse, which they had a few days before stolen at Lancaster, took a saddle from under the head of her Indian keeper, mounted, swam across the Nashua river and rode through the forest to her home.<sup>43</sup>

41. [Major Daniel Gookin](#), “An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England in the Years 1675, 1676, 1677,” 1836 edition, pages 495-7; MASSACHUSETTS STATE ARCHIVES XXX, 185a.

42. She had a name, but we don’t know it, do we?

43. [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.)



Unfortunate for this atrocity story, we can corroborate only that one such [Concord](#) farmer was killed, with the report of the brother seeming to have been merely a doubled report of that one killing, and, since Mary “got away from the Indians” so readily, and since no other traces of these marauding Americans ever turned up, there is a raw possibility, even a probability, that what we had here was a very ordinary family murder,

not interracial at all, involving no strangers at all — a very ordinary family murder of the too-familiar Susan “A Nigger Must Have Done It” Smith variety followed by a criminal fabrication, in which this Mary had offed her loving bro and then blamed the bleeding corpse on persons unknown of another race. (That’s problematic, of course, but please do note, it would be quite as problematic to accept at face value the “ftrangelly efcaped” above.)



The same source lists under the date of March 10th what is apparently yet another version of or exaggeration of the same rumor, that:



At *Concord*, two Men going for Hay, one of them was killed.

We can see here how it has been, that the actual 100-200 white body count of this 18-month race war would become exaggerated over time and retelling, to the point that the war has been characterized as the bloodiest, in terms of percentage of deaths among the white population, of any war in our history, bloodier even than the US Civil War of 1862-1865!

In 1947, Townsend Scudder told the story in the following manner, on pages 30-31 of his CONCORD: AMERICAN TOWN, making the incident responsible for the willingness of the Concordians to have the Praying Indians they had been protecting roped together by the neck and marched down to the racial concentration camp that had been established on Deer Island:



At Nagog Pond, near the deserted Praying Indian village of Nashoba, Isaac Shepard, with his brother Abraham, was threshing grain in the barn. News of the attack on Lancaster had increased the household's caution. To warn of danger, the men posted their fourteen-year-old sister, Mary, on a boulder part way up the snow-covered hillside behind the house. But the pounding of the flails drowned the girl's shriek. A moment later, Isaac Shepard sprawled in death near the musket he had not had time to fire; his brother Abraham lay unconscious near him. From the barricaded house, the two men's wives saw Indians make off with the girl. Abraham Shepard rallied enough to set out through the snow with his dead brother's wife, his own wife, and his wife's small baby, for refuge at Concord. A week later the Shepard girl rode into the village. She told how the Indians had taken her on a three days' journey inland to Winnisimmet - their camp northwest of ruined Brookfield. Many Indians, she said, were at this place. She thought they had other prisoners with them. There, in the night, she had slipped from her captor's wigwam, untethered a horse, then followed her back track home. Concord felt no mood to temporize. The neighborhood was rife with rumors that Praying Indians still at large had taken part in the Lancaster massacre and raid on the Shepard farm. On the Sunday following Mary's return, just as the people were filing into meeting, a troop of horsemen clattered into town. At their head was Captain Samuel Moseley.... If the citizens wished it, he would take these vermin to Deer Island.

Now more recently, on page 58 of John Hanson Mitchell's WALKING TOWARDS WALDEN: A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF PLACE (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995), an extrabogus version of the Mary Shepard story has resurfaced without references being cited. According to this author Mitchell's inventive elaborations, the native Americans were under the influence of a Warrior Queen, a "renegade leader," and had killed not two white men but three (the father, in addition to the two brothers), and the sister had been taken to a *wickiup* near Mt. Wachusett, from which she then escaped. Thus it is that history gets rewritten to serve the self-respect of the descendant children of the victor:

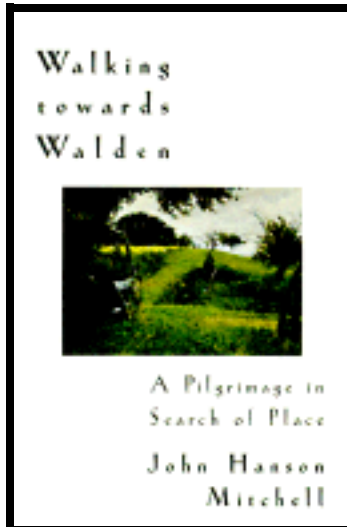


On the western slopes of the hill, in the place known as Quagana Hill, there was a farm held by a family from Concord named Shepard. There were three children in the Shepard family, the youngest of whom, Mary, in 1675 was a fair young woman of some fourteen years. According to the local histories, one February afternoon in 1676, during the hostilities of "King Phillip's War", Isaac Shepard and his two sons went out to thresh wheat in the barn at the base of Quagana Hill. Mary was posted at the summit to watch for Indians. As subsequent events indicate, Mary was a feisty, independent young woman, but she was not a good guard. Sometime in the afternoon, a small raiding band of Indians fighting in alliance with the great renegade leader Queen Weetamoo attacked the Shepard family; they killed the father and brothers and took Mary prisoner. She was carried down to Weetamoo's camp at Weninessit near present-day Mount Wachusett and imprisoned in one of the wickiups, guarded by the women or one of the warriors, possibly Weetamoo's consort, Netus. That same night, the story goes, she stole a horse and a blanket and escaped. She fled through the primeval wilderness, swam the horse across the Nashua River, and some days later arrived in Concord to report the atrocity.



SIK'AR

PLANTS



According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

2 1676. Feb. 10, 7. Mr. Sanford dyes.





PLANTS

SIK'AR

~~March 2, Thursday (1675, Old Style):~~ [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans until they could negotiate her ransom, clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger, took consolation that her captivity was at least granting her freedom from her previous addiction to the [tobacco pipe](#):

**[next screen]**



On the morrow morning we must go over the river, i.e. Connecticut, to meet with King Philip. Two canoes full they had carried over; the next turn I myself was to go. But as my foot was upon the canoe to step in there was a sudden outcry among them, and I must step back, and instead of going over the river, I must go four or five miles up the river farther northward. Some of the Indians ran one way, and some another. The cause of this rout was, as I thought, their espying some English scouts, who were thereabout. In this travel up the river about noon the company made a stop, and sat down; some to eat, and others to rest them. As I sat amongst them, musing of things past, my son Joseph unexpectedly came to me. We asked of each other's welfare, bemoaning our doleful condition, and the change that had come upon us. We had husband and father, and children, and sisters, and friends, and relations, and house, and home, and many comforts of this life: but now we may say, as Job, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: the Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." I asked him whether he would read. He told me he earnestly desired it, I gave him my Bible, and he lighted upon that comfortable Scripture "I shall not die but live, and declare the works of the Lord: the Lord hath chastened me sore yet he hath not given me over to death" (Psalm 118.17-18). "Look here, mother," says he, "did you read this?" And here I may take occasion to mention one principal ground of my setting forth these lines: even as the psalmist says, to declare the works of the Lord, and His wonderful power in carrying us along, preserving us in the wilderness, while under the enemy's hand, and returning of us in safety again. And His goodness in bringing to my hand so many comfortable and suitable scriptures in my distress. But to return, we traveled on till night; and in the morning, we must go over the river to Philip's crew. When I was in the canoe I could not but be amazed at the numerous crew of pagans that were on the bank on the other side. When I came ashore, they gathered all about me, I sitting alone in the midst. I observed they asked one another questions, and laughed, and rejoiced over their gains and victories. Then my heart began to fail: and I fell aweping, which was the first time to my remembrance, that I wept before them. Although I had met with so much affliction, and my heart was many times ready to break, yet could I not shed one tear in their sight; but rather had been all this while in a maze, and like one astonished. But now I may say as Psalm 137.1, "By the Rivers of Babylon, there we sate down: yea, we wept when we remembered Zion." There one of them asked me why I wept. I could hardly tell what to say: Yet I answered, they would kill me. "No," said he, "none will hurt you." Then came one of them and gave me two spoonfuls of meal to comfort me, and another gave me half a pint of peas; which was more worth than many bushels at another time. Then I went to see King Philip. He bade me come in and sit down, and asked me whether I would smoke it (a usual compliment nowadays amongst saints and sinners) but this no way suited me. For though I had formerly used tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a bait the devil lays to make men lose their precious time. I remember with shame how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another, such a bewitching thing it is. But I thank God, He has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed than to lie sucking a stinking tobacco-pipe.



PLANTS

SIK'AR

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
A Sabbath later in April: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans in their flight from the English army, she clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger, but at least at this point there were contacts, and active negotiations by Concord's [John Hoar](#)



and Tom Dublett (*Nepanet*, 3d husband of Sarah Doublett) and Boston's [James Printer](#):

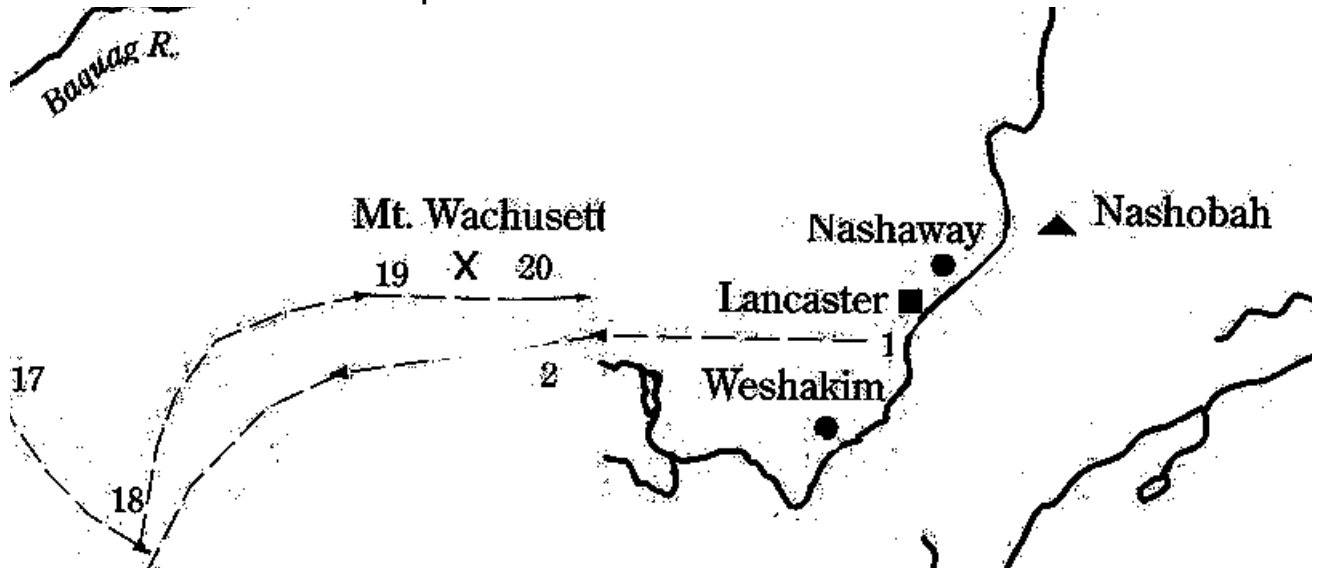
The Twentieth Remove: It was their usual manner to remove, when they had done any mischief, lest they should be found out; and so they did at this time. We went about three or four miles, and there they built a great wigwam, big enough to hold an hundred Indians, which they did in preparation to a great day of dancing. They would say now amongst themselves, that the governor would be so angry for his loss at Sudbury, that he would send no more about the captives, which made me grieve and tremble. My sister being not far from the place where we now were, and hearing that I was here, desired her master to let her come and see me, and he was willing to it, and would go with her; but she being ready before him, told him she would go before, and was come within a mile or two of the place. Then he overtook her, and began to rant as if he had been mad, and made her go back again in the rain; so that I never saw her till I saw her in Charlestown. But the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this Indian her master, was hanged afterward at Boston. The Indians now began to come from all quarters, against their merry dancing day. Among some of them came one goodwife Kettle. I told her my heart was so heavy that it was ready to break. "So is mine too," said she, but yet said, "I hope we shall hear some good news shortly." I could hear how earnestly my sister desired to see me, and I as earnestly desired to see her; and yet neither of us could get an opportunity. My daughter was also now about a mile off, and I had not seen her in nine or ten weeks, as I had not seen my sister since our first taking. I earnestly desired them to let me go and see them: yea, I entreated, begged, and persuaded them, but to let me see my daughter; and yet so hard-hearted were they, that they would not suffer it. They made use of their tyrannical power whilst they had it; but through the Lord's wonderful mercy, their time was now but short. On a Sabbath day, the sun being about an hour high in the afternoon, came Mr. John Hoar (the council permitting him, and his own foreward spirit inclining him), together with the two forementioned Indians, Tom and Peter, with their third letter from the council. When they came near, I was abroad. Though I saw them not, they presently called me in, and bade me sit down and not stir. Then they caught up their guns, and away they ran, as if an enemy had been at hand, and the guns went off apace. I manifested some great trouble, and they asked me what was the matter? I told them I thought they had killed the Englishman (for they had in the meantime informed me that an Englishman was come). They said, no. They shot over his horse and under and before his horse, and they pushed him this way and that way, at their pleasure, showing what they could do. Then they let them come to their wigwams. I begged of them to let me see the Englishman, but they would not. But there was I fain to sit their pleasure. When they had talked their fill with him, they suffered me to go to him. We asked each other of our welfare, and how my husband did, and all my friends? He told me they were all well, and would be glad to see me.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

PLANTS

SIK'AR

Refer to "20" on the map below:





Amongst other things which my husband sent me, there came a pound of tobacco, which I sold for nine shillings in money; for many of the Indians for want of tobacco, smoked hemlock, and ground ivy. It was a great mistake in any, who thought I sent for tobacco; for through the favor of God, that desire was overcome. I now asked them whether I should go home with Mr. Hoar? They answered no, one and another of them, and it being night, we lay down with that answer.

In the morning Mr. Hoar invited the Sagamores to dinner; but when we went to get it ready we found that they had stolen the greatest part of the provision Mr. Hoar had brought, out of his bags, in the night. And we may see the wonderful power of God, in that one passage, in that when there was such a great number of the Indians together, and so greedy of a little good food, and no English there but Mr. Hoar and myself, that there they did not knock us in the head, and take what we had, there being not only some provision, but also trading-cloth, a part of the twenty pounds agreed upon. But instead of doing us any mischief, they seemed to be ashamed of the fact, and said, it were some matchit Indian that did it. Oh, that we could believe that there is nothing too hard for God! God showed His power over the heathen in this, as He did over the hungry lions when Daniel was cast into the den. Mr. Hoar called them betime to dinner, but they ate very little, they being so busy in dressing themselves, and getting ready for their dance, which was carried on by eight of them, four men and four squaws. My master and mistress being two. He was dressed in his holland shirt, with great laces sewed at the tail of it; he had his silver buttons, his white stockings, his garters were hung round with shillings, and he had girdles of wampum upon his head and shoulders. She had a kersey coat, and covered with girdles of wampum from the loins upward. Her arms from her elbows to her hands were covered with bracelets; there were handfuls of necklaces about her neck, and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings, and white shoes, her hair powdered and face painted red, that was always before black. And all the dancers were after the same manner. There were two others singing and knocking on a kettle for their music. They kept hopping up and down one after another, with a kettle of water in the midst, standing warm upon some embers, to drink of when they were dry. They held on till it was almost night, throwing out wampum to the standers by. At night I asked them again, if I should go home? They all as one said no, except my husband would come for me. When we were lain down, my master went out of the wigwam, and by and by sent in an Indian called James the Printer, who told Mr. Hoar, that my master would let me go home tomorrow, if he would let him have one pint of liquors.



Then Mr. Hoar called his own Indians, Tom and Peter, and bid them go and see whether he would promise it before them three; and if he would, he should have it; which he did, and he had it. Then Philip smelling the business called me to him, and asked me what I would give him, to tell me some good news, and speak a good word for me. I told him I could not tell what to give him. I would [give him] anything I had, and asked him what he would have? He said two coats and twenty shillings in money, and half a bushel of seed corn, and some tobacco. I thanked him for his love; but I knew the good news as well as the crafty fox. My master after he had had his drink, quickly came ranting into the wigwam again, and called for Mr. Hoar, drinking to him, and saying, he was a good man, and then again he would say, "hang him rogue." Being almost drunk, he would drink to him, and yet presently say he should be hanged. Then he called for me. I trembled to hear him, yet I was fain to go to him, and he drank to me, showing no incivility. He was the first Indian I saw drunk all the while that I was amongst them.

At last his squaw ran out, and he after her, round the wigwam, with his money jingling at his knees. But she escaped him. But having an old squaw he ran to her; and so through the Lord's mercy, we were no more troubled that night. Yet I had not a comfortable night's rest; for I think I can say, I did not sleep for three nights together. The night before the letter came from the council, I could not rest, I was so full of fears and troubles, God many times leaving us most in the dark, when deliverance is nearest. Yea, at this time I could not rest night nor day. The next night I was overjoyed, Mr. Hoar being come, and that with such good tidings. The third night I was even swallowed up with the thoughts of things, viz. that ever I should go home again; and that I must go, leaving my children behind me in the wilderness; so that sleep was now almost departed from mine eyes.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



SIK'AR

PLANTS

1678

Peter Bulkeley of [Concord](#) was again an Assistant and Counsellor.

In [Concord](#), John Flint and Thomas Brattle were deputies and representatives to the General Court.

Ruth Wheeler's CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM reports that during this year Thomas Pellet, who lived with his wife Mary Dane Pellet on a small lot which had been given to his wife by her father Thomas Dane, between the Bay Road and the burying place, was sexton to the [Concord](#) meetinghouse. This nearby home being a convenient place for children to wait while their parents were taking communion, one Sunday these bored children perpetrated a practical joke, slipping some tobacco into the stew — and as a result eight Concord youngsters got fined:

Thomas Pellet and Mary his wife appearing in court do upon their oaths say and attest that the last Sabbath day was a fortnight, some young persons being in their house at noontime when the Sacrament was administering, their pot being boiling over their fire, when they came to take of same, they found it much abused, and that [tobacco](#) smaller and greater pieces they found therein, whereby the provisions therein was made unfit to be eaten, and that some of their children tasting some little thereof, became sick and vomited. Also they both add that when they came to take notice of their pot, they observed that Mary Power, Hannah Stannup, and Peter Rice did laugh and snicker.





1682

Tobacco yards were to be seen at this point in Ipswich, and this would continue until 1783, scarcely any [tobacco](#) being imported to the region. Local use of tobacco would continue into the new century before resistance would begin to arise:



Many families would have their spots of land for cultivating it, and their mode of twisting it, and curing it with molasses and rum so as to render it more palatable. Segars were very little used till after the peace of Independence. Pipes and a large box of tobacco for smoking were in daily and extensive use. They were considered, till within thirty years, as essential for the entertainment of company, as the chibouque and its apparatus are in Turkey. It is matter of consolation, that tobacco, though consumed much more than either cleanliness, comfort, health, or temperance justifies, has begun to loose its hold on the vitiated appetite of thousands, and that there is some prospect of its going down to the deep degradation of intoxicating liquors. Had the liquid, which the affrighted servant of Raleigh threw upon him, so effectually quenched his zeal for rendering tobacco fashionable, as it fully drenched his smoking head, and thus no imitators of this noble lord been found, a vast amount of evil would have been prevented in the civilized world.

When Virginia's Middle Peninsula "malcontents" destroyed their fields of planted [tobacco](#) and also the fields of neighboring farmers in what was known as the plant-cutter riots, because of low wholesale prices –prices that were low due to overproduction– "the vengeance of the government fell heavily" on [Major Robert Beverley, Sr.](#), who it seems because of some loose talk while intoxicated was being blamed as "the principal instigator of these disturbances." Beverley would be jailed for this loose talk and would lose all his positions. Indeed, the Virginia legislature would in 1684 classify such destructive of growing crops as a capital crime.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

April 13, Thursday (Old Style): The town of Ipswich determined that no commoner or inhabitant might "take up and inclose land upon the common or high ways, as he or they shall see good, for [Tobacco](#) yards and other uses."

1684

In 1682, low prices due to overproduction had led to riots in Virginia in which planters burned not only their own crops of [tobacco](#), but also the fields of their neighbors. The Virginia legislature responded by making such destructive overreactions subject to the death penalty.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

1689

October 11, Friday (Old Style): [Peter the Great](#) became tsar of Russia at a time when 80% of the Russian people were serfs. By this point, physically, he was a towering figure (taller than Abraham Lincoln, he was presumably as tall as or even taller than Thomas Cholmondeley). His half-sister Sofia would scheme to get him murdered but her plot would be intercepted in time.



Peter would be an advocate of [smoking](#), until 1725.





## VI

SMOKING UNDER KING WILLIAM III AND QUEEN ANNE<sup>44</sup>

Hail! social pipe — thou foe of care,  
Companion of my elbow-chair;  
As forth thy curling fumes arise,  
They seem an evening sacrifice —  
An offering to my Maker's praise,  
For all His benefits and grace.  
Sir Samuel Garth (1660-1718).

After King William III was settled on the throne the sum of £600,000 was paid to the Dutch from the English exchequer for money advanced in connexion with his Majesty's expedition, and this amount was paid off by tobacco duties. Granger long ago remarked that most of the eminent divines and bishops of the day contributed very practically to the payment of this revolutionary debt by their large consumption of tobacco. He mentions Isaac Barrow, Dr. Barlow of Lincoln, who was as regular in smoking tobacco as at his meals, and had a high opinion of its virtues, Dr. Aldrich, "and other celebrated persons who flourished about this time, and gave much into that practice." One of the best known of these celebrated persons was Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury from 1689, and historian of his own times. He had the reputation of being an inveterate smoker, and was caricatured with a long clay stuck through the brim of the shovel hat, on the breadth of which King William once made remark. The bishop replied that the hat was of a shape suited to his dignity, whereupon the King caustically said, "I hope that the hat won't turn your head."

Thackeray pictures Dryden as sitting in his great chair at Will's Coffee-house, Russell Street, Covent Garden, tobacco-pipe in hand; but there is no evidence that Dryden smoked. The snuff-box was his symbol of authority. Budding wits thought themselves highly distinguished if they could obtain the honour of being allowed to take a pinch from it. Of Dr. Aldrich, who was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and who wrote a curious "Catch not more difficult to sing than diverting to hear, to be sung by four men smoaking their pipes," an anecdote has often been related, which illustrates his devotion to the weed. A bet was made by one undergraduate and taken by another, that at whatever time, however early, the Dean might be visited in his own den, he would be found smoking. As soon as the bet had been made the Dean was visited. The pair explained the reason for their call, when Aldrich, who must have been a good-tempered man, said, "Your friend has lost: I am not smoking, only filling my pipe."

John Philips, the author of "Cyder" and the "Splendid Shilling," was an undergraduate at Christ Church, during Aldrich's term of office, and no doubt learned to smoke in an atmosphere so favourable to tobacco. In his "Splendid Shilling," which dates

44. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



from about 1700, Philips says of the happy man with a shilling in his pocket:

Meanwhile, he smokes, and laughs at merry tale,  
Or Pun ambiguous or Conundrum quaint.

But the poor shillingless wretch can only

doze at home

In garret vile, and with a warming puff  
Regale chill'd fingers; or from tube as black  
As winter-chimney, or well-polish'd jet,  
Exhale Mundungus, ill-perfuming scent.

The miserable creature, though without a shilling, yet possessed a well-coloured "clay."

It is significant that the writer of a life of Philips, which was prefixed to an edition of his poems which was published in 1762, after mentioning that smoking was common at Oxford in the days of Aldrich, says apologetically, "It is no wonder therefore that he [Philips] fell in with the general taste ... he has descended to sing its praises in more than one place." By 1762, as we shall see, smoking was quite unfashionable, and consequently it was necessary to explain how it was that a poet could "descend" so low as to sing the praises of tobacco.

Other well-known men of the late seventeenth century were "tobacconists" in the old sense of the word. Sir Isaac Newton is said to have smoked immoderately; and a familiar anecdote represents him as using for the purposes of a tobacco-stopper, in a fit of absent-mindedness, the little finger of a lady sitting beside him, whom he admired, but the truth of this legend is open to doubt. Thomas Hobbes, who lived to be ninety (1588-1679), was accustomed to dine at 11 o'clock, after which he smoked a pipe and then lay down and took a nap of about half an hour. No doubt he would have attributed the length of his days to the regularity of his habits. Izaak Walton, who also lived to be ninety, as the lover of the placid and contemplative life deserved to do, loved his pipe, though he seldom mentions smoking in the "Compleat Angler." Sir Samuel Garth, poet and physician, once known to fame as the author of "The Dispensary," was another pipe-lover, as is shown by his verses quoted at the head of this chapter. Dudley, the fourth Lord North, began to smoke in 1657, and, says Dr. Jessopp, "the habit grew upon him, the frequent entries for pipes and tobacco showing that he became more and more addicted to this indulgence. Probably it afforded him some solace in the dreadful malady from which he suffered so long."

Even the staid Quakers smoked. George Fox's position in regard to tobacco was curious. He did not smoke himself; but on one occasion he was offered a pipe by a jesting youth who thought thereby to shock so saintly a person. Fox says in his "Journal," "I lookt upon him to bee a forwarde bolde lad: and tobacco I did not take: butt ... I saw hee had a flashy empty notion of religion: soe I took his pipe and putt it to my mouth and gave it to him again to stoppe him lest his rude tongue should say I had not unity with ye creation." The incident is curious, but



testifies to Fox's tolerance and breadth of outlook.

Many of his followers smoked, sometimes apparently to such an extent as to cause scandal among their brethren. The following is an entry in the minutes of the Friends' Monthly Meeting at Hardshaw, Lancashire: "14th of 4th mo. 1691. It being considered that the too frequent use of smoking Tobacco is inconsistent with friends holy profession, it is desired that such as have occasion to make use thereof take it privately, neither too publicly in their own houses, nor by the highways, streets, or in alehouses or elsewhere, tending to the abetting the common excess." Another Lancashire Monthly Meeting, Penketh, under date "18th 8th mo. 1691" suggested that Friends were "not to smoke during their labour or occupation, but to leave their work and take it privately" – a suggestion which clearly proceeded from non-smokers. The smug propriety of these recommendations to enjoy a smoke in private is delightful.

At the Quarterly Meeting of Aberdeen Friends in 1692 a "weighty paper containing several heads of solid advyces and Counsells to friends" sent by Irish Quakers, was read. These counsels abound with amusingly prim suggestions. Among them is the warning to "take heed of being overcome with strong drink or tobacco, which many by custome are brought into bondage to the creature." The Aberdeen Friends themselves a little later were greatly concerned at the increasing indulgence in "superfluous apparell and in vain recreations among the young ones"; and in 1698 they issued a paper dealing in great detail with matters of dress and deportment. Among a hundred other things treated with minutest particularity, the desire is expressed that "all Idle and needless Smoaking of Tobacco be forborn."

William Penn did not like tobacco and was often annoyed by it in America. Clarkson, his biographer, relates that on one occasion Penn called to see some old friends at Burlington, who had been smoking, but who, in consideration for his feelings, had put their pipes away. Penn smelt the tobacco, and noticing that the pipes were concealed, said, "Well, friends, I am glad that you are at last ashamed of your old practice." "Not entirely so," replied one of the company, "but we preferred laying down our pipes to the danger of offending a weaker brother."

Many of the tobacco-boxes used in the latter part of the seventeenth century were imported from Holland. They were long or oval and were usually made of brass. They can be easily identified by their engraved subjects and Dutch inscriptions. An example in the Colchester Museum is made of copper and brass, with embossed designs and inscriptions, representing commerce, &c., on the base and lid. It has engraved on the sides the name and address of its owner – "Barnabas Barker, Wyvenhoe, Essex." The similar boxes later made in England usually had embossed ornamentation.

The local authorities in our eastern counties seem to have had some curious ideas of their own as to where tobacco should or should not be smoked. In a previous chapter we have seen that at Norwich, ale-house keepers were fined for permitting smoking in their houses. At Methwold, Suffolk, the folk improved upon



this. The court-books of the manor of Methwold contain the following entry made at a court held on October 4, 1695: "We agree that any person that is taken smoakeinge tobacco in the street shall forfitt one shillinge for every time so taken, and itt shall be lawfull for the petty constables to distrane for the same for to be putt to the uses abovesaid [*i.e.* "to the use of the town"]. Wee present Nicholas Baker for smoakeinge in the street, and doe amerce him 1s." The same rule is repeated at courts held in the years 1696 and 1699, but no other fine is mentioned at any subsequent courts. The good folk at Methwold may have been adepts at petty tyranny, but such an absurd regulation must soon have become a dead letter. While we are in the eastern counties we may note that in 1694 there died at Ely an apothecary named Henry Crofts, who owned, among some other unusual items in his inventory, casks of brandy and tobacco, which shows that even at that date, when regular tobacconists' shops for the sale of tobacco had long been common, the old business connexion between apothecaries and tobacco still occasionally existed.

The clay pipes called "aldermen," with longer stems than their predecessors, tipped with glaze, came into use towards the end of the seventeenth century. They must not be confused with the much longer "churchwarden" or "yard of clay" which was not in vogue till the early years of the nineteenth century.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century signs may be detected of some waning in the universal popularity of tobacco. There are hints of change in the records of City and other companies. Tobacco had always figured prominently in the provision for trade feasts. In 1651 the Chester Company of Barbers, Surgeons, Wax and Tallow Chandlers – a remarkably comprehensive organization – paid for "Sack beere and Tobacco" at the Talbot on St. Luke's Day, October 18, on the occasion of a dinner given to the Company by one Richard Walker; and similar expenditure was common among both London and provincial Companies. The court-books of the Skinners Company of London show that in preparation for their annual Election Dinner in 1694, the cook appeared before the court and produced a bill of fare which, with some alterations, was agreed to. The butler then appeared and undertook to provide knives, salt, pepper-pots, glasses, sauces, &c., "and everything needfull for £7. and if he gives content then to have £8. he provides all things but pipes, Tobacco, candles and beer" – which apparently fell to the lot of some other caterer.

But so early as 1655 there is a sign of change of custom – a change, that is, in the direction of restricting and limiting the hitherto unbounded freedom granted to the use of tobacco. The London Society of Apothecaries on August 15, 1655, held a meeting for the election of a Master and an Upper Warden; and from the minutes of this meeting we learn that by general consent it was forbidden henceforward to smoke in the Court Room while dining or sitting, under penalty of half a crown.

The more fashionable folk of the Restoration Era and later began to leave off if not to disdain the smoking-habit. Up to about 1700 smoking had been permitted in the public rooms at Bath, but



when Nash then took charge, tobacco was banished. Public or at least fashionable taste had begun to change, and Nash correctly interpreted and led it. Sorbière, who has been quoted in the previous chapter, remarked in 1663 that "People of Quality" did not use tobacco so much as others; and towards the end of the century and in Queen Anne's time the tendency was for tobacco to go out of fashion. This did not much affect its general use; but the tendency – with exceptions, no doubt – was to restrict the use of tobacco to the clergy, to country squires, to merchants and tradesmen and to the humbler ranks of society – to limit it, in short, to the middle and lower classes of the social commonwealth as then organized. In the extraordinary record of inanity which Addison printed as the diary of a citizen in the *Spectator* of March 4, 1712, the devotion of the worthy retired tradesman to tobacco is emphasized. This is the kind of thing: "Monday ... Hours 10, 11 and 12 Smoaked three Pipes of Virginia ... one o'clock in the afternoon, chid Ralph for mislaying my Tobacco-Box.... Wednesday ... From One to Two Smoaked a Pipe and a half.... Friday ... From Four to Six. Went to the Coffee-house. Met Mr. Nisby there. Smoaked several Pipes."

There was indeed no diminution of tobacco-smoke in the coffee-houses. A visitor from abroad, Mr. Muralt, a Swiss gentleman, writing about 1696, said that character could be well studied at the coffee-houses. He was probably not a smoker himself, for he goes on to say that in other respects the coffee-houses are "loathsome, full of smoke like a guardroom, and as much crowded." He further observed that it was common to see the clergy of London in coffee-houses and even in taverns, with pipes in their mouths. A native witness of about the same date, Ned Ward, writes sneeringly in his "London Spy," 1699, of the interior of the coffee-house. He saw "some going, some coming, some scribbling, some talking, some drinking, some smoking, others jingling; and the whole room stinking of tobacco, like a Dutch scoot, or a boatswain's cabin.... We each of us stuck in our mouths a pipe of sotweed, and now began to look about us." Ward's contemporary, Tom Brown, took a different tone: he wrote of "Tobacco, Cole and the Protestant Religion, the three great blessings of life!" – as strange a jumble as one could wish for.

Even children seem to have smoked sometimes in the coffee-houses. Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, tells a strange story. He declares that, one evening which he spent with his brother at Garraway's Coffee-house, February 20, 1702, he was surprised to see his brother's "sickly child of three years old fill its pipe of tobacco and smoke it as *audfarandly* as a man of three score; after that a second and a third pipe without the least concern, as it is said to have done above a year ago." A child of two years of age smoking three pipes in succession is a picture a little difficult to accept as true. As this is the only reference to tobacco in the whole of his "Diary," it is not likely that Thoresby was himself a smoker.

At the coffee-house entrance was the bar presided over by the predecessors of the modern barmaids – grumbled at in a *Spectator* as "idols," who there received homage from their admirers, and





who paid more attention to customers who flirted with them than to more sober-minded visitors. They are described by Tom Brown as "a charming Phillis or two, who invited you by their amorous glances into their smoaky territories." Admission cost little. There you might see –

Grave wits, who, spending farthings four,  
Sit, smoke, and warm themselves an hour.

The allusions in the *Spectator* to smoking in the coffee-houses are frequent. "Sometimes," says Addison, in his title character in the first number of the paper, "sometimes I smoak a pipe at Child's and whilst I seem attentive to nothing but the *Post-man*, over-hear the conversation of every table in the room." And here is a vignette of coffee-house life in 1714 from No. 568 of the *Spectator*: "I was yesterday in a coffee-house not far from the Royal Exchange, where I observed three persons in close conference over a pipe of tobacco; upon which, having filled one for my own use, I lighted it at the little wax candle that stood before them; and after having thrown in two or three whiffs amongst them, sat down and made one of the company. I need not tell my reader, that lighting a man's pipe at the same candle is looked upon among brother-smoakers as an overture to conversation and friendship." From the very beginning smoking has induced and fostered a spirit of comradeship.

Sir Roger de Coverley, as a typical country squire, was naturally a smoker. He presented his friend the Spectator, the silent gentleman, with a tobacco-stopper made by Will Wimble, telling him that Will had been busy all the early part of the winter in turning great quantities of them, and had made a present of one to every gentleman in the county who had good principles and smoked. When Sir Roger was driving in a hackney-coach he called upon the coachman to stop, and when the man came to the window asked him if he smoked. While Sir Roger's companion was wondering "what this would end in," the knight bid his Jehu to "stop by the way at any good Tobacconist's, and take in a Roll of their best Virginia." And when he visited Squire's near Gray's Inn Gate, his first act was to call for a clean pipe, a paper of tobacco, a dish of coffee, a newspaper and a wax candle; and all the boys in the coffee-room ran to serve him. The wax candle was of course a convenience in matchless days for pipe-lighting. The "paper of tobacco" was the equivalent of what is now vulgarly called a "screw" of tobacco.

The practice of selling tobacco in small paper packets was common, and moralists naturally had something to say about the fate of an author's work, when the leaves of his books found their ultimate use as wrappers for the weed. "For as no mortal author," says Addison, "in the ordinary fate and vicissitude of things, knows to what use his works may, some time or other, be applied, a man may often meet with very celebrated names in a paper of tobacco. I have lighted my pipe more than once with the writings of a prelate."

Addison and Steele smoked, and so did Prior, who seems to have had a weakness at times for low company. After spending an evening with Oxford, Bolingbroke, Pope and Swift, it is recorded



that he would go "and smoke a pipe, and drink a bottle of ale, with a common soldier and his wife, in Long Acre, before he went to bed." Some of Prior's poems, as Thackeray caustically remarks, smack not a little of the conversation of his Long Acre friends. Pope for awhile attended the symposium at Button's coffee-house, where Addison was the centre of the coterie – he describes himself as sitting with them till two in the morning over punch and Burgundy amid the fumes of tobacco – but such a way of life did not suit his sickly constitution, and he soon withdrew. It is not likely that he smoked.

The attractions and the atmosphere of provincial coffee-houses were much the same as those of the London resorts. A German gentleman who visited Cambridge in July and August 1710 remarked that in the Greeks' coffee-house in that town, in the morning and after 3 o'clock in the afternoon, you could meet the chief professors and doctors, who read the papers over a cup of coffee and a pipe of tobacco. One of the learned doctors took the German visitor to the weekly meeting of a Music Club in one of the colleges. Here were assembled bachelors, masters and doctors of music of the University – no professionals were employed – who performed vocal and instrumental music to their mutual gratification, though, apparently, not to the satisfaction of the visitor, who records his opinion that the music was "very poor." "It lasted," he says, "till 11 P.M., there was besides smoking and drinking of wine, though we did not do much of either. At 11 the reckoning was called for, and each person paid 2s."

There was clearly no prejudice against smoking at Cambridge. Abraham de la Pryme notes in his diary for the year 1694 that when it was rumoured in May of that year that a certain house opposite one of the colleges was haunted, strange noises being heard in it, several scholars of the college said, "Come, fetch us a good pitcher of ale, and tobacco and pipes, and wee'l sit up and see this spirit." The ale was duly provided, the pipes were lit, and the courageous smokers spent the night in the house, sitting "singing and drinking there till morning," but, alas! they neither saw nor heard anything.

Smoking was still popular also at Oxford. A. D'Anvers, in her "Academia; or the Humours of Oxford," 1691, speaks, indeed, of undergraduates who, when they could not get tobacco, did much as the parson of Thornton is reputed to have done, as already related in Chapter II, *i.e.* they condescended to smoke fragments of mats. With this may be compared the macaronic lines:

*At si*

*Mundungus desit: tum non funcare recusant*

*Brown-Paper tostâ, vel quod fit arundine bed-mat.*

Tobacco, in Queen Anne's time, still maintained its hold over large classes of the people, and was still dominant in most places of public resort; but there were signs of change in various directions as we have seen, and smoking had to a large extent ceased to be fashionable. Pepys has very few allusions to tobacco; Evelyn fewer still. There is little evidence as to whether or not the gallants of the Restoration Court smoked; but



considering the foppery of their attire and manners, it seems almost certain that tobacco was not in favour among them. The beaux with their full wigs – they carried combs of ivory or tortoiseshell in their pockets with which they publicly combed their flowing locks – their dandy canes and scented, laced handkerchiefs, were not the men to enjoy the flavour of tobacco in a pipe. They were still tobacco-worshippers; but they did not smoke. The Indian weed retained its empire over the men (and women) of fashion by changing its form. The beaux were the devotees of snuff. The deftly handled pinch pleasantly titillated their nerves, and the dexterous use of the snuff-box, moreover, could also serve the purposes of vanity by displaying the beautiful whiteness of the hand, and the splendour of the rings upon the fingers. The curled darlings of the late seventeenth century and the “pretty fellows” of Queen Anne’s time did not forswear tobacco, but they abjured smoking. Snuff-taking was universal in the fashionable world among both men and women; and the development of this habit made smoking unfashionable.

1693

Smoking was banned in the chamber of the House of Commons: “no member do presume to take [tobacco](#) in the gallery of the House or at a committee table.”

1698

Against the wishes of the Church, Peter the Great of Russia established a trade monopoly over [tobacco](#) with the English.

1699

In France, both King Louis XIV and his personal physician M. Fagon opposed [smoking](#).

**1700**

In [Japan](#), Kabuki and ukiyo-e become popular.

The smoking of [tobacco/opium](#) mixtures, leading to the recreational smoking of [opium](#) by itself, was spreading from the East Indies to Formosa, Fukien, and the South China coast. At this point [China](#) began to recognize that a problem was developing in regard to this overuse of [opium](#).

Opposition in Western Europe to the use of [tobacco](#) declined as by this point all classes were smoking. The French upper classes substituted the use of [snuff](#) for smoking. Spreading from France, snufftaking was becoming fashionable among the nobility and clergy. Courtiers returning from France introduced snufftaking into England.

By this point in [China](#), [tobacco](#) cultivation and the use of [snuff](#) among the aristocracy were firmly established.

Up to this point [sugar](#) and [tobacco](#) had been monopolized by a privileged minority.

Sugar was still primarily a spice and a medication rather than a foodstuff. One of its greatest utilities was a display substance, indicative of rank and privilege. Within 50 years the price would fall to the point at which it would be quite common for the spouse of an English laborer to be using it to sweeten her [tea](#).

**SWEETS  
WITHOUT  
SLAVERY**

The “[snuffing](#)” of finely ground [tobacco](#) was popular among both the sexes and with all conditions of society. In Spain for instance, it was noted, a priest might keep his snuff-box open before him on the altar, alongside the plate of blessed wafers and cup of blessed wine, as he might desire to dip himself some snuff during the celebration of the Mass.<sup>45</sup> The fashion would persist into the early 19th Century. Step #13, in the etiquette manuel instructions for the graceful taking of snuff, was “Sneeze, cough, expectorate,” one marveling nowadays that this might have been done gracefully by young ladies. Presumably the sneeze, into a delicate handkerchief, expelled the dark tobacco-laden snot from the dainty nose, as the spitting likewise expelled it from the dainty throat. Taking snuff deadened the sense of smell, of course — which may not have been such a bad thing during that century. The dipping of snuff may correlate to the 18th-Century abandonment of the 17th-Century soldier’s “handlebar” mustache, as it must have been difficult for men to keep lip hair sanitary and neat while engaged in all this dipping, sneezing, coughing, and expectorating.

45. This practice had been, be it noted, firmly interdicted by the Pope.

Tsar [Peter the Great](#), himself a smoker, rescinded the Russian ban against [tobacco](#).



He began a lengthy war against Sweden, the “Great Northern” war.



1701

Nicholas Andryde Boisregard warned in this year that young people taking too much [tobacco](#) had trembling, unsteady hands, staggering feet and suffer a withering of “their noble parts.” Nevertheless, during this 18th Century, the practice of [snuffing](#) powdered tobacco up your nose, and then blowing your nose repeatedly and forcefully to get rid of the nasty residue, would be holding sway. The spouse of King George III of England would be known commonly as “Snuffy Charlotte.” Imagine her used handkerchiefs. [Napoleon Bonaparte](#) would be consuming like 7 pounds of snuff per month. Imagine that man’s used handkerchiefs!



Now forget about all the used hankies. Obviously they got handed off to one or another servant — who took care of them. They disappeared — like the lives of the servants. They are irrelevant to history. What matters is that these good people got their nose job.

November 1, Saturday (Old Style): [Friend William Penn](#) left Philadelphia for England. By this point the colony’s Assembly was being elected yearly and was more powerful even than the governor (who had only a veto power). Penn left behind instructions as to the valuation of the customs:

This year the customs from Pennsylvania, for amount goods, amount to £8000. The year I arrived there, in 1699, it was but £1500 — a good encouragement for me and the country. New York has not the half of it. But oh, that we had a fur trade instead of a [tobacco](#) one. Fur is almost any price, — I would say, 16 shillings, — ay, 20 shillings.”




1702

Proprietor [William Penn](#)'s rents were largely paid in the form of bulk [tobacco](#), since this was being much cultivated about Philadelphia and in the lower counties. In this year the Pennsylvania colony sent off 8 vessels to England, each loaded with 80-90 hogsheads of the [sotweed](#).

Being temporarily without a regular agent in England, since Friend [William Penn](#) was high in favor at the court of Queen Anne, [Rhode Island](#) entrusted him with its colonial affairs. Soon he helped some influential Rhode Island [Quakers](#) who had been allying with the enemies of Connecticut to understand this to be a wrong choice.

**READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT**

1704

 Robert Beverley, in HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF VIRGINIA, published his memories of Nathaniel Bacon's 1676 test of self-government in Virginia. Beverley had sided with Governor Berkeley during this dispute and, although his later recounting of events was not wholly dispassionate, in it he demonstrated himself to be at the very least a shrewd and thoughtful observer.

**CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE**

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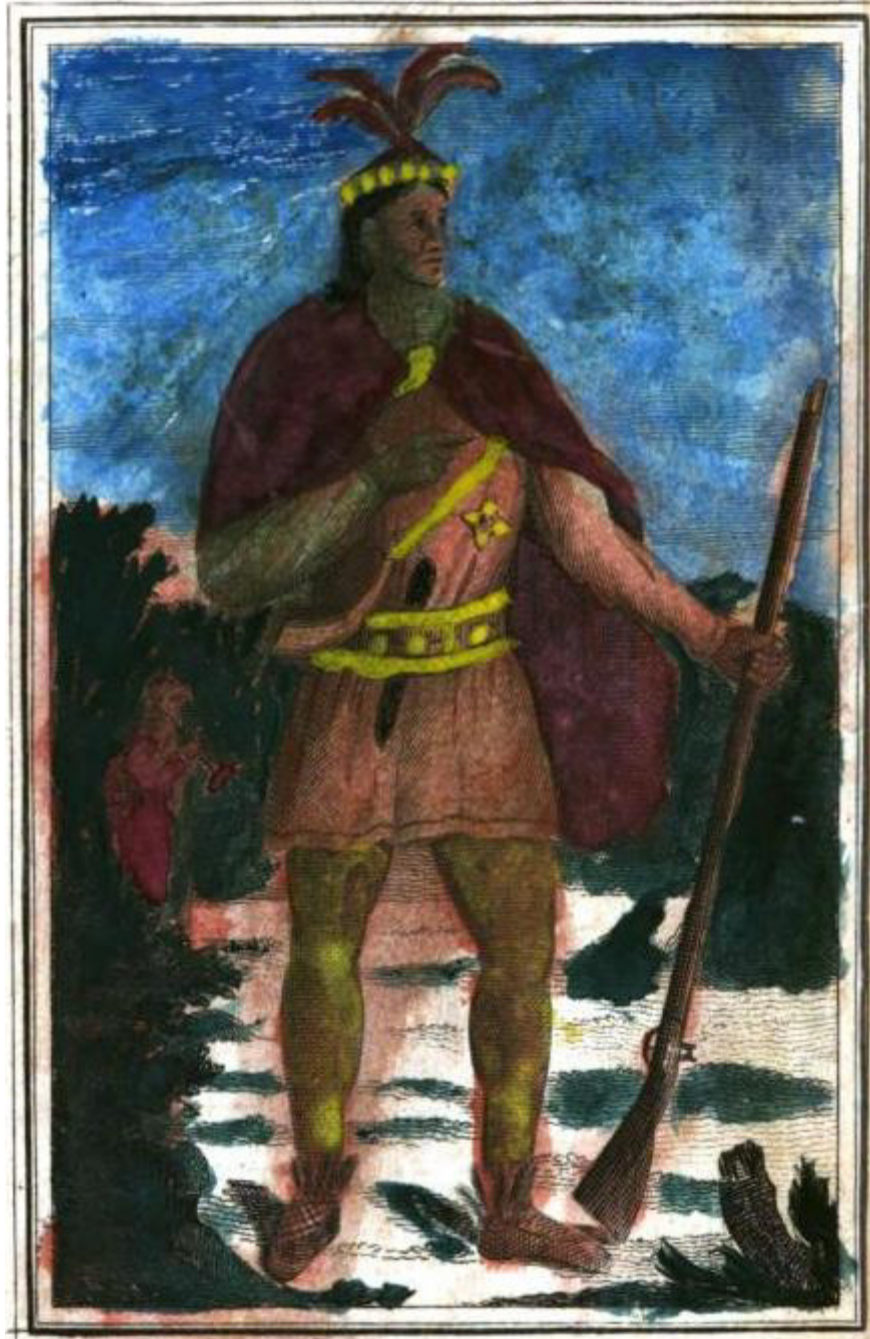
WHAT?

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SIK'AR

PLANTS

# KING PHILIP.



Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.





**PLANTS**

**SIK'AR**



all other taxes, which was an excessive burden. They likewise laid ameracements of seventy, fifty, or thirty pounds of [tobacco](#), as the cause was on every law case tried throughout the country. Besides all this, they applied the balance, remaining due upon account of the two shilling per hogshead, and fort duties, to this use. Which taxes and ameracements fell heaviest on the poor people, the effect of whose labor would not clothe their wives and children. This made them desperately uneasy, especially when, after a whole year's patience under all these pressures, they had no encouragement from their agents in England, to hope for remedy; nor any certainty when they should be eased of those heavy impositions.

Thirdly, Upon the back of all these misfortunes came out the act of 25 Car. II. for better securing the plantation trade. By this act several duties were laid on the trade from one plantation to another. This was a new hardship, and the rather, because the revenue arising by this act was not applied to the use of the plantations wherein it was raised: but given clear away; nay, in that country it seemed to be of no other use, but to burden the trade, or create a good income to the officers; for the collector had half, the comptroller a quarter, and the remaining quarter was subdivided into salaries; till it was lost.

By the same act also very great duties were laid on the fisheries of the plantations, if manufactured by the English inhabitants there; while the people of England were absolutely free from all customs. Nay, though the oil, blubber and whale bone, which were made by the inhabitants of the plantations, were carried to England by Englishmen, and in English built ships, yet it was held to a considerable duty, more than the inhabitants of England paid.

These were the afflictions that country labored under when the fourth accident happened, viz., the disturbance offered by the Indians to the frontiers....

This addition of mischief to minds already full of discontent, made people ready to vent all their resentment against the poor Indians. There was nothing to be got by [tobacco](#); neither could they turn any other manufacture to advantage; so that most of the poorer sort were willing to quit their unprofitable employments, and go volunteers against the Indians.

At first they flocked together tumultuously, running in troops from one plantation to another without a head, till at last the seditious humor of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon led him to be of the party. This gentleman had been brought up at one of the Inns of court in England, and had a moderate fortune. He was young, bold, active, of an inviting aspect, and powerful elocution. In a word, he was every way qualified to head a giddy and unthinking multitude. Before he had been three years in the country, he was, for his extraordinary qualifications, made one of the council, and in great honor and esteem among the people. For this reason he no sooner gave countenance to this riotous mob, but they all presently fixed their eyes upon him for their general, and accordingly made their addresses to him. As soon as he found this, he harangued them publicly. He aggravated the Indian mischiefs, complaining that they were occasioned for want of a due regulation of their trade. He recounted particularly the other grievances and pressures they lay under, and pretended that he accepted of their command with no other intention but to do them and the country service, in which he was willing to encounter the greatest difficulties and dangers. He farther assured them he would never lay down his arms till he had revenged their sufferings upon the Indians, and redressed all their other grievances.



By these insinuations he wrought his men into so perfect an unanimity, that they were one and all at his devotion. He took care to exasperate them to the utmost, by representing all their misfortunes. After he had begun to muster them, he dispatched a messenger to the governor, by whom he aggravated the mischiefs done by the Indians, and desired a commission of general to go out against them. This gentleman was in so great esteem at that time with the council, that the governor did not think fit to give him a flat refusal; but sent him word he would consult the council, and return him a farther answer.

In the mean time Bacon was expeditious in his preparations, and having all things in readiness, began his march, depending on the authority the people had given him. He would not lose so much time as to stay for his commission; but dispatched several messengers to the governor to hasten it. On the other hand, the governor, instead of a commission, sent positive orders to him to disperse his men and come down in person to him, upon pain of being declared a rebel.

This unexpected order was a great surprise to Bacon, and not a little trouble to his men. However, he was resolved to prosecute his first intentions, depending upon his strength and interest with the people. Nevertheless, he intended to bait upon the governor, but not altogether defenceless. Pursuant to this resolution, he took about forty of his men down with him in a sloop to Jamestown VA, where the governor was with his council.

Matters did not succeed there to Mr. Bacon's satisfaction, wherefore he expressed himself a little too freely. For which, being suspended from the council, he went away again in a huff with his sloop and followers. The governor filled a long boat with men, and pursued the sloop so close, that Colonel Bacon moved into his boat to make more haste. But the governor had sent up by land to the ships at Sandy Point, where he was stopped and sent down again. Upon his return he was kindly received by the governor, who, knowing he had gone a step beyond his instructions in having suspended him, was glad to admit him again of the council; after which he hoped all things might be pacified.

Notwithstanding this, Colonel Bacon still insisted upon a commission to be general of the volunteers, and to go out against the Indians; from which the governor endeavored to dissuade him, but to no purpose, because he had some secret project in view. He had the luck to be countenanced in his importunities, by the news of fresh murder and robberies committed by the Indians. However, not being able to accomplish his ends by fair means, he stole privately out of town; and having put himself at the head of six hundred volunteers, marched directly to Jamestown, where the assembly was then sitting. He presented himself before the assembly, and drew up his men in battalia before the house wherein they sat. He urged to them his preparations; and alledged that if the commission had not been delayed so long, the war against the Indians might have been finished.

The governor resented this insolent usage worst of all, and now obstinately refused to grant him anything, offering his naked breast against the presented arms of his followers. But the assembly, fearing the fatal consequences of provoking a discontented multitude ready armed, who had the governor, council and assembly entirely in their power, addressed the governor to grant Bacon his request. They prepared themselves the commission, constituting him general of the forces of Virginia, and brought it to the governor to be signed.



The occasion of this rebellion is not easy to be discovered: but 'tis certain there were many things that concurred towards it. For it cannot be imagined, that upon the instigation of two or three traders only, who aimed at a monopoly of the Indian trade, as some pretend to say, the whole country would have fallen into so much distraction; in which people did not only hazard their necks by rebellion, but endeavored to ruin a governor, whom they all entirely loved, and had unanimously chosen; a gentleman who had devoted his whole life and estate to the service of the country, and against whom in thirty-five years experience there had never been one single complaint. Neither can it be supposed, that upon so slight grounds, they would make choice of a leader they hardly knew, to oppose a gentleman that had been so long and so deservedly the darling of the people. So that in all probability there was something else in the wind, without which the body of the country had never been engaged in that insurrection.

Four things may be reckoned to have been the main ingredients towards this intestine commotion, viz., First, The extreme low price of [tobacco](#), and the ill usage of the planters in the exchange of goods for it, which the country, with all their earnest endeavors, could not remedy. Secondly, The splitting the colony into proprietaries, contrary to the original charters; and the extravagant taxes they were forced to undergo, to relieve themselves from those grants. Thirdly, The heavy restraints and burdens laid upon their trade by act of Parliament in England. Fourthly, The disturbance given by the Indians. Of all which in their order.

First, Of the low price of [tobacco](#), and the disappointment of all sort of remedy, I have spoken sufficiently before. Secondly, Of splitting the country into proprietaries.

King Charles the Second, to gratify some nobles about him, made two great grants out of that country. These grants were not of the uncultivated wood land only, but also of plantations, which for many years had been seated and improved, under the encouragement of several charters granted by his royal ancestors to that colony. Those grants were distinguished by the names of the Northern and Southern grants of Virginia, and the same men were concerned in both. They were kept dormant some years after they were made, and in the year 1674 begun to be put in execution. As soon as ever the country came to know this, they remonstrated against them; and the assembly drew up an humble address to his majesty, complaining of the said grants, as derogatory to the previous charters and privileges granted to that colony, by his majesty and his royal progenitors. They sent to England Mr. Secretary Ludwell and Colonel Park, as their agents to address the king, to vacate those grants. And the better to defray that charge, they laid a tax of fifty pounds of [tobacco](#) per poll, for two years together, over and above



With much reluctancy the governor signed it, and thereby put the power of war and peace into Bacon's hands. Upon this he marched away immediately, having gained his end, which was in effect a power to secure a monopoly of the Indian trade to himself and his friends.

As soon as General Bacon had marched to such a convenient distance from Jamestown VA that the assembly thought they might deliberate with safety, the governor, by their advice, issued a proclamation of rebellion against him, commanding his followers to surrender him, and forthwith disperse themselves, giving orders at the same time for raising the militia of the country against him.

The people being much exasperated, and General Bacon by his address and eloquence having gained an absolute dominion over their hearts, they unanimously resolved that not a hair of his head should be touched, much less that they should surrender him as a rebel. Therefore they kept to their arms, and instead of proceeding against the Indians they marched back to Jamestown, directing their fury against such of their friends and countrymen as should dare to oppose them....

By this time the governor had got together a small party to side with him. These he furnished with sloops, arms and ammunition, under command of Major Robert Beverley, in order to cross the bay and oppose the malcontents. By this means there happened some skirmishes, in which several were killed, and others taken prisoners. Thus they were going on by a civil war to destroy one another, and lay waste their infant country, when it pleased God, after some months' confusion, to put an end to their misfortunes, as well as to Bacon's designs, by his natural death. He died at Dr. Green's in Gloucester county. But where he was buried was never yet discovered, though afterward there was great inquiry made, with design expose his bones to public infamy.

In the meanwhile those disorders occasioned a general neglect of husbandry, and a great destruction of the stocks Of cattle, so that people had a dreadful prospect want and famine. But the malcontents being thus disunited by the loss of their general, in whom they all confided, they began to squabble among themselves, and every man's business was, how to make the best terms he could for himself.

Lieutenant General Ingram (whose true name was Johnson) and Major General Walklate, surrendered, condition of pardon for themselves and their followers though they were both forced to submit to an incapacity of bearing office in that country for the future.

Peace being thus restored, Sir William Berkeley returned to his former seat of government, and every man to his several habitation....

When this storm, occasioned by Bacon, was blown over, and all things quiet again, Sir William Berkeley called an assembly, for settling the affairs of the country, and for making reparation to such as had been oppressed After which a regiment of soldiers arrived from England, which were sent to suppress the insurrection; but they, coming after the business was over, had no occasion to exercise their courage....

With the regiment above mentioned arrived commissioners, to enquire into the occasion and authors of this rebellion; and Sir William Berkeley came to England: where from the time of his arrival, his sickness obliged him to keep his chamber till he died; so that he had no opportunity of kissing the king's hand. But his majesty declared himself well satisfied with his conduct in Virginia, and was very kind to him during his sickness, often enquiring after his health, and commanding him not to hazard it by too early an endeavor to come to court.

Edmund S. Morgan has asserted that the Southrons had sought to prevent a replay of Bacon's Rebellion by "racism, to separate dangerous free whites from dangerous slave blacks by a screen of racial contempt," in accordance with Sir Francis Bacon's advice, that the wise ruler divides and breaks off "all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at a distance, or at least distrust among themselves."

RACE

Theodore W. Allen has commented on this strategy that:



[J]ust as the overthrow of the tenancy in the 1620s had cleared the way for the institution of chattel bond-servitude, so the defeat of Bacon's Rebellion cleared the way for the establishment of the system of lifelong hereditary chattel bond-servitude.

What this Southron strategy did not contemplate was that circumstances might be brought to occur, in which the Southern black slaves could be divided away from the protection of their rich white owners, and then slaughtered by the Southern poor whites in a spasm of genocide, bringing about the destruction not only of the black slaves which these poor whites had been trained so to condemn, but also their Southron rich white owners who could not survive as such if divested of their investment in their chattel servants. —Which is **very much what almost would be brought about** in consequence of Captain John Brown's 1859 attempt to equip an army of escaping slaves with pikes at Harpers Ferry!

SLAVERY

1705

Over the strenuous objections of Magistrate Samuel Sewall, the Massachusetts Bay colony created an "Act for the Better Preventing of a Spurious and Mixt Issue" which proscribed not only interracial fornication but also interracial marriage. Section 1 prohibited fornication of "any negro or molatto man" "with an English woman,



or a woman of any other Christian nation within this province," punishable by whipping of both partners, the selling of the man out of the province within six months (after continuous imprisonment), and pressing the woman into servitude if she is unable to maintain a child. Section 2 banned fornication of "any Englishman, or man of another Christian nation within this province" "with a negro, or molatto woman," punishable by whipping of only the man, who also shall pay a fine of five pounds and, if applicable, child support, and by the selling of the woman out of the province. Section 4 prohibited the contracting of matrimony between one of "her majesty's English or Scottish subjects, [or] of any other Christian nation within this province" and "any negro or molatto," threatening persons authorized who solemnize such a marriage with a fine of 50 pounds.

This act also provided that "if any Negro or mulatto shall presume to smite or strike any person of the English

or other Christian nation, such Negro or mulatto shall be severely whipped, at the discretion of the justices before whom the offender shall be convicted.”

In Virginia, meanwhile, in a continuous series of enactments designed to split the laboring class by fostering the contempt of poor whites toward both blacks and reds as their inherent inferiors, and also because the discriminatory miscegenation law of 1691 was wasting precious labor resources by banishing offenders from the colony, the assembly determined it would punish intermarriage only with 6 months imprisonment and a fine of 10 pounds sterling. A white woman bearing the illegitimate child of a black or mulatto was to be fined 15 pounds sterling or do 5 years of servitude. The child, though free, would be a servant until age 30 for the benefit of the parish, the profit to go to needy white families. The punishment for a black or red slave being found unruly was to be dismemberment and although masters could not whip a “Christian white servant” without an order from a justice of the peace, they might freely chastise their blacks in accordance with their own judgment. The legislature also ordered that the possessions of black and red slaves were to be confiscated by the church warden and the proceeds of sale were to be expended upon needy whites. Henceforward such persons would be considered to be able to claim ownership over nothing at all.

This Virginia assembly passed a law legalizing permanent enslavement: “All servants imported and brought into this country, by sea or land, who were not Christians in their native country ... shall be ... slaves, and as such be here bought and sold notwithstanding a conversion to Christianity afterwards.”

**SLAVERY**

The Virginia Assembly reaffirmed its decision of 1691 that it was permissible for planters to purchase captives from the native American tribes in a “free and open trade for all persons at all times and at all places with all Indians whatsoever.” It would not be noted either during this era or when this law would again be reaffirmed, in 1733, that such purchasing of enslaved persons from native Americans necessarily involved a presumption that a native American seller was a free man, entitled as such to enter into contracts at law — and that therefore it was actually quite impermissible under the existing understanding of the nature of the law for any native American ever to be thus reduced to a condition of enslavement!



During this year Virginia assessed a penalty for ministers who officiated at an interracial intermarriage: 10,000 pounds of [tobacco](#). Their Assembly passed a law legalizing lifelong slavery: “all servants imported and brought into this country, by sea or land, who were not christians in their native country... shall be... slaves, and as such be here bought and sold notwithstanding a conversion to christianity afterwards.”



## XV

TOBACCONISTS' SIGNS<sup>46</sup>

"I would enjoin every shop to make use of a sign which bears some affinity to the wares in which it deals."

Addison, *Spectator*, April 2, 1711.

Shop-signs were one of the most conspicuous features of the streets of old London. In days when the numbering of houses was unknown, the use of signs was indispensable for identification; and greatly must they have contributed to the quaint and picturesque appearance of the streets. Some projected far over the narrow roadway – competition to attract attention and custom is no modern novelty – some were fastened to posts or pillars in front of the houses. By the time of Charles II the overhanging signs had become a nuisance and a danger, and in the seventh year of that King's reign an Act was passed providing that no sign should hang across the street, but that all should be fixed to the balconies or fronts or sides of houses. This Act was not strictly obeyed; and large numbers of signs were hung over the doors, while many others were affixed to the fronts of the houses. Eventually, in the second half of the eighteenth century, signs gradually disappeared and the streets were numbered. There were occasional survivals which are to be found to this day, such as the barber's pole, accompanied sometimes by the brass basin of the barber-surgeon, the glorified canister of a grocer or the golden leg of a hosier; and inn signs have never failed us; but by the close of the eighteenth century most of the old trade signs which flaunted themselves in the streets had disappeared.

The sellers of tobacco naturally hung out their signs like other tradesfolk. Signs in their early days were, no doubt, chosen to intimate the trades of those who used them, and in the easy-going old-fashioned days when it was considered the right and natural thing for a son to be brought up to his father's trade and to succeed him therein, they long remained appropriate and intelligible. Later, as we shall see, they became meaningless in many cases. But in the days when tobacco-smoking first came into vogue, the signs chosen naturally had some reference to the trade they indicated, and one of the earliest used was the sign of the "Black Boy," in allusion to the association of the negro with tobacco cultivation. The "Black Boy" existed as a shop-sign before tobacco's triumph, for Henry Machyn in his "Diary," so early as December 30, 1562, mentions a goldsmith "dwelling at

46. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.





the sene of the Blake Boy, in the Cheep"; but the early sellers of tobacco soon fastened on this appropriate sign. The earliest reference to such use may be found in Ben Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair," 1614, where, in the first scene, Humphrey Wasp says: "I thought he would have run mad o' the Black Boy in Bucklersbury, that takes the scurvy, roguy tobacco there." Later, the "Black Boy," like other once significant signs, became meaningless and was used in connexion with various trades. Early in the eighteenth century a bookseller at the sign of the "Black Boy" on London Bridge was advertising Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe"; another bookseller traded at the "Black Boy" in Paternoster Row in 1712. Linendrapers, hatters, pawnbrokers and other tradesmen all used the same sign at various dates in the eighteenth century. But side by side with this indiscriminate and unnecessary use of the sign there existed a continuous association of the "Black Boy" with the tobacco trade. A tobacconist named Milward lived at the "Black Boy" in Redcross Street, Barbican, in 1742; and many old tobacco papers show a black boy, or sometimes two, smoking. Mr. Holden MacMichael, in his papers on "The London Signs" says: "Mrs. Skinner, of the old-established tobacconist's opposite the Law Courts in the Strand, possessed, about the year 1890, two signs of the 'Black Boy,' appertaining, no doubt, to the old house of Messrs. Skinner's on Holborn Hill, of the front of which there is an illustration in the Archer Collection in the Print Department of the British Museum, where the black boy and tobacco-rolls are depicted outside the premises." The "Black Boy," indeed, continued in use by tobacconists until the nineteenth century was well advanced. A tobacconist had a shop "uppon Wapping Wall" in 1667 at the sign of the "Black Boy and Pelican."

Other significant early tobacconists' signs were "Sir Walter Raleigh," "The Virginian" and "The Tobacco Roll." "Sir Walter," as the reputed introducer of tobacco, was naturally chosen as a sign, and his portrait adorns several shop-bills in the Banks Collection. The American Indians, represented under the figure of "The Virginian," and the negroes were hopelessly confused by the early tobacconists, with results which were sometimes surprising from an ethnological point of view. As the first tobacco imported into this country came from Virginia, a supposed "Virginian" was naturally adopted as a tobacco-seller's sign at an early date. An "Indian" or a "Negro" or a figure which was a combination of both, was commonly represented wearing a kilt or a girdle of tobacco leaves, a feathered head-dress, and smoking a pipe. A tobacco-paper, dating from about the time of Queen Anne, bears rudely engraved the figure of a negro smoking, and holding a roll of tobacco in his hand. Above his head is a crown; behind are two ships in full sail, with the sun just appearing from the right-hand corner above. The foreground shows four little black boys planting and packing tobacco, and below them is the name of the ingenious tradesman - "John Winkley, Tobacconist, near ye Bridge, in the Burrough, Southwark." Sixty years or so ago a wooden figure, representing a negro with a gilt loin-cloth and band with feathered head, and sometimes with a tobacco roll, was still a frequent ornament of tobacconists' shops.



The "Tobacco Roll," either alone or in various combinations, was one of the commonest of early tobacconists' signs, and was in constant use for a couple of centuries. It may still be occasionally seen at the present time in the form of the "twist" with alternate brown or black and yellow coils, which up to quite a recent date was a tolerably frequent adornment of tobacconists' shops, but is now rare. This roll represented what was called spun or twist tobacco. Dekker, in James I's time, speaks of roll tobacco. The youngster who mimics the stage-gallants in Jonson's "Cynthia's Revels" as described in Chapter II (*ante*; page 31), says that he has "three sorts of tobacco in his pocket," which probably means that it was customary to mix for smoking purposes tobacco of the three usual kinds – roll (or pudding), leaf and cane. One would have thought that a representation of the tobacco plant itself would have been a more natural and comprehensive sign than one particular preparation of the herb, yet representations of the plant were rare, while those of the compressed tobacco known as pudding or roll in the form of a "Tobacco Roll," as described above, were very frequently used as signs.

From the examples given in Burn's "Descriptive Catalogue of London Tokens" of the seventeenth century, it is clear that the "Tobacco Roll" was a warm favourite. "Three Tobacco Rolls" was also used as a sign. In 1732 there was a "Tobacco Roll" in Finch Lane, on the north side of Cornhill, "over against the Swan and Rummer Tavern." In 1766, Mrs. Flight, tobacconist, carried on her business at the "Tobacco Roll. Next door but one to St. Christopher's Church, Threadneedle Street."

The shop-bill of Richard Lee, who sold tobacco about 1730 "at Ye Golden Tobacco Roll in Panton Street near Leicester Fields," is an elaborate production. Hogarth in the earlier period of his career as an engraver engraved many shop-bills, and this particular bill is usually attributed to him, though the attribution has been disputed. There is a copy of the bill in the British Museum, and in the catalogue of the prints and drawings in the National Collection Mr. Stephens thus describes it: "It is an oblong enclosing an oval, the spandrels being occupied by leaves of the tobacco plant tied in bundles; the above title (Richard Lee at Ye Golden Tobacco Roll in Panton Street near Leicester Fields) is on a frame which encloses the oval. Within the latter the design represents the interior of a room, with ten gentlemen gathered near a round table on which is a bowl of punch; several of the gentlemen are smoking tobacco in long pipes; one of them stands up on our right and vomits; another, who is intoxicated, lies on the floor by the side of a chair; a fire of wood burns in the grate; on the wall hangs two pictures ... three men's hats hang on pegs on the wall." Altogether this is an interesting and suggestive design, but hardly in the taste likely to commend itself to present day tradesmen.

A roll of tobacco, it may be noted, was a common form of payment to the Fleet parsons for their scoundrelly services. Pennant, writing in 1791, describes how these men hung out their frequent signs of a male and female hand conjoined, with the legend



written below: "Marriages performed within." Before his shop walked the parson – "a squalid, profligate figure, clad in a tattered plaid nightgown, with a fiery face, and ready to couple you for a dram of gin, or roll of tobacco."

Combinations of the roll in tobacconists' signs occur occasionally. In 1660 there was a "Tobacco Roll and Sugar Loaf" at Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn. In 1659 James Barnes issued a farthing token from the "Sugar Loaf and Three Tobacco Rolls" in the Poultry, London. The "Sugar Loaf" was the principal grocer's sign, and so when it is found in combination with the tobacco roll at this time it may reasonably be assumed that the proprietor of the business was a grocer who was also a tobacconist.

Before the end of the seventeenth century, however, the signs were ceasing to have any necessary association with the trade carried on under them, and tobacconists are found with shop-signs which had no reference in any way to tobacco. For instance, to take a few examples from the late Mr. Hilton Price's lists of "Signs of Old London" from Cheapside and adjacent streets, in 1695 John Arundell, tobacconist, was at the "White Horse," Wood Street; in the same year J. Mumford, tobacconist, was at the "Faulcon," Laurence Lane; in 1699 Mr. Brutton, tobacconist, was to be found at the "Three Crowns," under the Royal Exchange; in 1702 Richard Bronas, tobacconist, was at the "Horse Shoe," Bread Street; and in 1766 Mr. Hoppie, of the "Oil Jar: Old Change, Watling Street End," advertised that he "sold a newly invented phosphorus powder for lighting pipes quickly in about half a minute. Ask for a Bottle of Thunder Powder."

Again, in Fleet Street, Mr. Townsend, tobacconist, traded in 1672 at the "Three Golden Balls," near St. Dunstan's Church; while at the end of Fetter Lane, a few years later, John Newland, tobacconist, was to be found at the "King's Head."

Addison, in the twenty-eighth *Spectator*, April 2, 1711, took note of the severance which had taken place between sign and trade, and of the absurdity that the sign no longer had any significance. After satirizing first, the monstrous conjunctions in signs of "Dog and Gridiron," "Cat and Fiddle" and so forth; and next the absurd custom by which young tradesmen, at their first starting in business, added their own signs to those of the masters under whom they had served their apprenticeship; the essayist goes on to say: "In the third place I would enjoin every shop to make use of a sign which bears some affinity to the wares in which it deals. What can be more inconsistent than to see ... a tailor at the Lion? A cook should not live at the Boot, nor a Shoe-maker at the Roasted Pig; and yet for want of this regulation, I have seen a Goat set up before the door of a perfumer, and the French King's Head at a sword-cutler's."

Notwithstanding the few examples given above, tobacconists, more than most tradesmen, seem to have continued to use signs that had at least some relevance to their trade. Abel Drugger was a "tobacco-man," i.e. a tobacco-seller in Ben Jonson's play of "The Alchemist," 1610, so that it is not very surprising to find



the name used occasionally as a tobacconist's sign. Towards the end of the eighteenth century one Peter Cockburn traded as a tobacconist at the sign of the "Abel Druggier" in Fenchurch Street, and informed the public on the advertising papers in which he wrapped up his tobacco for customers that he had formerly been shopman at the Sir Roger de Coverley – a notice which has preserved the name of another tobacconist's sign borrowed from literature. Seventeenth – century London signs were the "Three Tobacco Pipes," "Two Tobacco Pipes" crossed, and "Five Tobacco Pipes." At Edinburgh in the eighteenth century there were tobacconists who used two pipes crossed, a roll of tobacco and two leaves over two crossed pipes, and a roll of tobacco and three leaves.

The older tobacconists were wont to assert, says Larwood, that the man in the moon could enjoy his pipe, hence "the 'Man in the Moon' is represented on some of the tobacconists' papers in the Banks Collection puffing like a steam engine, and underneath the words, 'Who'll smoake with ye Man in ye Moone?'" The Dutch, as every one knows, are great smokers, so a Dutchman has been a common figure on tobacconists' signs. In the eighteenth century a common device was three figures representing a Dutchman, a Scotchman and a sailor, explained by the accompanying rhyme:

We three are engaged in one cause,  
I snuffs, I smokes, and I chaws!

Larwood says that a tobacconist in the Kingsland Road had the three men on his sign, but with a different legend:

This Indian weed is good indeed,  
Puff on, keep up the joke  
'Tis the best, 'twill stand the test,  
Either to chew or smoke.

The bill bearing this sign is in Banks's Collection, 1750. Another in the same collection, with a similar meaning but of more elaborate design, shows the three men, the central figure having his hands in his pockets and in his mouth a pipe from which smoke is rolling. The man on the left advances towards this central figure holding out a pipe, above which is the legend "Voule vous de Rape." Above the middle man is "No dis been better." The third man, on the right, holds out, also towards the central figure, a tobacco-box, above which is the legend "Will you have a quid."

A frequent sign-device among dealers in snuff was the Crown and Rasp. The oldest method of taking snuff, says Larwood, in the "History of Signboards," was "to scrape it with a rasp from the dry root of the tobacco plant; the powder was then placed on the back of the hand and so snuffed up; hence the name of *râpé* (rasped) for a kind of snuff, and the common tobacconist's sign of La Carotte d'or (the golden root) in France." *Râpé* became in English "rappee," familiar in snuff-taking days as the name for a coarse kind of snuff made from the darker and ranker tobacco leaves. The list of prices and names given by Wimble, a snuff-seller, about 1740, and printed in Fairholt's "History of Tobacco," contains eighteen different kinds of rappee – English, best English, fine English, high-flavoured coarse, low, scented,



composite, &c. The rasps for obtaining this *râpé*, continues Larwood, "were carried in the waistcoat pocket, and soon became articles of luxury, being carved in ivory and variously enriched. Some of them, in ivory and inlaid wood, may be seen at the Hotel Cluny in Paris, and an engraving of such an object occurs in 'Archæologia,' vol. xiii. One of the first snuff-boxes was the so-called *râpé* or *grivoise* box, at the back of which was a little space for a piece of the root, whilst a small iron rasp was contained in the middle. When a pinch was wanted, the root was drawn a few times over the iron rasp, and so the snuff was produced and could be offered to a friend with much more grace than under the above-mentioned process with the pocket-grater."

The tobacconists' sign that for very many years was in most general use was the figure of a highlander, which may still perhaps be found in one or two places, but which was not at all an unusual sight in the streets of London and other towns some forty or fifty years ago. Most men of middle age can remember when the snuff-taking highlander was the usual ornament to the entrance of a tobacconist's shop; but all have disappeared from London streets save two – I say two on the authority of Mr. E.V. Lucas, who gives it (in his "Wanderer in London") as the number of the survivors; but only one is known to me. This is the famous old wooden highlander which stood for more than a hundred years on guard at a tobacconist's shop in Tottenham Court Road. About the end of 1906 it was announced that the shop was to be demolished, and that the time-worn figure was for sale. The announcement created no small stir, and it was said that the offers for the highlander ran up to a surprising figure. He was bought ultimately by a neighbouring furnishing firm, and now stands on duty not far from his ancient post, though no passer-by can help feeling the incongruity between the time-honoured emblem of the snuff-taker and his present surroundings of linoleum "and sich."

Where Mr. Lucas's second survivor may be is unknown to me. Not so many years ago a wooden highlander, as a tobacconist's sign, was a conspicuous figure in Knightsbridge, and there was another in the Westminster Bridge Road; but *tempus edax rerum* has consumed them with all their brethren. In a few provincial towns a wooden highlander may still be found at the door of tobacco shops, but they are probably destined to early disappearance. In 1907 one still stood guard – a tall figure in full costume – outside a tobacconist's shop in Cheltenham, and may still be there. There is a highlander of oak in the costume of the Black Watch still standing, I believe, in the doorway of a tobacco shop at St. Heliers, Jersey. It is traditionally said to have been originally the figure-head of a war vessel which was wrecked on the Alderney coast. Another survivor may be seen at the door of a shop belonging to Messrs. Churchman, tobacco manufacturers, in Westgate Street, Ipswich. A correspondent of "Notes and Queries" describes it as a very fine specimen in excellent condition, and adds: "Mr. W. Churchman informs me that it belonged to his grandfather, who established the business in Ipswich in 1790, and he believed it was quite 'a hundred' year old at that time."



One of the earliest known examples of these highlanders as tobacconists' signs is that which was placed at the door of a shop in Coventry Street which was opened in 1720 under the sign of "The Highlander, Thistle and Crown." This is said to have been a favourite place of resort of the Jacobites. In his "Nicotine and its Rariora," Mr. A.M. Broadley gives the card, dated 1765, of "William Kebb, at ye Highlander ye corner of Pall Mall, facing St. James's, Haymarket," and says that the highlander was a favourite tobacconist's sign for 200 years. I have been unable, however, to find evidence of such a prolonged period of favour. I know of no certain seventeenth-century reference to the highlander as a tobacconist's sign.

The figure was usually made with a snuff mull in his hand – the highlander being always credited with a great love and a great capacity for snuff-taking. But one curious example was furnished, not only with a mull but with a bat-like implement of unknown use. Mr. Arthur Denman, F.S.A., writing in *Notes and Queries*, April 17, 1909, said: "I have a very neat little, genuine specimen of the old tobacconist's sign of a 42nd Highlander with his 'mull.' It is 3 ft. 6 in. high, and it differs from those usually met with in that under the left arm is an implement almost exactly like a cricket-bat. This bat has a gilt knob to the handle, and on the shoulder of it are three chevrons in gold, without doubt a sergeant's stripes. On the exposed side of the bat is what would appear to represent a loose strip of wood. This strip is nearly one-third of the width of the instrument, and extends up the middle about two-fifths of the length of the body of it. I can only guess that the bat was, at some time, primarily, an emblem of a sergeant's office, and, secondarily, used for the infliction of chastisement on clumsy or disorderly recruits; and perhaps it was equivalent to the *Prügel* of German armies, with which sergeants drove lagging warriors into the fray. But is there any record of such an accoutrement as being that of a sergeant in the British army? and what was the purpose of the loose strip, unless it was to cause the blow administered to resound as much as to hurt, as does the wand of Harlequin in a booth."

These questions received no answers from the learned correspondents of the most useful and omniscient of weekly papers. Personally, I much doubt Mr. Denman's suggested explanations of his highlander's curious implement. There is no evidence that a sergeant in the British army ever carried a cricket-bat-like implement either as a sign of office or to be used for disciplinary or punitive purposes like the canes of the German sergeants of long ago. It would seem to be more likely that this particular figure was of unusual, perhaps unique, make, and had some special local or individual significance, wherever or for whom it was first made and used, which has now been forgotten.

After the suppression of the Jacobite uprising of 1745, the English Government made war on Scottish nationality, and among other measures the wearing of the highland dress was forbidden by Parliament. On this occasion the following paragraph appeared in the newspapers of the time: "We hear that the dapper wooden



Highlanders, who guard so heroically the doors of snuff-shops, intend to petition the Legislature, in order that they may be excused from complying with the Act of Parliament with regard to their change of dress: alledging that they have ever been faithful subjects to his Majesty, having constantly supplied his Guards with a pinch out of their Mulls when they marched by them, and so far from engaging in any Rebellion, that they have never entertained a rebellious thought; whence they humbly hope that they shall not be put to the expense of buying new cloaths." This is not a very humorous production, but at least it bears witness to the common occurrence in 1746 of the highlander's figure at the shops of snuff and tobacco-sellers.

The highlander, as he existed within living memory at many shop doors, and as he still exists at a few, was and is the survivor of many similar wooden figures as trade signs. The wooden figure of a negro or "Indian" with gilt loin-cloth and feathered head, has already been mentioned as an old tobacconist's sign. In early Georgian days a tobacconist named John Bowden, who dealt in all kinds of snuff, and also in "Aloe, Pigtail, and Wild Tobacco; with all sorts of perfumer's goods, wholesale and retail," traded at the sign of "The Highlander and Black Boy" in Threadneedle Street, London. At York, in this present year, 1914, I came upon a brightly painted wooden figure of Napoleon in full uniform and snuff-box in hand, standing at the door of a small tobacco-shop. Another class of sign or emblem was represented by the "wooden midshipman," which many of us have seen in Leadenhall Street, and which Dickens made famous in "Dombey and Son." Sometimes the wooden figure of a sailor stood outside public-houses with such signs as "The Jolly Sailor"; and a black doll was long a familiar token of the loathly shop kept by the tradesmen mysteriously known as Marine Store Dealers. Images of this kind sometimes stood at the door, or in many cases were placed on brackets or swung from the lintels.

Sir Walter Scott said that in London a Scotchman would walk half a mile farther to purchase his ounce of snuff where the sign of the Highlander announced a North Briton.

Dickens's little figure, which adorned old Sol Gills's shop, "thrust itself out above the pavement, right leg foremost," with shoe buckles and flapped waistcoat very much unlike the real thing, and "bore at its right eye the most offensively disproportionate piece of machinery." But this was only one of many "little timber midshipmen in obsolete naval uniforms, eternally employed outside the shop-doors of nautical instrument-makers in taking observations of the hackney-coaches." All have disappeared, together with the black dolls of the rag shops and many other old-time figures. A stray highlander or two, or other figure, may survive here and there; but with very few exceptions indeed, the once abundant tobacconists' signs have disappeared from our streets as completely as the emblems and tokens of other trades.

1713

Inspection standards were enacted in order to keep up the quality of Virginia leaf [tobacco](#) exports (but these regulations would not be effective until 1730).

Louis XIV was presented with a [coffee](#) bush. (This bush, sent to a warehouse in Amsterdam, would later on be stolen — and in 1723 it would become the foundation of coffee production on the island of Martinique.)

At about this point the Caddoan native tribespeople of East Texas were able to obtain, from the French merchants of New Orleans, rum, muskets and other metal objects such as pans, arrowheads, and hatchets (the term “tejas” is a Caddoan word meaning “allies”). This French interest in East Texas would draw the Mexicans back into West Texas despite their having been driven out by the Comanches during the 1690s.

The Tuscaroran log-palisade refuge Neohoeroka (Neyuherú·ke' in the Tuscaroran language) had been created south of what is now Raleigh, [North Carolina](#).



1721

Colonial government official [William Byrd II](#) (1674-1744) completed a 2d secret diary volume, the one covering the timespan 1717-1721. In this diary he had mentioned not only his [chocolate](#) drinking and but also his evenings of sex with a variety of women. Owner of nearly 200,000 acres of Virginia [tobacco](#)-land, he wrote up his crop as a cure for the plague, recommending that it be hung in bundles around beds, “and in the apartments where we most converse”:

In England, [the plague] us'd formerly to make a visit about once in twenty or thirty years; but since the universal use of [tobacco](#), it has now been kept off about fifty-four years.



This appeared anonymously as A DISCOURSE CONCERNING PLAGUE, WITH SOME PRESERVATIVES AGAINST IT. This would be the only piece of his writings to be published during his lifetime.



1724

Pope Benedict XIII (Vincenzo Maria Orsini). Since he was himself a smoker, this prelate would promptly repeal the papal interdiction of [tobacco](#) use by the clergy.

1727

“Tobacco notes” attesting to the quality and quantity of one’s tobacco kept in public warehouses became recognized as legal tender in Virginia. These documents based upon the [tobacco](#) commodity would find use as units of monetary exchange throughout the 18th Century.

1730

The [poppy](#) *Papaver somniferum* began to be cultivated in England, and for awhile local [opium](#) production would be able to produce a profit (until the local opium was quite driven off the market by the ready transportability of opium produced in overseas growth centers).

In Virginia the Inspection Acts come into effect, standardizing and regulating [tobacco](#) sales and exports to prevent the export of “trash tobacco” (shipments diluted with leaves and household sweepings, which were debasing the value of Virginia tobacco). Inspection warehouses were empowered to verify weight and kind and quality of tobacco.

The 1st American [tobacco](#) factories were begun in Virginia — they were small [snuff](#) mills.

1734

US financier and land speculator Robert Morris was born (he was, however, born in England rather than in America).

According to the later estimate of the naturalist Reverend [Gilbert White](#) of Selborne, England, [Tortoise Timothy](#) had hatched in this year “in the Province of Virginia in the midst of a Savanna that lay between a large [tobacco](#) plantation and a creek of the sea.” Since this tortoise had never laid an egg, the good Reverend presumed it to be male and had named it Timothy. Actually it was a female. Actually, also, it was a *Testudo ibera*, and thus would have originated in a similar emigrant manner as Robert Morris — not in Virginia in America but in Algeria in Africa.



As to whether the good Reverend had at least gotten the year of hatching of this testudo right, who can say? You will be able to view her carapace in the British Museum of Natural History, where the sign cautiously reads “Died in Selborne in 1794, after an existence of about 54 years in England ... formerly in the possession of the Rev. Gilbert White.”







SIK'AR

PLANTS

1747

[Maryland](#) passed its own [Tobacco](#) Inspection Act (as Virginia already had) to control the quality of its exports.

1750

The father of Gilbert Stuart (who also was named Gilbert Stuart) built a [snuff](#) mill in [Rhode Island](#) and began to ship his product — securely and sanitarly encased in dried animal bladders.

[TOBACCO](#)

1753

[Carolus Linnaeus](#) issued *MUSEUM TESSINIANUM*, and in *SPECIES PLANTARUM* he named the plant genus of [tobacco](#), *Nicotiana*, and described two species of this genus, *Nicotiana rustica* and *Nicotiana tabacum*.



*SPECIES PLANTARUM* would establish a new standard for plant classification as well as nomenclature. This treatise eventually would be recognized as the beginning-point for today's binomial nomenclature.

From 1748 to 1751 [Peter Kalm](#) had collected plant specimens in northeastern North America. His [botanical](#) collections were at this point extensively accessed by this Swedish botanist Linné as nomenclatural types for many of our northeastern US and southeastern Canadian species.

Linné also classified [cannabis sativa](#).

PLANTS



## VII

**SMOKING UNFASHIONABLE: EARLY GEORGIAN DAYS<sup>47</sup>**

Lord Fopling smokes not — for his teeth afraid;  
Sir Tawdry smokes not — for he wears brocade.  
Isaac Hawkins Browne, *circa* 1740.

With the reign of Queen Anne tobacco had entered on a period, destined to be of long duration, when smoking was to a very large extent under a social ban. Pipe-smoking was unfashionable — that is to say, was not practised by men of fashion, and was for the most part regarded as “low” or provincial — from the time named until well into the reign of Queen Victoria. The social taboo was by no means universal — some of the exceptions will be noted in these pages — but speaking broadly, the general, almost universal smoking of tobacco which had been characteristic of the earlier decades of the seventeenth century did not again prevail until within living memory.

Throughout the eighteenth century the use of tobacco for smoking was largely confined to the middle and humbler classes of society. To smoke was characteristic of the “cit,” of the country squire, of the clergy (especially of the country parsons), and of those of lower social status. But at the same time it must be borne in mind that then, as since, the dictates of fashion and the conventions of society were little regarded by many artists and men of letters.

In the preceding chapter I quoted from Addison’s diary of a retired tradesman in the *Spectator* of 1712. The periodical publications of a generation or so later paid the great essayist the flattery of imitation in this respect as in others. In the *Connoisseur* of George Colman and Bonnell Thornton, for instance, there is, in 1754, the description of a citizen’s Sunday. The good man, having sent his family to church in the morning, goes off himself to Mother Redcap’s, a favourite tavern — suburban in those days — or house of call for City tradesmen. There he smokes half a pipe and drinks a pint of ale. In the evening at another tavern he smokes a pipe and drinks two pints of cider, winding up the inane day at his club, where he smokes three pipes before coming home at twelve to go to bed and sleep soundly.

The week-end habit was strong among London tradesmen in those days. Another *Connoisseur* paper of 1754 refers to the citizens’ country-boxes as dusty retreats, because they were always built in close contiguity to the highway so that the inhabitants could watch the traffic, in the absence of anything more sensible to do, where “the want of London smoke is supplied by the smoke of Virginia tobacco,” and where “our chief citizens are accustomed to pass the end and the beginning of every week.” In the following year there is a description of a visit to Vauxhall by a worthy citizen with his wife and two daughters. After supper

47. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



the poor man sadly laments that he cannot have his pipe, because his wife, with social ambitions, deems that it is "ungenteel to smoke, where any ladies are in company."

Again, in the *Connoisseur's* rival, the *World*, founded and conducted by Edward Moore, there is a letter, in the number dated February 19, 1756, from a citizen who says: "I have the honour to be a member of a certain club in this city, where it is a standing order, That the paper called the *World* be constantly brought upon the table, with clean glasses, pipes and tobacco, every Thursday after dinner."

The country gentlemen of the time followed the hounds and enjoyed rural sports of all kinds, drank ale, and smoked tobacco. They had their smoking-rooms too. Walter Gale, schoolmaster at Mayfield, Sussex, noted in his Journal under date March 26, 1751: "I went to Mr. Baker's for the list of scholars, and found him alone in the smoaking-room; he ordered a pint of mild beer for me, an extraordinary thing." Gale himself was a regular smoker, and too fond of pints of ale.

Fielding has immortalized the squire of the mid-eighteenth century in his picture of that sporting, roaring, swearing, drinking, smoking, affectionate, irascible, blundering, altogether extraordinary owner of broad acres, Squire Western. We may shrewdly suspect that the portrait of Western is somewhat over-coloured, and cannot fairly be taken as typical; but there is sufficient evidence to show that in some respects at least – in his enthusiasm for sport and love of ale and tobacco – Western is representative of the country squires of his day.

In a *World* of 1755 there is a description of a noisy, hearty, drinking, devil-may-care country gentleman, in which it is said, "he makes no scruple to take his pipe and pot at an alehouse with the very dregs of the people." In a *Connoisseur* of 1754 a fine gentleman from London, making a visit in a country-house, is taking his breakfast with the ladies in the afternoon, when they had their tea, for, says he, "I should infallibly have perished, had I staid in the hall, amidst the jargon of toasts and the fumes of tobacco." When Horace Walpole was staying with his father at his Norfolk country-seat, Houghton, in September 1737, Gray wrote to him from Cambridge: "You are in a confusion of wine, and roaring, and hunting, and tobacco, and, heaven be praised, you too can pretty well bear it." But Gray had no objection to tobacco. He lived at Cambridge, and the dons and residents there (as at Oxford), not to speak of the undergraduates, were as partial to their pipes as the men who went out from among them to become country parsons, and to share the country squire's liking for tobacco. Gray wrote to Warton from Cambridge in April 1749 saying: "Time will settle my conscience, time will reconcile me to this languid companion (ennui); we shall smoke, we shall tipple, we shall doze together" – a striking picture of University life in the sleepy days of the eighteenth century. Gray's testimony by no means stands alone. In November 1730 Roger North wrote to his son Montague, then an undergraduate at Cambridge, saying: "I would be loath you should confirm the scandal charged upon the universities of learning chiefly to smoke and to drink."



At Oxford in early Georgian days a profound calm – so far as study was concerned – appears to have prevailed. Little work was done, but much tobacco was smoked. In 1733 a satire was published, violently attacking the Fellows of various colleges. According to this satirist the occupation of the Magdalen Fellow was to

drink, look big,  
Smoke much, think little, curse the freeborn Whig –

from which it may not unreasonably be surmised that the author was a Tory; and however little enthusiasm there may have been at Oxford in those days for learning and study, there was plenty of life in political animosities.

Another witness to the dons' love of tobacco is Thomas Warton. In his "Progress of Discontent," written in 1746, he plaintively sang:

Return, ye days when endless pleasure  
I found in reading or in leisure!  
When calm around the Common Room  
I puff'd my daily pipe's perfume!  
Rode for a stomach, and inspected,  
At annual bottlings, corks selected:  
And dined untax'd, untroubled, under  
The portrait of our pious Founder!

Warton and another Oxford smoker of some distinction – the Rev. William Crowe, who was Public Orator from 1784 to 1829 – are both said to have been, like Prior, rather fond of frequenting the company of persons of humble rank and little education, with whom they would drink their ale and smoke their pipes.

Mr. A.D. Godley, in his "Oxford in the Eighteenth Century," gives an excellent English version of the Latin original of one of the Christ Church "Carmina Quadragesmalia," which affords much the same picture of the daily life of an Oxford Fellow in the days when George I was king. This good man lives strictly by rule, and each returning day –

Ne'er swerves a hairbreadth from the same old way.  
Always within the memory of men  
He's risen at eight and gone to bed at ten:  
The same old cat his College room partakes,  
The same old scout his bed each morning makes:  
On mutton roast he daily dines in state  
(Whole flocks have perished to supply his plate),  
Takes just one turn to catch the westering sun,  
Then reads the paper, as he's always done;  
Soon cracks in Common-room the same old jokes,  
Drinking three glasses ere three pipes he smokes: –  
And what he did while Charles our throne did fill  
'Neath George's heir you'll find him doing still.

It seems to have been taken for granted that country parsons smoked. Smoking was universal among their male parishioners from the squire to the labourer (when he could afford it), so that it was only natural that the parson, with little to do, and in





those days not too much inclination to do it, should be as fond of his pipe as the rest of the world around him. In a *World* of 1756 there is an account of a country gentleman entertaining one evening the vicar of the parish, and the host as a matter of course proceeds to order a bottle of wine with pipes and tobacco to be placed on the table. The vicar forthwith "filled his pipe, and drank very cordially to my friend," his host. One cannot doubt that Laurence Sterne, that most remarkable of country parsons, smoked. His "My Uncle Toby" is among the immortals, and Toby without his pipe is unimaginable.

The most famous of country clergymen of the early Georgian period is, of course, Fielding's lovable and immortal Parson Adams. Throughout "Joseph Andrews" the parson smokes at every opportunity. At his first appearance on the scene, in the inn kitchen, he calls for a pipe of tobacco before taking his place at the fireside. The next morning, when he fails to obtain a desired loan from the landlord, Adams, extremely dejected at his disappointment, immediately applies to his pipe, "his constant friend and comfort in his affliction," and leans over the rails of the gallery overlooking the inn-yard, devoting himself to meditation, "assisted by the inspiring fumes of tobacco." Later on, in the parlour of the country Justice of the Peace, who condemned his prisoners before he had taken the depositions of the witnesses against them, and who, by the way, also lit his pipe while his clerk performed this necessary duty, Adams, when his character has been cleared, sits down with the company and takes a cheerful glass and applies himself vigorously to smoking. A few hours later, when the parson, Fanny, and their guide are driven by a storm of rain to take shelter in a wayside ale-house, Adams "immediately procured himself a good fire, a toast and ale, and a pipe, and began to smoke with great content, utterly forgetting everything that had happened." In the same inn, after Mrs. Slipslop has appeared and disappeared, Adams smokes three pipes and takes "a comfortable nap in a great chair," so leaving the lovers, Joseph and Fanny, to enjoy a delightful time together.

At another inn a country squire is discovered smoking his pipe by the door and the parson promptly joins him. Again, he smokes before he goes to bed, and before he breakfasts the next morning; and when he goes into the inn garden with the host who is willing to trust him, both host and parson light their pipes before beginning to gossip. Farther on, when the hospitable Mr. Wilson takes the weary wayfarers in, Parson Adams loses no time in filling himself with ale, as Fielding puts it, and lighting his pipe. The menfolk – Wilson, Adams and Joseph – have to spend the night seated round the fire, but apparently Adams is the only one who seeks the solace of tobacco. It is significant that Wilson, in telling the story of his dissipated early life, classes smoking with "singing, holloaing, wrangling, drinking, toasting," and other diversions of "jolly companions."

There is no mention of Parson Trulliber's pipe, but that pig-breeder and lover can hardly have been a non-smoker. Both the other clerical characters who appear in the book, the Roman Catholic priest who makes an equivocal appearance in the eighth



chapter of the third book, and Parson Barnabas, who thinks that his own sermons are at least equal to Tillotson's, smoke their pipes. The other smokers in "Joseph Andrews" are the surgeon and the exciseman who, early in the story, are found sitting in the inn kitchen with Parson Barnabas, "smoking their pipes over some syderand" – the mysterious "cup" being a mixture of cider and something spirituous – and Joseph's father, old Gaffer Andrews, who appears at the end of the story, and complains bitterly that he wants his pipe, not having had a whiff that morning.

Fielding himself smoked his pipe. When his play "The Wedding Day" was produced by Garrick in 1743, various suggestions were made to the author as to the excision of certain passages, and the modification of one of the scenes. Garrick pressed for certain omissions, but – "No, damn them," said Fielding, "if the scene is not a good one, let them find that out"; and then, according to Murphy, he retired to the green-room, where, during the progress of the play, he smoked his pipe and drank champagne. Presently he heard the sound of hissing, and when Garrick came in and explained that the audience had hissed the scene he had wished to have modified, all Fielding said was: "Oh, damn them, they have found it out, have they!"

Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, the crafty old Jacobite who took part in the rising of 1745 and who was executed on Tower Hill in 1747, was a smoker. The pipe which he was reported to have smoked on the evening before his execution, together with his snuff-box and a canvas tobacco-bag, were for many years in the possession of the Society of Coggers, the famous debating society of Fleet Street.

It has sometimes been said that Swift smoked; but this is a mistake. He had a fancy for taking tobacco in a slightly different way from the fashionable mode of taking snuff. He told Stella that he had left off snuff altogether, and then in the very next sentence remarked that he had "a noble roll of tobacco for grating, very good." And in a later letter to Stella, May 24, 1711, he asked if she still snuffed, and went on to say, in sentences that seem to contradict one another: "I have left it off, and when anybody offers me their box, I take about a tenth part of what I used to do, then just smell to it, and privately fling the rest away. I keep to my tobacco still, as you say; but even much less of that than formerly, only mornings and evenings, and very seldom in the day." One might infer from this that he smoked, but this Swift never did. His practice was to snuff up cut and dried tobacco, which was sometimes just coloured with Spanish snuff. This he did all his life, but as the mixture he took was not technically snuff, he never owned that he took snuff.

Another cleric of the period, well known to fame, who took snuff but also loved his pipe, was Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, Lincolnshire, from 1697 to 1735. He not only smoked his pipe, but sang its praises:

In these raw mornings, when I'm freezing ripe,  
What can compare with a tobacco-pipe?  
Primed, cocked and toucht, 'twould better heat a man



Than ten Bath Faggots or Scotch warming-pan.

Samuel's greater son, John Wesley, did not share the parental love of a pipe. He spoke of the use of tobacco as "an uncleanly and unwholesome self-indulgence," and described snuffing as "a silly, nasty, dirty custom."

The London clergy seem to have smoked at one time as a matter of course at their gatherings at Sion College, their headquarters. An entry in the records under date February 14, 1682, relating to a Court Meeting, runs: "Paid Maddocks [the Messenger] for Attendinge and Pipes 6d." How long pipes continued to be concomitants of the meetings of the College's General Court I cannot say; but smoking and the annual dinners were long associated. At the anniversary feast in 1743 there were two tables to provide for, the total number of guests being about thirty, and two "corses" to each. The cost of the food, as Canon Pearce tells us in his excellent and entertaining book on the College and its Library, was £19 15s., or rather more than 13s. a head. The bill for wines and tobacco amounted to five guineas, or about 3s. 6d. a head, and for this modest sum the thirty convives enjoyed eleven gallons of "Red Oporto," one of "White Lisbon," and three of "Mountain," to the accompaniment of two pounds of tobacco (at 3s. 4d. the pound) smoked in "half a groce of pipes" (at 1s.).

The examples and illustrations which have been given so far in this chapter relate to tradesmen and merchants, country gentlemen and the clergy. Other professional men smoked – we read in Fielding's "Amelia" of a doctor who in the evening "smoked his pillow-pipe, as the phrase is" – and among the rest of the people of equal or lower social standing smoking was as generally practised as in the preceding century. Handel, I may note, enjoyed his pipe. Dr. Burney, when a schoolboy at Chester, was "extremely curious to see so extraordinary a man," so when Handel went through that city in 1741 on his way to Ireland, young Burney "watched him narrowly as long as he remained in Chester," and among other things, had the felicity of seeing the great man "smoke a pipe, over a dish of coffee, at the Exchange Coffee-house," which was under the old Town Hall that stood opposite the present King's School, and in front of the present Town Hall.

Gonzales, in his "Voyage to Great Britain," 1731, says that the use of tobacco was "very universal, and indeed not improper for so moist a climate." He tells us that though the taverns were very numerous yet the ale-houses were much more so. These ale-houses were visited by the inferior tradesmen, mechanics, journeymen, porters, coachmen, carmen, servants, and others whose pockets were not equal to the price of a glass of wine, which, apparently, was the more usual thing to call for at a tavern, properly so called. In the ale-house men of the various classes and occupations enumerated, says the traveller, would "sit promiscuously in common dirty rooms, with large fires, and clouds of tobacco, where one that is not used to them can scarce breathe or see."

The antiquary Hearne has left on record an account of a curious



smoking match held at Oxford in 1723. It began at two o'clock in the afternoon of September 4 on a scaffold specially erected for the purpose "over against the Theatre in Oxford ... just at Finmore's, an alehouse." The conditions were that any one (man or woman) who could smoke out three ounces of tobacco first, without drinking or going off the stage, should have 12s. "Many tryed," continues Hearne, "and 'twas thought that a journeyman taylour of St. Peter's in the East would have been victor, he smoking faster than, and being many pipes before, the rest: but at last he was so sick, that 'twas thought he would have dyed; and an old man, that had been a souldier, and smoaked gently, came off conqueror, smoaking the three ounces quite out, and he told one (from whom I had it) that, after it, he smoaked 4 or 5 pipes the same evening." The old soldier was a well-seasoned veteran.

Another foreign visitor to England, the Abbé Le Blanc, who was over here about 1730, found English customs rather trying. "Even at table," he says, "where they serve desserts, they do but show them, and presently take away everything, even to the tablecloth. By this the English, whom politeness does not permit to tell the ladies their company is troublesome, give them notice to retire.... The table is immediately covered with mugs, bottles and glasses; and often with pipes of tobacco. All things thus disposed, the ceremony of toasts begins."

The frowns and remonstrances of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends had not succeeded in putting the Quakers' pipes out. In a list of sea stores put on board a vessel called by the un-Quaker-like name of *The Charming Polly*, which brought a party of Friends across the Atlantic from Philadelphia in 1756, we find "In Samuel Fothergill's new chest ... Tobacco ... a Hamper ... a Barrel ... a box of pipes." The provident Samuel was well found for a long voyage.

The non-smokers were the men of fashion and those who followed them in preferring the snuff-box to the pipe. Sometimes, apparently, they chewed. A *World* of 1754 pokes fun at the "pretty" young men who "take pains to appear manly. But alas! the methods they pursue, like most mistaken applications, rather aggravate the calamity. Their drinking and raking only makes them look like old maids. Their swearing is almost as shocking as it would be in the other sex. Their chewing tobacco not only offends, but makes us apprehensive at the same time that the poor things will be sick," as they certainly well deserved to be. To chew might be "manly," but it will be observed that smoking is not mentioned. No reputation for manliness could be achieved by even the affectation of a pipe. Similarly, in Bramston's "Man of Taste," various fashionable tastes are described, but there is no mention of tobacco.

In Townley's well-known two-act farce "High Life Below Stairs," 1759, the servants take their masters' and mistresses' titles and ape their ways. The menservants – the Dukes and Sir Harrys – offer one another snuff. "Taste this snuff, Sir Harry," says the "Duke." "'Tis good rappee," replies "Sir Harry." "Right Strasburgh, I assure you, and of my own importing," says the knowing ducal valet. "The city people adulterate it so



confoundedly," he continues, "that I always import my own snuff;" and in similar vein he goes on in imitation of his master, the genuine Duke. These servants copy the talk and style (with a difference) of their employers; but smoking is never mentioned. The real Dukes and Sir Harrys took snuff with a grace, but they did not do anything so low as to smoke, and their menservants faithfully aped their preferences and their aversions.

Negative evidence of this kind is abundant; and positive statements of the aversion of the beaux from smoking are not lacking. Dodsley's "Collection" contains a satirical poem called "A Pipe of Tobacco," which was written in imitation of six different poets. The author was Isaac Hawkins Browne, and the poets imitated were the Laureate Cibber, Philips, Thomson, Young, Pope, and Swift. The first imitation is called "A New Year's Ode," and contains three recitatives, three airs and a chorus. One of the airs will suffice as a sample:

Happy mortal! he who knows  
Pleasure which a Pipe bestows;  
Curling eddies climb the room  
Wafting round a mild perfume.

Number two, which was intended as a burlesque of Philips's "Splendid Shilling," is really pretty and must be given entire. It reveals unsuspected beauties in the simple "churchwarden," or "yard of clay":

Little tube of mighty pow'r,  
Charmer of an idle hour,  
Object of my warm desire,  
Lip of wax, and eye of fire:  
And thy snowy taper waist,  
With my finger gently brac'd;  
And thy pretty swelling crest,  
With my little stopper prest,  
And the sweetest bliss of blisses,  
Breathing from thy balmy kisses.  
Happy thrice, and thrice agen,  
Happiest he of happy men;  
Who when agen the night returns,  
When agen the taper burns;  
When agen the cricket's gay,  
(Little cricket, full of play)  
Can afford his tube to feed  
With the fragrant Indian weed:  
Pleasure for a nose divine,  
Incense of the god of wine.  
Happy thrice, and thrice agen,  
Happiest he of happy men.

Imitations three and five praise the leaf in less happy strains, though number five has a line worth noting for our purpose, in which tobacco is spoken of as

By ladies hated, hated by the beaux.

The sixth sinks to ribaldry. Number four contains evidence of



the distaste for smoking among the beaux in the lines:

Coxcombs prefer the tickling sting of snuff;  
Yet all their claim to wisdom is – a puff;  
Lord Foplin smokes not – for his teeth afraid:  
Sir Tawdry smokes not – for he wears brocade.  
Ladies, when pipes are brought, affect to swoon;  
They love no smoke, except the smoke of Town;  
But courtiers hate the puffing tube – no matter,  
Strange if they love the breath that cannot flatter!  
\* \* \* \* \*

Yet crowds remain, who still its worth proclaim,  
While some for pleasure smoke, and some for Fame.

The satirist wrote truly that after all the fashionable abstainers had been deducted, crowds remained, who smoked as heartily as their predecessors of a century earlier. The populace was still on the side of tobacco. This was well shown in 1732 when Sir Robert Walpole proposed special excise duties on tobacco, and brought a Bill into Parliament which would have given his excisemen powers of inquisition which were much resented by the people generally. The controversy produced a host of squibs and caricatures, most of which were directed against the measure. The Bill was defeated in 1733, and great and general were the rejoicings. When the news reached Derby on April 19 in that year, the dealers in tobacco caused all the bells in the Derby churches to be rung, and we may be sure that this rather unusual performance was highly popular. The withdrawal of the odious duty was further celebrated by caricatures and "poetical" chants of triumph. One of the leading opponents of the Bill had been a well-known puffing tobacconist named Bradley, who was accustomed to describe his wares as "the best in Christendom"; and when the Bill was defeated Bradley's portrait was published for popular circulation, above these lines:

Behold the man, who, when a gloomy band  
Of vile excisemen threatened all the land,  
Help'd to deliver from their harpy gripe  
The cheerful bottle and the social pipe.  
O rare Ben Bradley! may for this the bowl,  
Still unexcised, rejoice thy honest soul!  
May still the best in Christendom for this  
Cleave to thy stopper, and compleat thy bliss!

This print is now chiefly of interest because the plate was adorned with a tiny etching by Hogarth, in which appear the figures of the British Lion and Britannia, both with pipes in their mouths, Britannia being seated on a cask of tobacco.

Hogarth was fond of introducing the pipe into his plates. In the tail-piece to his works, which he prepared a few months before his death, and which he called *The Bathos, or Manner of Sinking in Sublime Paintings*, the end of everything is represented. Time himself, supported against a broken column, is expiring, his scythe falling from his grasp and a long clay pipe breaking in two as it falls from his lips. This was issued in 1764 – Hogarth's last published work. In the plate which shows the



execution of Thomas Idle, in the "Industry and Idleness" series, Hogarth depicts the little hangman smoking a short pipe as he sits on the top of the gallows, waiting for his victim. The familiar plate of *A Modern Midnight Conversation* shows a parson in surplice and wig smoking like a furnace while he ladles punch from a bowl – probably meant for a portrait of the notorious Orator Henley. Most of the other guests are also shown smoking long clay pipes.

Hogarth's subscription ticket for the print of *Sigismunda* was *Time Smoking a Picture* (1761). It represents an old man sitting on a fragment of statuary and smoking a long pipe against a picture of a landscape which stands upon an easel before him. Below, on his left, is a large jar labelled "Varnish." The figure of Time is nude and has large wings. Volumes of smoke are pouring against the surface of the picture from both his mouth and the bowl of his long clay pipe. In *The Stage-Coach, or Country Inn-yard*, is shown an old woman smoking a pipe in the "basket" of the coach. The plate of *The Distrest Poet* (1736) shows four books and three tobacco-pipes on a shelf. In the second of the "Election" series – the *Canvassing for Votes* (1755) – a barber and a cobbler, seated at the table in the right-hand corner, are both smoking long pipes. Apparently they are discussing the taking of Portobello by Admiral Vernon in 1739 with only six ships; for the barber is illustrating his talk by pointing with his twisted pipe-stem to six fragments which he has broken from the stem and arranged on the table in the shape of a crescent. In the frontispiece which Hogarth drew in 1762 for Garrick's farce of "The Farmer's Return from London," the worthy farmer, seated in his great chair, holds out a large mug in one hand to be filled with ale, while the other supports his long pipe, which he is smoking with evident enjoyment.

Hogarth himself was a confirmed pipe-lover. When he and Thornhill and their three companions set out from Gravesend for the final stage, up the river, of their famous "Five Days Peregrination," we are told that they hired a boat with clean straw, and laid in a bottle of wine, pipes, tobacco, and light, and so came merrily up the river. The arm-chair in which Hogarth was wont to sit and smoke is still preserved in his house at Chiswick, which has been bought and preserved as a memorial of the moralist-painter; and in the garden of the house may still be seen the remains of the mulberry tree under which Mr. Austin Dobson suggests that Hogarth and Fielding may have sat and smoked their pipes together in the days when George was King.

1755

ENSO

October: Virginia's [tobacco](#) crop failed due to an extended drought (the eastern ocean coast of Virginia, to a somewhat lesser extent than the eastern ocean coast of Australia, is impacted by the La Niña/El Niño phenomenon).

**1758**

The assembly of Virginia enacted a “Two Penny Act” forbidding the rendering of payment of annual salaries to some public officials such as the Anglican clergy, in the form of a percentage of [tobacco](#) crop. The crop was small at this period, and in result the tobacco market had become a seller’s market; therefore this law mandating a regular salary for these officials slashed the clergy’s real income and became wildly unpopular.

In this year the slaves on William Byrd III’s plantation on the Bluestone River in Lunenburg County formed the earliest black church in Virginia. It would seem that many Africans had little trouble adopting Christianity since it preached many of the beliefs central to the African religions — a supreme being, creation myths, priest-healers, moral and ethical systems, etc. Christianity’s “life after death” was attractive because it offered the promise that black Americans would someday regain contact with their ancestors. A [Baptist](#) missionary to the Yoruba of Nigeria in 1853 would observe that there were words for a monotheistic god, sin, guilt, sacrifice, intercession, repentance, faith, pardon, adoption; and that they believed in a heaven and a hell. Muslim slaves had even more points of identification with Christianity, since they were used to a religion based on a written text, some of which, the Old Testament, was the same as that of Christianity. An American minister would report in 1842 that Muslim Africans called God Allah, and Jesus Mohammed, that according to them, “the religion is the same, but different countries have different names.”

**1759**

George Washington harvested his 1st [tobacco](#) crop. The British market would be so underimpressed with its quality that by 1761, Washington’s plantation would be deeply in debt. From this year into the mid-1770s, he would be acquiring additional lands near Mount Vernon and in the valley of the [Ohio](#) River, diversifying his agricultural production to include wheat as well as tobacco, and reducing his debts to British tobacco merchants. He expanded and remodeled his wife’s house “The White House” at Mount Vernon, and began fifteen years service in Virginia House of Burgesses from Frederick County in the Shenandoah Valley (in 1765 and thereafter from Fairfax County).

**1760**

Pierre Lorillard established a “manufactory” in New-York for processing [tobacco](#) for [pipes](#), [cigars](#), and [snuff](#). (P. Lorillard is thus the oldest tobacco company in the USA.)





1761

In England, John Hill performed what was perhaps the 1st clinical study of the effects of [tobacco](#), and warned [snuff](#) users that they were putting themselves at risk of developing cancer of the nose. Noting the incidence of cancer of the scrotum among chimneysweeps, Dr. Percival Pott went beyond this to posit a connection between cancer and exposure to soot in any form.

1762

After a British campaign in Cuba, General Israel “Old Put” Putnam returned to his Connecticut brewery and tavern with three donkey-loads of Havana [cigars](#), previously unknown in these continental colonies.

1763

This year marked a crossover-point in the relationship between Britain and its colonies. Up to this point the costs of membership in this empire had been perceived by both the spin-offs and by the mother country to be lower than the manifold benefits being derived from such association. Beginning at this point, that cost/benefit relationship would be being perceived by both sides more and more as an unsatisfactory one. This mutual dissatisfaction would express itself as bickering over precisely who was “in the barrel” to pay off the debts England had incurred during its long war against France. In Virginia the clergy had been being paid in [tobacco](#) until in the late 1750s the local legislature decreed that they should be paid in currency at the rate of 2 cents/pound (tobacco was selling for 6 cents/pound). That law had been vetoed by the Crown but still was sometimes adhered to in Virginia, and in consequence some clergy were suing their parishes. Attorney Patrick “Gimme Liberty or Gimme Death” Henry defended one such parish, Hanover County, berating England’s interference in domestic matters and convincing the jury to award the plaintiff/clergyman but one penny in damages.

In Prussia, in order to pay his war debts, King Frederick the Great attempted to establish [coffee](#), [tea](#), and [tobacco](#) monopolies, regarding these substances as luxuries and therefore as fit for high taxation.

1765

At this point the American colonies had about 28,000 tons of shipping employing some 4,000 seamen. Our exports of [tobacco](#) were nearly double in value our exports of bread and flour, with fish, rice, indigo, and wheat next in order of value. Our major shippers were the Cabots and Thomas Russell of [Boston](#), Thomas Francis Lewis of New-York, and Samuel Butler of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).

1765. Some spirited instructions were passed at a Town meeting to the town’s representatives in the General Assembly, against the right of Great Britain to impose taxes without the Colony’s



SIK'AR

PLANTS

consent. They were strong, bold and explicit. They were shadows of "coming events," which led to the declaration of Independence. The General Assembly acted up to them, and their acts, and similar ones followed by other Colonies, produced the repeal of the odious Stamp act the next year.

1769

While continuing in his duties as an English excise tax collector, on the side [Thomas Paine](#) began running the [tobacco](#) shop of the deceased Samuel Ollive, his former landlord.

1771

December 17, Tuesday: A French official was condemned to be [hanged](#) for admitting foreign [tobacco](#) into the country.



## VIII

## SMOKING UNFASHIONABLE (CONTINUED):

LATER GEORGIAN DAYS<sup>48</sup>

Says the Pipe to the Snuff-box, I can't understand  
What the ladies and gentlemen see in your face,  
That you are in fashion all over the land,  
And I am so much fallen into disgrace.  
William Cowper.  
(From a letter to the Rev. John Newton, May 28, 1782.)

"Smoking has gone out," said Johnson in talk at St. Andrews, one day in 1773. "To be sure," he continued, "it is a shocking thing, blowing smoke out of our mouths into other people's mouths, eyes and noses, and having the same thing done to us; yet I cannot account why a thing which requires so little exertion, and yet preserves the mind from total vacuity, should have gone out." Johnson did not trouble himself to think of how much the vagaries of fashion account for stranger vicissitudes in manners and customs than the rise and fall of the smoking-habit; nor did he probably foresee how slowly but surely the taste for smoking, even in the circles most influenced by fashion, would revive. Boswell tells us that although the sage himself never smoked, yet he had a high opinion of the practice as a sedative influence; and Hawkins heard him say on one occasion that insanity had grown more frequent since smoking had gone out of fashion, which shows that even Johnson could fall a victim to the *post hoc propter hoc* fallacy.

More than one writer of recent days has absurdly misrepresented Johnson as a smoker. The author of a book on tobacco published a few years ago wrote – "Dr. Johnson smoked like a furnace" – a grotesquely untrue statement – and "all his friends, Goldsmith, Reynolds, Garrick, were his companions in tobacco-worship." Reynolds, we know –

When they talk'd of their Raphaels, Corregios, and stuff,  
He shifted his trumpet, and only took snuff.

Johnson and all his company took snuff, as every one in the fashionable world, and a great many others outside that charmed circle, did; but Johnson did not smoke, and I doubt whether any of the others did.

There is ample evidence, apart from Johnson's dictum, that in the latter part of the eighteenth century smoking had "gone out." In Mrs. Climenson's "Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Lybbe Powys," we hear of a bundle of papers at Hardwick House, near Whitchurch, Oxon, which bears the unvarnished title "Dick's Debts." This Dick was a Captain Richard Powys who had a

48. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



commission in the Guards, and died at the early age of twenty-six in the year 1768. This list of debts, it appears, gives "the most complete catalogue of the expenses of a dandy of the Court of George II, consisting chiefly of swords, buckles, lace, Valenciennes and point d'Espagne, gold and amber-headed canes, tavern bills and chair hire." But in all the ample detail of Captain Powys's list of extravagances there is nothing directly or indirectly relating to smoking. The beaux of the time did not smoke.

In the whole sixteen volumes of Walpole's correspondence, as so admirably edited by Mrs. Toynbee, there is scarcely a mention of tobacco; and the same may be said of other collections of letters of the same period – the Selwyn letters, the Delany correspondence, and so on. Neither Walpole nor any member of the world in which he lived would appear to have smoked. In Miss Burney's "Evelina," 1778, from the beginning to the end of the book there is no mention whatever of tobacco or of smoking. Apparently the vulgar Branghtons were not vulgar enough to smoke. Such use of tobacco was considered low, and was confined to the classes of society indicated in the preceding chapter. One of the characters in Macklin's "Love à la Mode," 1760, is described as "dull, dull as an alderman, after six pounds of turtle, four bottles of port, and twelve pipes of tobacco."

A satirical print by Rowlandson contains *A Man of Fashion's Journal*, dated May 1, 1802. The "man of fashion" rides and drinks, goes to the play, gambles and bets, but his journal contains no reference to smoking. Rowlandson himself smoked, and so did his brother caricaturist, Gillray. Angelo says that they would sometimes meet at such resorts of the "low" as the Bell, the Coal Hole, or the Coach and Horses, and would enter into the common chat of the room, smoke and drink together, and then "sometimes early, sometimes late, shake hands at the door – look up at the stars, say it is a pretty night, and depart, one for the Adelphi, the other to St. James's Street, each to his bachelor's bed."

But outside the fashionable world pipes were still in full blast, and in many places of resort the atmosphere was as beclouded with tobacco-smoke as in earlier days. Grosley, in his "Tour to London," 1765, says that there were regular clubs, which were held in coffee-houses and taverns at fixed days and hours, when wine, beer, tea, pipes and tobacco helped to amuse the company.

Angelo gives some lively pictures of scenes of this kind in the London of about 1780. The Turk's Head, in Gerrard Street, was the meeting-place for "a knot of worthies, principally 'Sons of St. Luke,' or the children of Thespis, and mostly votaries of Bacchus," as the old fencing-master, who loved a little "fine writing," describes them; and here they sat, he says, "taking their punch and smoking, the prevailing custom of the time." About the same time (*circa* 1790) an evening resort for purposes mostly vicious was the famous Dog and Duck, in St. George's Fields. "The long room," says Angelo, "if I may depend on my memory, was on the ground floor, and all the benches were filled with motley groups, eating, drinking, and smoking." Angelo also



mentions the "Picnic Society," a celebrated resort of fashion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where the odour of tobacco never penetrated. It afforded, he says in his fine way, "a sort of antipodeal contrast to these smoking tavern clubs of the old city of Trinobantes." The same writer speaks of a certain Monsieur Liviez whom he met in Paris in 1772, who had been one of the first dancers at the Italian Opera House, and *maître de ballet* at Drury Lane Theatre. This gentleman was addicted to self-indulgence, loved good eating, and good and ample drinking, and moreover kept "late hours, à l'Anglaise, smoked his pipe, and drank oceans of punch."

Coleridge, in the "Biographia Literaria," gives an amusing account of his own experience of an attempt to smoke in company with a party of tradesmen. In 1795 he was travelling about the country endeavouring to secure subscriptions to the periodical publication he had started called *The Watchman*. At Birmingham one day he dined with a worthy tradesman, who, after dinner, importuned him "to smoke a pipe with him, and two or three other *illuminati* of the same rank." The remainder of the moving story must be told in Coleridge's own words. "I objected," he says, "both because I was engaged to spend the evening with a minister and his friends, and because I had never smoked except once or twice in my life-time, and then it was herb tobacco mixed with Oronooko. On the assurance, however, that the tobacco was equally mild, and seeing too that it was of a yellow colour, – not forgetting the lamentable difficulty I have always experienced in saying, 'No,' and in abstaining from what the people about me were doing, – I took half a pipe, filling the lower half of the bole with salt. I was soon, however, compelled to resign it, in consequence of a giddiness and distressful feeling in my eyes, which, as I had drunk but a single glass of ale, must, I knew, have been the effect of the tobacco. Soon after, deeming myself recovered, I sallied forth to my engagement; but the walk and the fresh air brought on all the symptoms again, and I had scarcely entered the minister's drawing-room, and opened a small packet of letters, which he had received from Bristol for me, ere I sank back on the sofa in a sort of swoon rather than sleep. Fortunately I had found just time enough to inform him of the confused state of my feelings, and of the occasion. For here and thus I lay, my face like a wall that is white-washing, deathly pale, and with the cold drops of perspiration running down it from my forehead, while one after another there dropped in the different gentlemen, who had been invited to meet, and spend the evening with me, to the number of from fifteen to twenty. As the poison of tobacco acts but for a short time, I at length awoke from insensibility, and looked round on the party, my eyes dazzled by the candles which had been lighted in the interim. By way of relieving my embarrassment one of the gentlemen began the conversation with 'Have you seen a paper to-day, Mr. Coleridge?' 'Sir,' I replied, rubbing my eyes, 'I am far from convinced that a Christian is permitted to read either newspapers or any other works of merely political and temporary interest.' This remark, so ludicrously inapposite to, or rather, incongruous with, the purpose for which I was known to have visited Birmingham, and



to assist me in which they were all met, produced an involuntary and general burst of laughter; and seldom indeed have I passed so many delightful hours as I enjoyed in that room from the moment of that laugh till an early hour the next morning."

All's well that ends well; but one cannot help wondering what kind of tobacco it was that the Birmingham tradesman used, a half pipeful of which had such a deadly effect – but perhaps the effect was due to the salt, not to the tobacco.

In the year after that which witnessed Coleridge's adventure, *i.e.* in 1796, a tobacco-box with a history was the subject of a legal decision. This box, made of common horn and small enough to be carried in the pocket, was bought for fourpence by an overseer of the poor in the time of Queen Anne, and was presented by him in 1713 to the Society of Past Overseers of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster. In 1720 the Society, in memory of the donor, ornamented the lid with a silver rim; and at intervals thereafter additions were made to an extraordinary extent to the box and its casings. Hogarth engraved within the lid in 1746 a bust of the victor of Culloden. Gradually the horn box was enshrined within one case after another – usually silver lined with velvet – each case bearing inscribed plates commemorating persons or events. A Past Overseer who detained the box in 1793 had to give it back after three years of litigation. A case of octagon shape records the triumph of Justice, and Lord Chancellor Loughborough pronouncing his decree for the restitution of the box on March 5, 1796. In later days many and various additions have been made to the many coverings of the box, recording public events of interest.

Notwithstanding the unfashionableness of tobacco, there were still some noteworthy smokers to be found among the clergy. Dr. Sumner, head master of Harrow, who died in 1771, was devoted to his pipe. The greatest of clerical "tobacconists" of late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century date was the once famous Dr. Parr. It was from him that Dr. Sumner learned to smoke. When he and Parr got together Sumner was in the habit of refilling his pipe again and again in such a way as to be unobserved, at the same time begging Parr not to depart till he had finished his pipe, in order that he might detain him, we are told, in the evening as long as possible.

Parr was not a model smoker. He was brutally overbearing towards other folk, and would accept no invitation except on the understanding that he might smoke when and where he liked. It was his invariable practice, wherever he might be visiting, to smoke a pipe as soon as he had got out of bed. His biographer says – "The ladies were obliged to bear his tobacco, or to give up his company; and at Hatton (1786-1825) now and then he was the tyrant of the fireside." Parr was capable of smoking twenty pipes in an evening, and described himself as "rolling volcanic fumes of tobacco to the ceiling" while he worked at his desk. At a dinner which was given at Trinity College, Cambridge, to the Duke of Gloucester, as Chancellor of the University, when the cloth was removed, Parr at once started his pipe and began, says one who was present, "blowing a cloud into the faces of his neighbours, much to their annoyance, and causing royalty to



sneeze by the stimulating stench of mundungus." It is surprising that people were willing to put up with such bad manners as Parr was accustomed to exhibit; but his reputation was then great, and he traded upon it.

Parr is said on one occasion to have called for a pipe after taking a meal at a coaching-inn called the "Bush" at Bristol, when the waiter told him that smoking was not allowed at the Bush. Parr persisted, but the authorities at the inn were firm in their refusal to allow anything so vulgar as smoking on their premises, whereupon Parr is said to have exclaimed: "Why, man, I've smoked in the dining-room of every nobleman in England. The Duchess of Devonshire said I could smoke in every room in her house but her dressing-room, and here, in this dirty public-house of Bristol you forbid smoking! Amazing! Bring me my bill." The learned doctor exaggerated no doubt as regards the facilities given him for smoking; for it was his overbearing way not to ask for leave to smoke, but to smoke wherever he went, whether invited to do so or not; but the story shows the prejudice against smoking which was found in many places as a result of the attitude of the fashionable world towards tobacco.

Johnstone, Parr's biographer, referring to his hero's failure to obtain preferment to the Episcopal Bench about the year 1804, says - "His pipe might be deemed in these fantastic days a degradation at the table of the palace or the castle; but his noble hospitality, combined with his habits of sobriety, whether tobacco fumigated his table or not, would have filled his hall with the learned and the good." A portrait of Parr hangs in the Combination Room in St. John's, Cambridge. Originally it represented him faithfully with a long clay between hand and mouth; but for some unknown reason the pipe has been painted out.

A famous crony of Parr's, the learned Porson, was another devotee of tobacco. In November 1789 Parr wrote to Dr. Burney: "The books may be consulted, and Porson shall do it, and he will do it. I know his price when he bargains with me; two bottles instead of one, six pipes instead of two, burgundy instead of claret, liberty to sit till five in the morning instead of sneaking into bed at one: these are his terms:" and these few lines, it may be added, give a graphic picture of Porson. According to Maltby, Porson once remarked that when smoking began to go out of fashion, learning began to go out of fashion also - which shows what nonsense a learned man could talk.

Another famous parson, the Rev. John Newton, was a smoker, and so was Cowper's other clerical friend, that learned and able Dissenter, the Rev. William Bull, whose whole mien and bearing were so dignified that on two occasions he was mistaken for a bishop. Cowper appreciated snuff, but did not care for smoking, and when he wrote to Unwin, describing his new-made friend in terms of admiration, he concluded - "Such a man is Mr. Bull. But - he smokes tobacco. Nothing is perfection 'Nihil est ab omni parte beatum.'" Bull, however, was not excessive in his smoking, for his daily allowance was but three pipes. In his garden at Newport Pagnell, Bull showed Cowper a nook in which he had placed a bench, where he said he found it very refreshing to smoke his pipe and meditate. "Here he sits," wrote Cowper, "with his back



against one brick wall, and his nose against another, which must, you know, be very refreshing, and greatly assist meditation."

Cowper's aversion from tobacco could not have been very strong, for he encouraged his friend to smoke in the famous Summer House at Olney, which was the poet's outdoor study. Bull smoked Orinoco tobacco, which he carried in one of the tobacco-boxes, which in those days were much more commonly used than pouches, and this box on one occasion he accidentally left behind him at Olney. Cowper returned it to him with the well-known rhymed epistle dated June 22, 1782, and beginning:

If reading verse be your delight,  
'Tis mine as much, or more, to write;  
But what we would, so weak is man,  
Lies oft remote from what we can.

He describes the box and its contents in lines which show not only tolerance but appreciation of tobacco, from which it is not unreasonable to infer that Cowper's first view of his friend's smoking-habit as a drawback – as shown in his letter to Unwin, quoted above – had been modified by neighbourhood and custom. It might have been well for the poet himself if he had learned to smoke a social pipe with his friend Bull. The appreciative lines run thus:

This oval box well filled  
With best tobacco, finely milled,  
Beats all Anticyra's pretences  
To disengage the encumbered senses.  
O Nymph of transatlantic fame,  
Where'er thine haunt, whate'er thy name,  
Whether reposing on the side  
Of Oronoco's spacious tide,  
Or listening with delight not small  
To Niagara's distant fall,  
'Tis thine to cherish and to feed  
The pungent nose-refreshing weed,  
Which, whether pulverized it gain  
A speedy passage to the brain,  
Or whether, touched with fire, it rise  
In circling eddies to the skies,  
Does thought more quicken and refine  
Than all the breath of all the Nine –  
Forgive the bard, if bard he be,  
Who once too wantonly made free,  
To touch with a satiric wibe  
That symbol of thy power, the pipe;  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And so may smoke-inhaling Bull  
Be always filling, never full.

The allusion in these verses to a "satiric wibe" refers to a passage in the poem entitled "Conversation," which Cowper had written in the previous year, 1781. In this passage tobacco is abused in terms which Cowper clearly felt to need modification after his personal intercourse with such a smoker as his friend





Bull. In describing, in "Conversation," the manner in which a story is sometimes told, the poet says:

The pipe, with solemn interposing puff,  
Makes half a sentence at a time enough;  
The dozing sages drop the drowsy strain,  
Then pause and puff – and speak, and pause again.  
Such often, like the tube they so admire,  
Important triflers! have more smoke than fire.

Cowper then goes on to attack tobacco in lines which show how unpopular smoking at that date was with ladies, and which have since often been quoted by anti-tobacconists with grateful appreciation:

Pernicious weed! whose scent the fair annoys,  
Unfriendly to society's chief joys,  
Thy worst effect is banishing for hours  
The sex whose presence civilizes ours;  
Thou art indeed the drug a gardener wants,  
To poison vermin that infest his plants,  
But are we so to wit and beauty blind,  
As to despise the glory of our kind,  
And show the softest minds and fairest forms  
As little mercy as the grubs and worms?

Notwithstanding this "satiric wiper," it is not likely that Cowper would have had much sympathy with John Wesley, who, in his detestation of what had been his father's solace at Epworth, forbade his preachers either to smoke or to take snuff.

In the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century smoking reached its nadir. No dandy smoked. If some witnesses may be believed smoking had almost died out even at Oxford. Archdeacon Denison wrote in his "Memories" – "When I went up to Oxford, 1823-24, there were two things unknown in Christ Church, and I believe very generally in Oxford – smoking and slang"; but one cannot help fancying that the archdeacon's memory was not quite trustworthy. It is difficult to imagine that there was ever a time when the slang of the day was not current on the lips of young Oxford, or that so long as tobacco was procurable it did not find its way into college rooms.

If smoking had died out at Oxford its decline must have been rapid. When a certain young John James was an undergraduate of Queen's, 1778 to 1781, he and his correspondents spoke severely of the "miserable condition of Fellows who (under the liberal pretence of educating youth) spend half their lives in smoking tobacco and reading the newspapers." About 1800 the older or more old-fashioned of the Fellows at New College, "not liking the then newly introduced luxury of Turkey carpets," says Mr. G.V. Cox, in his "Recollections of Oxford," 1868, "often adjourned to smoke their pipe in a little room opposite to the Senior Common-room, now appropriated to other uses, but then kept as a smoking-room." A Mr. Rhodes, a one-time Fellow of Worcester College, who was elected Esquire Bedel in Medicine and Arts in 1792, had a very peculiar way of enjoying his tobacco. Mr. Cox says: "On one occasion, when I had to call upon him, I found him drinking rum and water, and enjoying (what he called



his luxury) the fumes of tobacco, not through a pipe or in the shape of a cigar, but *burnt in a dish!*"

Smoking had certainly not died out at Cambridge, even at the time when Denison was at Oxford. According to the "Gradus ad Cantabrigium," 1824, the Cambridge smart man's habit was to dine in the evening "at his own rooms, or at those of a friend, and afterwards blows a cloud, puffs at a segar, and drinks copiously." The spelling of "segar" shows that cigars were then somewhat of a novelty.

When Tennyson was an undergraduate at Cambridge, 1828-30, he and his companions all smoked. At the meetings of the "Apostles" – the little group of friends which included the future Laureate – "much coffee was drunk, much tobacco smoked." Dons smoked as well as undergraduates. At Queens', the Combination-room in Tennyson's time had still a sanded floor, and the "table was set handsomely forth with long 'churchwardens'" – as the poet told Palgrave when the two visited Cambridge in 1859. George Pryme, in his "Autobiographic Recollections," 1870, states that in 1800 "smoking was allowed in the Trinity Combination-room after supper in the twelve days of Christmas, when a few old men availed themselves of it," which looks as if tobacco were not very popular just then at Trinity. With the wine, pipes and the large silver tobacco-box were laid on the table. Porson, when asked for an inscription for the box, suggested "...me says that among the undergraduates, of whom he was one, tobacco had no favour, and "an attempt of Mr. Ginkell, son of Lord Athlone ... to introduce smoking at his own wine-parties failed, although he had the prestige of being a hat-fellow-commoner."

No doubt smoking had its ups and downs at the Universities apart from the set of the main current of fashion. We learn from the invaluable Gunning that at Cambridge about 1786 smoking was going "out of fashion among the junior members of our combination-rooms, except on the river in the evening, when every man put a short pipe in his mouth." "I took great pains," he adds, "to make myself master of this elegant accomplishment, but I never succeeded, though I used to renew the attempt with a perseverance worthy of a better cause." About the same time Dr. Farmer was Master of Emmanuel and the Master was an inveterate smoker. Gunning says that Emmanuel parlour under Farmer's presidency was always open to those who loved pipes and tobacco and cheerful conversation – a very natural collocation of tastes. Farmer's silver tobacco-pipe is still preserved in his old college, while Porson's japanned snuff-box is at Trinity.

Dr. Farmer was elected Master of Emmanuel in 1775. Years before he had held the curacy of Swavesey, about nine miles out of Cambridge, where he regularly performed the duty. After morning service it was his custom to repair to the local public-house where he enjoyed a mutton-chop and potatoes. Immediately after the removal of the cloth, "Mr. Dobson (his churchwarden) and one or two of the principal farmers, made their appearance, to whom he invariably said, 'I am going to read prayers, but shall be back by the time you have made the punch.' Occasionally another farmer accompanied him from church, when pipes and tobacco" –



with the punch – “were in requisition until 6 o’clock.” The Sabbath afternoon thus satisfactorily concluded, Farmer returned to college in Cambridge and took a nap, till at nine he went to the parlour of the college where the Fellows usually assembled, and pipes and tobacco concluded a well-spent day.

In the fashionable world the snuff-box was all-powerful. The Prince Regent was devoted to snuff, but disdained tobacco. He had a “cellar of snuff,” which after his death was sold, said *John Bull*, August 15, 1830, “to a well-known purveyor, for £400.” Lord Petersham, famous among dandies, made a wonderful collection of snuffs and snuff-boxes, and was curious in his choice of a box to carry. Gronow relates that once when a light Sèvres snuff-box which Lord Petersham was using, was admired, the noble owner replied, with a gentle lisp – “Yes, it is a nice summer box – but would certainly be inappropriate for winter wear!” The well-known purveyor who bought the Prince Regent’s cellar of snuff, and who bought also Lord Petersham’s stock, was the Fribourg of Fribourg and Treyer, whose well-known old-fashioned shop at the top of the Haymarket, with a bow-window on each side of the door, still gives an eighteenth-century flavour to that thoroughfare. All the dandies of the period were connoisseurs of snuff, and imitated the royal mirror of fashion in their devotion to the scented powder. Young Charles Stanhope wrote to his brother on November 5, 1812 – “I have learnt to take snuff among other fashionable acquirements, a custom which, of course, you have learnt and will be able to keep me in countenance.” But no dandies or young men of fashion smoked. Tobacco, save in the disguise of snuff, was tabooed.

Smoking was frowned upon, even in places where hitherto it had been allowed. In 1812 the authorities of Sion College ordered “that Coffee and Tea be provided in the Parlour for the Visitors and Incumbents, and in the Court Room for the Curates and Lecturers; and that Pipes and Tobacco be not allowed; and that no Wine be at any time carried into the Court Room, nor any into the Hall after Coffee and Tea shall have been ordered on that day.”

The use of tobacco for smoking, as I have said, had reached its nadir – in the fashionable world, that is to say – but the dawn follows the darkest hour, and the revival of smoking was at hand, thanks to the cigar.

1774

June 4, Saturday: Jobless, his [tobacco](#) shop having failed, [Thomas Paine](#) signed formal separation papers from his wife Elizabeth Ollive Paine and relocated to London.

1776

British tobacco taxes were a major factor in exciting the "Tobacco Coast" (the Chesapeake), where the Revolutionary War would occasionally be referred to as "The Tobacco War." The American slavemaster planters of tobacco had found themselves perpetually in debt to British merchants and, by this point, owed millions of pounds to the mercantile houses of England. The British tobacco taxes were a further grievance. Their slave-grown tobacco would help finance this revolutionary war, by serving as collateral for loans from France — so yes, Virginia, black slaves indeed did make a contribution to the American Revolution!



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



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

September: Benjamin Franklin was sent to Paris by the Continental Congress to solicit support for the American revolution and became, in his fur hat, wearing his own hair, an icon of New World natural sophistication which the French manufacturers painted onto snuff-boxes, onto chamber-pots, and onto everything in between.

1777

The Maryland Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends banned slavery. Until this time, Quakers had grown in number. After this date, Friends who did not wish to give up their slaves would go Episcopalian, while Friends who would give up their slaves would be forced out of the area, as they could not compete in the growing of tobacco without the use of slaves.

The colony of Maryland decided to maintain its current high duties discouraging the importation of new black slaves.

"An Act concerning duties."  
" ... no duties imposed by act of assembly on any article or thing imported into or exported out of this state (except duties imposed on the importation of negroes), shall be taken or received within two years from the end of the present session of the general assembly." LAWS OF MARYLAND SINCE 1763: 1777, sess. Feb.-Apr., ch. xviii.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

1780

In Limone, Italia a baby boy was born possessed of a genetic mutation which would prove invaluable to himself and to his descendants — and potentially to all of us. Throughout his long life Giovanni Pomaroli’s body would be manufacturing trace quantities of the protein Apo A-1 Milano, which would be traveling through his coronary arteries as a biological garbage truck, cleansing them of deposits of cholesterol. Giovanni’s descendants would be able to [smoke](#) like stovepipes, eat whatever they liked, never exercise, and dance on the graves of the rest of us.<sup>49</sup>



During this year and the next in Virginia what is termed the “[tobacco](#) war” was being waged by Lord Cornwallis in order to destroy the basis of America’s credit abroad.

1781

[Thomas Jefferson](#) brought [tomatoes](#) to his table (along with french fries).

[Jefferson](#) suggested [tobacco](#) cultivation in the “western country on the Mississippi.”

As the smuggling and use of the bean had continued in Prussia subsequent to his requiring that citizens were required to drink [beer](#) rather than [coffee](#), Frederick the Great created a monopoly, forbidding [coffee](#) roasting except in royal establishments. This monopoly also would prove unsuccessful. Also, coffee substitutes such as chicory made their appearance.

49. So now the medical profession has isolated, from the serum of contemporary descendants, the mutant genetic code which had been contributed to the human genepool by this ancestor, in the hope that they will be able to add this protein-coding instruction into some of the cells of those of us who are unfortunately not descended from Giovanni, in such a manner as better to protect us all from this major threat of infarct.



SIK'AR

PLANTS

1788

The Spanish port of New Orleans was opened for export of [tobacco](#) by the American plantation masters in the Mississippi valley.

1789

During the French revolution the French masses begin to puff on the *cigarito*, the form of [tobacco](#) use least similar to aristocratic [snuffing](#).

[CIGARETTES](#)

The detested [tobacco](#) monopoly would be abolished (only to be resurrected by [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) as a source of government revenue).

1790

President George Washington set duties on [cannabis](#) (hemp) to encourage a domestic industry. [Thomas Jefferson](#) termed this plant “a necessity,” and urged planters to grow it in preference to [tobacco](#).

Here is a [snuffbox](#) that was crafted in approximately this year:



The logo reads “NATURE ET VERITE.” The image is that of [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#). On the base of the box is a view of Rousseau’s island tomb surrounded by tall trees, inscribed “TOMBEAU DE JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU ... MORT A L’AGE DE 66 ENTERRE 4 JUILLET 1778.”

1791

The London physician John Hill reported cases in which use of [snuff](#) had caused nasal cancers.

**1794**

[Thomas Jefferson](#) withdrew temporarily from public service and converted his Virginia plantation over from the growing of [tobacco](#) to the growing of wheat as its main cash crop. He redesigned his [Monticello](#) plantation house, enlarging it from 8 to 21 rooms.<sup>50</sup> To make this expansion possible, he had the upper story removed and the east walls demolished. He then tacked on a series of rooms, a new front, and the famous dome, which happens to have been the initial one added to any American home. He based his design on an illustration in Andrea Palladio's *I QUATTRO LIBRI* depicting the ancient temple of the vestal virgins in Rome, [Italy](#). The image of Monticello that appears on the Jefferson nickel is in fact not the carriage or visiting entrance to the house but its West Front, what we today would call its back door, opening onto its back yard. He had the interiors of this homely edifice prepared according to the standards of Roman neoclassicism.

At some point (perhaps in this year, perhaps not) [Jefferson](#) designed a privy that was indoors at his [Monticello](#) plantation house. His [slaves](#) outdoors were to haul on ropes beneath the flooring in order to empty and reload his earth closet, which consisted of a wooden box having a hole cut in the seat above a hole in the flooring, with a pan of wood ashes on a set of rails beneath the flooring.<sup>51</sup>

The slave whose duty it was to empty the tub of this necessary would have been referred to as the “necessary tubman,” since “necessary” was a euphemism for “privy,” or, shortly, as a “tubman.” In the cities, the wastes termed “night soil,” collected at night by such tubmen, were being sold as fertilizer to nearby farms. This practice would continue until the beginning of the 20th Century. According to Ted Steinberg's *DOWN TO EARTH: NATURE'S ROLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY* (Oxford UP, 2002), as late as 1912 “tubmen in Baltimore cleaned 70,000 privy vaults and cesspools, then sold the night soil in 1000 gallon containers to farmers.” To the very best of my understanding, tubmen might be slaves or they might be free, but were always black due to the degraded nature of the occupation — if anyone should come across even one instance of a non-black tubman, they should publish this finding.<sup>52</sup>

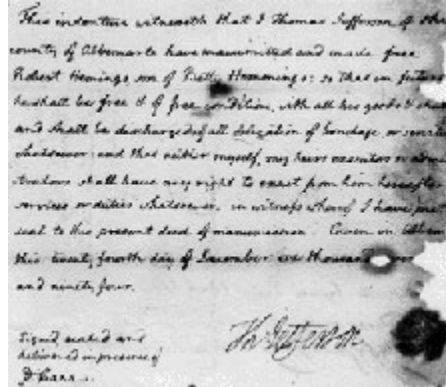
50. [Jefferson](#)'s original drawings of the first version of his ideal plantation house, a structure of relative modesty, demonstrate that he was disfavoring the Georgian architecture then popular in Virginia. He was relying upon his memory of one of the newer townhouses in Paris, the Hotel de Salm, a structure with a dome. In the south of France he had seen the Maison Carrée, which had been a Roman temple, and had been greatly impressed: “Roman taste, genius, and magnificence excite ideas.”

51. [Jefferson](#) would also design two outhouses located at his retreat at Poplar Forest in Virginia which were conventional in function, although octagonal in construction.

52. This adds an interesting perspective to the noble life of [Harriet Tubman](#). She evidently bore that family name as an occupational name, a synonym for “nightsoil-collector,” in the manner in which a white family might know itself as Cooper (barrel-maker) or Fletcher (arrow-maker). One may imagine that the humor of the situation—that they were being carried north to freedom by a tubman and were therefore analogous to human wastes—would not have been lost on the black escapees whom this Underground Railroad conductor escorted out of the South.



During this year daddy [Thomas manumitted](#) Robert Hemings (1762-1819).<sup>53</sup>



The US Congress passed its 1st tax on any [tobacco](#) product. The tax would apply only to [snuff](#), rather than to the more plebeian smoking tobacco. This tax, 8 cents per pound, would represent 60% of snuff's usual selling price.

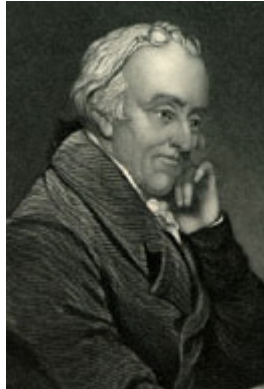
1795

Samuel Thomas von Soemmering of Mainz reported on cancers of the lip in [pipe](#) smokers of [tobacco](#).

53. In sum total, during his lifetime Jefferson would manumit this Robert Hemings and, in 1796, James Hemings (1765-1801), and then per the terms of his will in 1826/1827 freedom became available also to Joseph (Joe) Fossett (1780-1858), Burwell Colbert (1783-1850+), Madison Hemings (1805-1856), John Hemings (1776-1833), and Eston Hemings (1808-1856). However, in 1804 and 1822 three other of his slaves would leave Monticello with his tacit consent, to wit James Hemings (1787-????), Beverly Hemings (1798-????), and Harriet Hemings (1801-????). We note that the only slaves Jefferson ever freed were members of the Hemings family and that after his death, at the disposal of his estate, the other 130 slaves at Monticello would be remaindered to the highest bidders. Although [Sally Hemings](#) herself would be able to avoid being sold at this estate sale, since her lover did not free her either during his life or in his will we do not understand how she managed to avoid this final humiliation — perhaps she was able to carry this off through sheer force of presence!

1798

Famed physician Dr. Benjamin Rush wrote on the medical dangers of tobacco and asserted that the smoking or chewing of this vegetable substance led to a form of drunkenness.



1800

Shortly after the turn of the century, just over the state line from North Carolina in the South Carolina district known as "Gum Swamp near Little Pee Dee," a small Nicholite Society came into existence, terming itself the "Piney Grove Monthly Meeting."

Despite the fact that sugar had at this point come to be considered to be a necessity of life for every Englishman and Colonial (in the same class with tobacco, "the general solace of all classes"), about 300,000 Brits were at this time abstaining from the use of slavery-produced sugar, hoping in this way to persuade their Parliament to abolish slavery on British isles in the West Indies. The price of sugar had dropped by a penny per pound and this was being attributed to the bitter afterimage of slavery it carried to the mind.<sup>54</sup> Yet, in the succeeding century, according to Dr. John Boyd Orr (Lord Boyd)'s FOOD, HEALTH AND INCOME.<sup>55</sup> the single most important nutritional datum on the British people would be their fivefold increase in sugar consumption, until by the next turn of the century fully 20% of our caloric intake would be in the form of empty calories of sugar.

SWEETS WITHOUT SLAVERY

54. In fact these abstainers were but easing their consciences. For in a world commodity market such an ascription is, to say the very least, dubious, or, to say more, is ridiculous. It would appear, on the basis of the acceptance of this ascription by historians, that many historians are not economists. Those who supported the boycott of slave-produced commodities very often were uneasy at the idea that they were participating in "economic coercion." They need have had no such worries. They were merely participants in a purification ritual. Economic inequities that are structurally induced are nowhere near this easy to reduce, and this is for precisely the same reasons that one cannot reduce the general level of street crime by placing street lights in affluent neighborhoods.  
55. London: Macmillan, 1937, page 23

➡ At about the beginning of the 19th Century, white people began to smoke [tobacco](#) in the form of rolled bundles of leaves, “[cigars](#),” as well as by the use of “[pipes](#)” made of porous white porcelain. [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)’s armies spread this practice throughout Europe. The commercial growing of the plant began at this point in Canada. Pipe smoking was taken to be politically conservative, cigar smoking to be politically liberal.<sup>56</sup> Smoking in the street could be taken as a political gesture. A text of this period stated that the pipe was to the cigar “as a lady in crinoline is to a naked beauty.” Typically, smoking was done only by men and only in the study, never in dining room or parlor.



1803

➡ [Cotton](#) passed [tobacco](#) for the first time as the leading US export crop.

56. Bear in mind, however, that the use of the term “conservative” in such a context is anachronistic, because no politician would until January 1830 characterize a party such as the Tories of England as “conservative.”

1804

➡ As the smoking of [tobacco](#) had become prevalent in the streets of Ipswich, to the fire hazard of its structures, such street smoking was forbidden and a penalty of \$1 mandated for each offence.



1805

➡ The expedition of Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark left St. Louis to travel up the Missouri River to the continental divide, then down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean and back, using gifts of [tobacco](#) as “life insurance”: “Lewis and Clarke in 1805 found the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains using dried berries extensively.”

“HUCKLEBERRIES”


CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

1810

➡ [Snuff](#)-taking was common among the classes of women who could afford it. Less well-to-do women such as the mother of [Horace Greeley](#), in New Hampshire, smoked the [pipe](#). In this year a Cuban [cigar](#)-roller was brought to Suffield, Connecticut to train local workers.

➡ France made [tobacco](#) a government monopoly.

**1814**

 January 1, Saturday: On the New York side of the [Niagara River](#), Youngstown, Lewiston, Manchester, Schlosser, Black Rock, and Buffalo had been put to the torch. By holding [Fort Niagara](#) the British were in control not only of the mouth of the river but also of a safe haven for their warships and supply vessels.

The Emperor [Napoléon I](#) replied favorably to the allied offer of December 15th.

[Hung Hsiu Ch'üan](#) 洪秀全 was born. After being disappointed in the Confucian civil service examinations, he would have visions and come to the conclusion that he must be [Jesus](#) Christ's younger brother on a mission to redeem China (don't laugh, 25,000,000 [Chinese](#) are going to die rancid deaths on account of this fantasizing).<sup>57</sup>

**CHINESE CIVIL WAR**

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

*7th day 1st of 1st M 1814 / Recd this eveng a leter from my beloved friend Micajah Collins Dated 12 M 23rd - which was a very agreeable NewYears gift.—<sup>58</sup>*

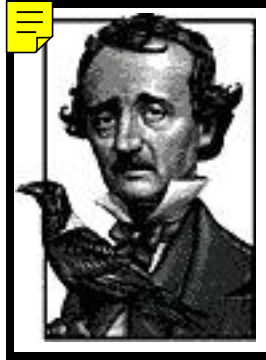
**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

57. For all that he was JC's little brother, this guy wouldn't actually have much use for anything peculiar to the New Testament — such as for instance kindness, or forgiveness, or redemption. Instead his [Christianity](#) was going to be long on obedience, and proper worshipfulness, and his dad was to be construed as a God of vengeance. But the *Tai-p'ings* did have a useful list of prohibitions: there was to be no prostitution in their Kingdom of Heaven, or even divorce, there was to be no enslavement or even foot-binding, there was to be no recreational use of [opium](#) or [wine](#) or [tobacco](#) — and of course there was to be no gambling! Both the Chinese Communists of the PRC (People's Republic of China, on the mainland) and the Chinese Nationalists of the ROC (Republic of China, on Taiwan) now claim that they originated as this nativist resistance movement against the Manchu overlords in Beijing.

58. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1812-1815: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 11 for July 1, 1812-August 20, 1815; also on microfilm, see Series 7

1815

➡ The orphaned [Edgar Allan Poe](#)'s family of affiliation, the Allans, were living in England and Scotland until 1820, due to Mr. Allan's work as an exporter of [tobacco](#) (he was a "[sotweed](#) factor"). Poe during this period would be spending three years at a fine classical preparatory school at Stoke Newington.



Having completed his preparation at the Edinburgh High School, 17-year-old [Alexander Dyce](#) matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he would be taking his bachelor's degree in 1819.

➡ The Year-of-the-Mice — the initial accounts of ice [hockey](#) being played on the Northwest Arm.

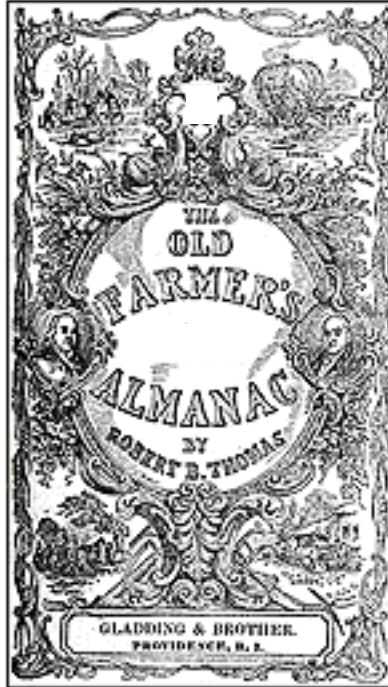
The bowling game of "Nine Pins" had been being played for some time, although eventually it would be discredited and banned due not only to its association with tippling and with gambling, but also to its unfortunate tendency to induce farmhands to the intolerable practice of discontinuing their labors while there still remained enough light in the sky to see. In this year the following diatribe appeared in the [OLD FARMER'S ALMANAC](#):

Bowling greens have become of late mightily fashionable, to the ruin of many unfortunate young men. Scarcely a day passes without the rattle of pins in front of landlord Toddy Stick's house. Every boy is distracted to get away from his work in order to take his game. At sun two hours high, the day is finished, and away goes men and boys to the bowling alley. Haying, hoeing, ploughing, sewing, all must give way to sport and toddy.

PLANTS

SIK'AR

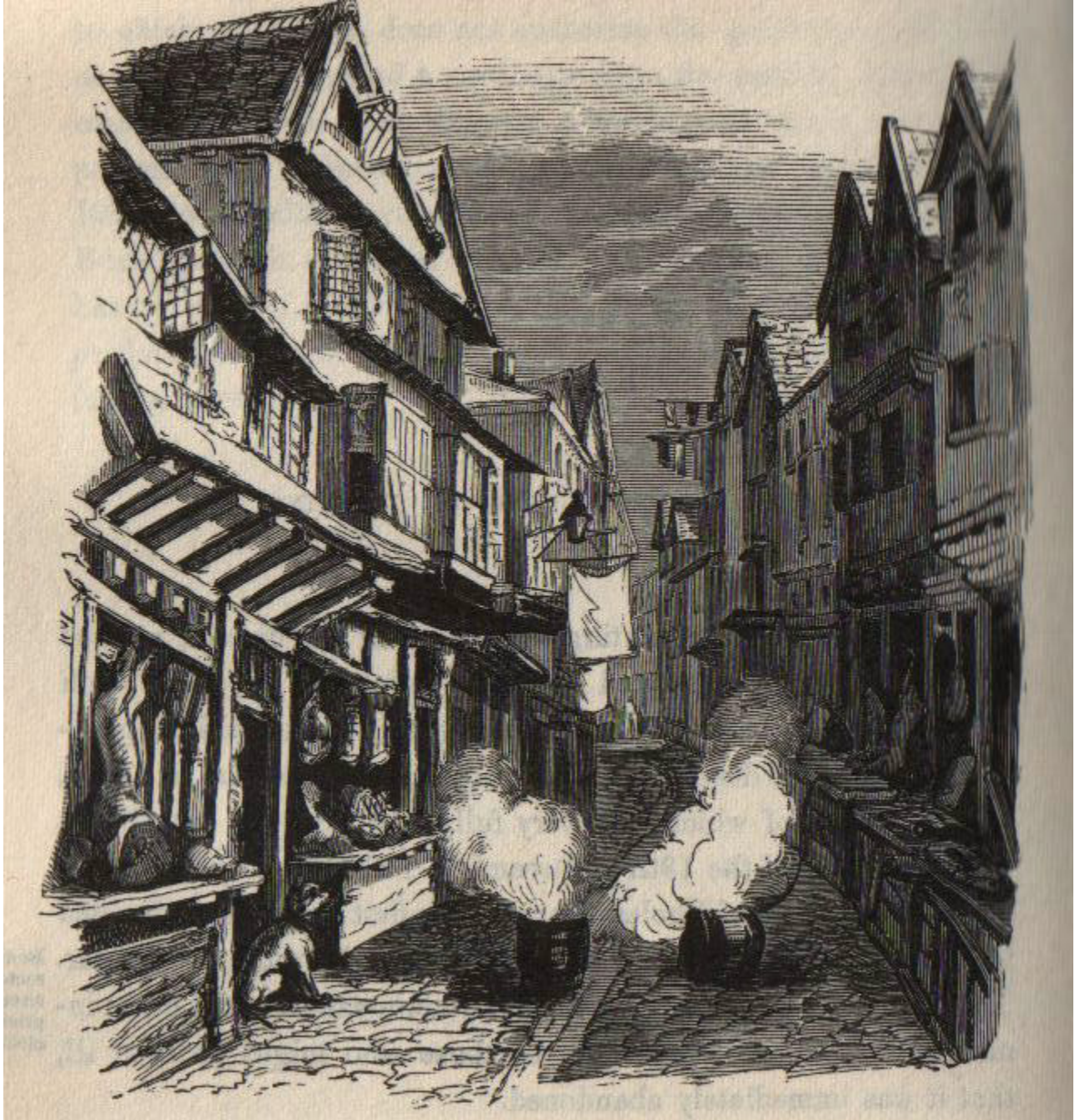
This publication also urged the dairywomen of New England to “Pray put your [snuff](#) box aside when you are working over your butter” — although it neglected to specify just why.



1820



During this decade, in Prussia, bans on the smoking of [tobacco](#) would be lifted during outbreaks of [cholera](#) because of the hope that the odorous fumes would provide some barrier to infection. (In this illustration we see barrels of tar being burned in the streets with the same general idea of a protective miasma.)









## PLANTS

SIK'AR

 The lad [Horace Greeley](#), in New Hampshire, had as one of his filial chores the filling and lighting of his mother's [pipe](#). By this point, however, the smoking of pipes among women was coming to be a signature habit marking the older generation. The younger women were beginning to consider it a “dirty” and “masculine” habit, and not beginning it. American traders, opening a trail to Santa Fe, found the ladies of that city smoking “seegaritos” of [tobacco](#).

CIGARETTES

1821

 [Tilloch's Philosophical Magazine](#) reported that a mason of Auchtertool, a village four miles from Kirkaldy in Scotland, had been dressing a millstone cut out of a section of rock that had been about seven feet thick and that had been dug from about fourteen feet below the surface of the earth, at the Cullaloe quarry reputed to produce fine millstones, when he had in cutting away a part of the stone disclosed a small lizard. The lizard, which was brownish yellow and about 1 1/4 inches in length, had been coiled up within a cavity of its own exact shape, in a damp section of the stone, and for about a half an inch in all directions the stone was of a soft sand. The lizard was at first supposed to be dead, but after about five minutes of exposure to the air it began to show life signs. When the workmen put [snuff](#) in its eyes, it ran around “with much celerity.” Then they killed it. The informant, David Virtue, reported that the stone had been an excellent barley millstone, quite hard and with no fissures.

1823

➡ A new minister in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts laid down the law: no dogs in church. His parishioners began to wonder aloud, among themselves: –When would their pastor be getting around to otherwise molesting them, for instance by suddenly declaring it likewise improper for them to be spitting their [tobacco](#) juice onto his church floor?



1826

➡ The 19th Century would be becoming the age of the cigar. England was at this point importing 26 pounds of [cigars](#) per year but the cigar would be becoming so popular that by four years hence, it would be importing 250,000 pounds per year. In this year the chemical [nicotine](#), named for the French enthusiast Nicot, was first obtained from [tobacco](#) in a purified form.

1828

➡ Heidelberg students Ludwig Reimann and Wilhelm Heinrich Posselt produced exhaustive dissertations on the pharmacology of the “dangerous poison” [nicotine](#) carried by the [tobacco](#) leaf.



## IX

SIGNS OF REVIVAL<sup>59</sup>

Some sigh for this and that  
My wishes don't go far;  
The world may wag at will,  
So I have my cigar.  
Thomas Hood.

The revival of smoking among those who were most amenable to the dictates of fashion, and among whom consequently tobacco had long been in bad odour, came by way of the cigar.

In the preceding chapters all the references to and illustrations of smoking have been concerned with pipes. Until the early years of the nineteenth century the use of cigars was practically unknown in this country. The earliest notices of cigars in English books occur in accounts of travel in Spain and Portugal, and in the Spanish Colonies, and in such notices the phonetic spelling of "segar" often occurs. A few folk still cling to this spelling – there was a "segar-shop" in the Strand till quite recently, and I saw the notice "segars" the other day over a small tobacco-shop in York – which has no authority, and on etymological grounds is indefensible. The derivation of "cigar" is not altogether clear; but the probabilities are strongly in favour of its connexion with "cigarra," the Spanish name for the cicada, the shrilly-chirping insect familiar in the southern countries of Europe, and the subject of frequent allusions by the ancient writers of Greece and Rome, as well as by modern scribes. A Spanish lexicographer of authority says that the cigar has the form of a "cicada" of paper, and, on the whole, it is highly probable that the likeness of the roll of tobacco-leaf to the cylindrical body of the insect (*cigarra*) was the reason that the "cigarro" was so called. There is no warrant of any kind for "segar."

The earliest mention of cigars in English occurs in a book dated 1735. A traveller in Spanish America, named Cockburn, whose narrative was published in that year, describes how he met three friars at Nicaragua, who, he says, "gave us some Seegars to smoke ... these are Leaves of Tobacco rolled up in such Manner that they serve both for a Pipe and Tobacco itself ... they know no other way here, for there is no such Thing as a Tobacco-Pipe throughout New Spain."

Cheroots seem to have been known somewhat earlier. The earliest mention of them is dated about 1670. Sir James Murray, in the great Oxford Dictionary, gives the following interesting extract from an unpublished MS. relating to India, written between 1669 and 1679: "The Poore Sort of Inhabitants vizt. yet Gentues, Mallabars, &c., Smoke theire Tobacco after a very meane, but I judge Original manner, Onely ye leafe rowled up, and light one

59. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



end, holdinge ye other between their lips ... this is called a bunko, and by ye Portugals a Cheroota." The condemnation of cheroot-or cigar-smoking as a mean method of taking tobacco has an odd look in the light of modern habits and customs.

The use of cigars in this country began to come in early in the last century; and by at least 1830 they were being freely, if privately, smoked. It is probable that the reduction of the duty on cigars from 18s. to 9s. a lb., in 1829, had its effect in making cigars more popular. Croker, in 1831, commenting on Johnson's saying that smoking had gone out, said: "The taste for smoking, however, has revived, probably from the military habits of Europe during the French wars; but instead of the sober sedentary pipe, the ambulatory cigar is chiefly used." Croker's shrewd suggestion was probably not far wide of the truth. It is quite likely, if not highly probable, that the revival of smoking in the shape of the cigar was directly connected with the experiences of British officers in Spain and Portugal during the Peninsular War.

One of the earliest cigar-smokers must have been that remarkable clergyman, the Rev. Charles Caleb Colton, whose "Lacon," published in 1820, was once popular. Colton was in succession Rector of Tiverton and Vicar of Kew, but on leaving Kew became a wine-merchant in Soho. While at Kew he is said to have kept cigars under the pulpit, where, he said, the temperature was exactly right.

At first even cigar-smoking was confined to comparatively few persons, and the social prejudice against tobacco continued unabated. Thackeray significantly makes Rawdon Crawley a smoker – the action of "Vanity Fair" takes place in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The original smoking-room of the Athenæum Club, which was founded in 1824, the present building being erected in 1830, was a miserable little room, Dr. Hawtree, on behalf of the committee, announcing that "no gentleman smoked." The Oriental Club, when built in 1826-27, contained no smoking-room at all.

Sir Walter Scott often smoked cigars, though he seems to have regarded it in the light of an indulgence to be half-apologized for. In his "Journal," July 4, 1829, he noted – "When I had finished my bit of dinner, and was in a quiet way smoking my cigar over a glass of negus, Adam Ferguson comes with a summons to attend him to the Justice Clerk's, where, it seems, I was engaged. I was totally out of case to attend his summons, redolent as I was of tobacco. But I am vexed at the circumstance. It looks careless, and, what is worse, affected; and the Justice is an old friend moreover." Tobacco in any form was suspect. A man might smoke a cigar, but he must not take the odour into the drawing-room of even an old friend.

A few years earlier, in November 1825, Scott had written in his "Journal" that after dinner he usually smoked a couple of cigars which operated as a sedative –

Just to drive the cold winter away,  
And drown the fatigues of the day.



"I smoked a good deal," he continued, "about twenty years ago when at Ashestiel; but, coming down one morning to the parlour, I found, as the room was small and confined, that the smell was unpleasant, and laid aside the use of the *Nicotian weed* for many years; but was again led to use it by the example of my son, a hussar officer, and my son-in-law, an Oxford student. I could lay it aside to-morrow; I laugh at the dominion of custom in this and many things.

*"We make the giants first, and then do not kill them."*

Scott's remark that Lockhart smoked when an Oxford student rather discredits Archdeacon's Denison's statement, quoted in the preceding chapter, that smoking was very generally unknown in Oxford in 1823-24. The archdeacon was writing from memory – a very untrustworthy recorder; Scott's remark was that of a contemporary.

Byron is reputed to have been another cigar-smoker. His apostrophe to tobacco in "The Island" (1823), a poem founded in part on the history of the Mutiny of the Bounty, is familiar. The lines are, indeed, almost the only familiar passage in that poem:

Sublime tobacco! which, from east to west,  
Cheers the tar's labours or the Turkman's rest;  
Which on the Moslem's ottoman divides  
His hours, and rivals opium and his brides;  
Magnificent in Stamboul, but less grand,  
Though not less loved, in Wapping or the Strand:  
Divine in hookas, glorious in a pipe,  
When tipp'd with amber, mellow, rich, and ripe;  
Like other charmers, wooing the caress,  
More dazzlingly when daring in full dress;  
Yet thy true lovers more admire by far  
Thy naked beauties – Give me a cigar!

How far these lines really represent the poet's own sentiments, and whether he habitually smoked either cigar or pipe, is another matter.

Other men of letters of the time were zealous adherents of the pipe. One of these was the poet Campbell. From 1820 to 1830 he was editor of the *New Monthly Magazine*, and is reputed to have been so very unbusinesslike in his methods that there was always difficulty in getting proofs corrected and returned in good time. On one occasion, as reported by a member of the firm that printed the magazine, a proof had been lost, and the poet was informed that the article must go to press next day uncorrected. Campbell sent word that he would look in in the morning and correct it. Preparations were duly made to receive him; he was shown into the best room, and left with the proof on his table. After a while he rang the bell, and said, "I could do this much better if I had a pipe." Thereupon pipe and tobacco were procured and taken in to him. Campbell tore open the paper containing the tobacco, and, with a slightly contemptuous expression, exclaimed, "Ugh! C'naster! I'd rather it had been shag!"

Charles Lamb was a heavy pipe-smoker. He smoked too much –



regretted it – but continued to smoke, not wisely but too well. “He came home very smoky and drinky last night,” says his sister of him.

When sending some books to Coleridge at Keswick in November 1802, Lamb wrote – “If you find the Miltons in certain parts dirtied and soiled with a crumb of right Gloucester, blacked in the candle (my usual supper), or peradventure, a stray ash of tobacco wafted into the crevices, look to that passage more especially: depend upon it, it contains good matter.” To Lamb, a book read best over a pipe.

The following year he wrote to Coleridge – “What do you think of smoking? I want your sober, average, noon opinion, of it. I generally am eating my dinner about the time I should determine it. Morning is a girl, and can’t smoke – she’s no evidence one way or the other; and Night is so evidently *bought over*, he can’t be a very upright judge. Maybe the truth is that one pipe is wholesome, two pipes toothsome, three pipes noisome, four pipes fulsome, five pipes quarrelsome, and that’s the sum on’t. But that is deciding rather upon rhyme than reason.... After all, our instincts may be best.” It is clear from one or two references, that Lamb and Coleridge had been accustomed to smoke together at their meetings in early days at the “Salutation and Cat” – with less disastrous results to Coleridge, it is to be hoped, than those which followed his Birmingham smoke, as set forth in the preceding chapter.

In 1805 Lamb wrote to Wordsworth – “now I have bid farewell to my ‘sweet enemy’ tobacco ... I shall, perhaps, set nobly to work.” Forthwith he set to work on the farce “Mr. H.,” which some months later was produced at Drury Lane and was promptly damned. After its failure Lamb wrote to Hazlitt – “We are determined not to be cast down. I am going to leave off tobacco, and then we must thrive. A smoky man must write smoky farces.” But Lamb and his pipe were not to be parted by even repeated resolutions to leave off smoking. It was years after this that he met Macready at Talfourd’s, and by way probably of saying something to shock Macready; whose personality could hardly have been sympathetic to him, uttered the remarkable wish that the last breath he drew in might be through a pipe and exhaled in a pun.

It was in 1818 that Lamb published the collection of his writings, in two volumes, which contained the well-known “Farewell to Tobacco,” written in 1805, and referred to in the letter of that year to Wordsworth quoted above. Its phrases of mingled abuse and affection are familiar to lovers of Lamb.

Parr is reported to have once asked Lamb how he could smoke so much and so fast, and Lamb is said to have replied – “I toiled after it, sir, as some men toil after virtue.” But if all accounts are true, Parr far outsmoked Lamb. If the essayist discontinued or modified his smoking habits, he made up for it by devotion to snuff – a devotion which his sister shared. A large snuff-box usually lay on the table between them, and they pushed it one to the other.

But it is time to return to the cigar, and the changing attitude



of fashion towards smoking.

There would appear to have been some smokers who disliked the new-fangled cigars. Angelo seems, from various passages in his "Reminiscences," to have been a smoker, and to have been very frequently in the company of smokers, yet he could write: "There are few things which, after a foreign tour, more forcibly remind us that we are again in England, than the superiority of our stage-coaches. There is something very exhilarating in being carried through the air with rapidity ... considering the rate at which stage-coaches now travel [*i.e.* in and just before 1830] ... a place on the box or front of a prime set-out is, indeed, a considerable treat. But alas! no human enjoyment is free from alloy. A Jew pedlar or mendicant foreigner with his cigar in his mouth, has it in his power to turn the draft of sweet air into a cup of bitterness." Perhaps Angelo's objection was more to the quality of the cigar that would be smoked by a "Jew pedlar or mendicant foreigner," than to the cigar itself. Yet, going on to describe a journey to Hastings, sitting "on the roof in front" beside an acquaintance, he says, notwithstanding the enjoyment of dashing along, anecdote and jest going merrily on, "we had the annoyance of a coxcomb perched on the box, infecting the fresh air which Heaven had sent us, with the smoke of his abominable cigar," which looks as if his real objection was to cigars, as such.

The fashionable dislike of tobacco-smoke appears in the pages of another descriptive writer – the once well known N.P. Willis, the American author of many books of travel and gossip. In his "Pencilings by the Way," writing in July 1833, Willis describes the prevalence of smoking in Vienna among all the nationalities that thronged that cosmopolitan capital. "It is," he says, "like a fancy ball. Hungarians, Poles, Croats, Wallachians, Jews, Moldavians, Greeks, Turks, all dressed in their national and stinking costumes, promenaded up and down, smoking all, and none exciting the slightest observation. Every third window is a pipe-shop, and they [presumably the pipes] show, by their splendour and variety, the expensiveness of the passion. Some of them are marked '200 dollars.' The streets reek with tobacco-smoke. You never catch a breath of untainted air within the Glacis. Your hotel, your café, your coach, your friend, are all redolent of the same disgusting odour." In the following year, describing a large dinner-party at the Duke of Gordon's in Scotland, Willis says that when the ladies left the table, the gentlemen closed up and "conversation assumed a merrier cast," then "coffee and liqueurs were brought in, when the wines began to be circulated more slowly," and at eleven o'clock there was a general move to the drawing-room. The dinner began at seven, so the guests had been four hours at table; but smoking is not mentioned, and it is quite certain from Willis's silence on the subject – the "disgusting odour" would surely have disturbed him – that no single member of the large dinner-party dreamed of smoking, or, at all events, attempted to smoke.

By 1830 smoking had so far "come in" again that a considerable proportion of the members of the House of Commons were smokers. Macaulay has drawn for us the not very attractive picture of the



smoking-room of the old House of Commons – before the fire of 1834 – in a letter to his sister dated in the summer of 1831. "I have left Sir Francis Burdett on his legs," he wrote, "and repaired to the smoking-room; a large, wainscoted, uncarpeted place, with tables covered with green baize and writing materials. On a full night it is generally thronged towards twelve o'clock with smokers. It is then a perfect cloud of fume. There have I seen (tell it not to the West Indians), Buxton blowing fire out of his mouth. My father will not believe it. At present, however, all the doors and windows are open, and the room is pure enough from tobacco to suit my father himself." In July 1832 he again dated a letter to his sisters from the House of Commons smoking-room. "I am writing here," he says, "at eleven at night, in this filthiest of all filthy atmospheres ... with the smell of tobacco in my nostrils.... Reject not my letter, though it is redolent of cigars and genuine pigtail; for this is the room –

The room, – but I think I'll describe it in rhyme,  
That smells of tobacco and chloride of lime.  
The smell of tobacco was always the same:  
But the chloride was bought since the cholera came."

The mention of pigtail shows that the House contained pipe- as well as cigar-smokers. A few days later he wrote again to his sisters, but this time from the library, where, he says, "we are in a far better atmosphere than in the smoking-room, whence I wrote to you last week." One wonders why Macaulay, who apparently did not smoke himself, and who, though somewhat more tolerant of tobacco than his father, Zachary Macaulay, evidently did not like the atmosphere of the smoking-room, chose to write there, when the library – where he must surely have felt more at home – was available.

Among other well-known men of standing and fashion who were smokers about this period may be named Lord Eldon, Lord Stowell, Brougham, Lord Calthorp and H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex. In Thackeray's "Book of Snobs," Miss Wirt, the governess at Major Ponto's, refers in shocked tones to "H.R.H. the poor dear Duke of Sussex (such a man my dears, but alas! addicted to smoking!)."

Sad to say, the Royal Duke was not content with the cigar that was becoming fashionable, but actually smoked a pipe. Mrs. Stirling, in "The Letter-Bag of Lady Elizabeth Spencer-Stanhope," 1913, notes that Lord Althorp was a frequent visitor about 1822 at Holkham, the well-known seat of Mr. Coke of Norfolk, later Lord Leicester, and that on such occasions he enjoyed "the distinction of being the only guest besides the Duke of Sussex who ever indulged in the rare habit of smoking. But while the Royal Duke was wont to puff away at a long meerschaum in his bedroom till he actually blinded himself, and all who came near him, Fidèle Jack [Lord Althorp's nickname] behaved in more considerate fashion, only smoking out of doors as he passed restlessly up and down the grass terrace."

With the revival of smoking, things changed at Holkham. On Christmas Day, 1847, Lady Elizabeth, writing to her husband from Holkham, the home of her childhood, remarked: "The Billiard





table is always lighted up for the gentlemen when they come from shooting, and there they sit smoking."

The growing popularity of the cigar made smoking less unfashionable than it had been among the upper classes of society; but among humbler folk pipe-smoking had never "gone out." Every public-house did its regular trade in clays, known as churchwardens and Broseleys, and by other names either of familiarity or descriptive of the place of manufacture; and on the mantelpiece or table of inn or ale-house stood the tobacco-box. Miss Jekyll, in her delightful book on "Old West Surrey," figures an example of these old public-house tobacco-boxes which is made of lead. It has bosses of lions' heads at the ends, and a portrait in relief on the front of the Duke of Wellington in his plumed cocked hat. Inside, there is a flat piece of sheet-lead with a knob to keep the tobacco pressed close, so that it may not dry up.

A curious and popular variety of tobacco-box often to be found in rural inns and ale-houses was made somewhat on the principle of the now everywhere familiar automatic machines. The late Mr. Frederick Gale, in a column of "Tobacco Reminiscences," which he contributed to the *Globe* newspaper in 1899, said, that at village outdoor festivals of the 'thirties and early 'forties, respectable elderly farmers and tradesmen would sit "round a table, on which was an automatic, square, brass tobacco-box of large dimensions, into which the smokers dropped a halfpenny and the lid flew back, and the publican trusted to the smoker's honour to fill his pipe and close the box." When the pipes were filled they were lighted by means of tinder-box and flint, and a stable lanthorn supplied by the ostler. A penny would appear to have been a more usual charge, for a frequent inscription on the lid was:

The custom is, before you fill,  
To put a penny in the till;  
When you have filled, without delay  
Close the lid, or sixpence pay.

One of these old brass penny-in-the-slot tobacco-boxes was included in the exhibition of Welsh Antiquities held at Cardiff in the summer of 1913.

In the Colchester Museum is an automatic tobacco-box and till of japanned iron. On the lid of the box is painted a keg of tobacco and two clay pipes; and on that of the till the following doggerel lines:

A halfpeny dropt into the till,  
Upsprings the lid and you may fill;  
When you have filled, without delay,  
Shut down the lid, or sixpence pay.

A correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, in 1908, mentioned that he possessed two of these old penny-in-the-slot tobacco-boxes, and had come across another in a dealer's shop of a somewhat peculiar make, about which he wished to get information. "It is of the ordinary shape," he wrote, "but differs from any I have previously seen in this respect, that it works with a sixpence,



and not with a penny or halfpenny. It is engraved with the usual lines, except that the user is asked to put sixpence in the till, and then to shut down the lid under penalty of a fine of a shilling. What could it have been used for that was worth sixpence a time? Other uncommon features are that the money portion is shallow, and that the part for the tobacco extends the whole length of the box. I should say that the box is much smaller than any others I have ever seen." No information as to the use of this curious box was forthcoming from any of the learned and ingenious correspondents of *Notes and Queries*; and a problem which they cannot solve may not unreasonably be regarded as insoluble.

Readers of Dickens are familiar with the drawing by Cruikshank which illustrates the chapter on "Scotland Yard" in Dickens's "Sketches by Boz," which was written before 1836. It shows the coal-heavers sitting round the fire shouting out "some sturdy chorus," and smoking long clays. "Here," wrote Dickens, "in a dark wainscoted-room of ancient appearance, cheered by the glow of a mighty fire ... sat the lusty coal-heavers, quaffing large draughts of Barclay's best, and puffing forth volumes of smoke, which wreathed heavily above their heads, and involved the room in a thick dark cloud." These good folk and others of their kin had never been affected by any change of fashion in respect of smoking. In another of the "Sketches," the amusing "Tuggs's at Ramsgate," when poor Cymon Tuggs is hid behind the curtain, half dead with fear, he hears Captain Waters call for brandy and cigars - "The cigars were introduced; the captain was a professed smoker; so was the lieutenant; so was Joseph Tuggs." Poor Cymon, on the other hand, was one of those who could never smoke "without feeling it indispensably necessary to retire, immediately, and never could smell smoke without a strong disposition to cough." Consequently, as the apartment was small, the door closed and the smoke powerful, poor Cymon was soon compelled to cough, which precipitated the catastrophe. It is noticeable that Dickens speaks of the three worthies as *professed* smokers, a remark which suggests that such dare-devils, men who would take cigars as a matter of course and for enjoyment, and not merely out of a complimentary acquiescence in some one else's wish, were comparatively rare.

Other illustrations of folk who smoked, not cigars, but pipes, may be drawn from "Pickwick," which was published in 1836. At the very beginning, when Mr. Pickwick calls a cab at Saint Martin's-le-Grand, the first cab is "fetched from the public-house, where he had been smoking his first pipe." At Rochester, Mr. Pickwick makes notes on the four towns of Strood, Rochester, Chatham and Brompton, where the military were present in strength, and hence the observant gentleman noted - "The consumption of tobacco in these towns must be very great: and the smell which pervades the streets must be exceedingly delicious to those who are extremely fond of smoking." On the evening of the election at Eatanswill, Tupman and Snodgrass resort to the commercial room of the Peacock Inn, where "the atmosphere was redolent of tobacco-smoke, the fumes of which had communicated a rather dingy hue to the whole room, and more especially to the dusty red curtains which shaded the windows."



Here, among others, were the dirty-faced man with a clay pipe, the very red-faced man behind a cigar, and the man with a black eye, who slowly filled a large Dutch pipe with most capacious bowl. Tupman and Snodgrass were of the company and smoked cigars. Sam Weller's father smoked his pipe philosophically. If Sam's "mother-in-law" "flies in a passion, and breaks his pipe, he steps out and gets another. Then she screams very loud, and falls into 'sterics; and he smokes wery comfortably 'till she comes to agin." What better example could there be of pipe-engendered philosophy? When Mr. Pickwick and Sam look in at old Weller's house of call off Cheapside, they find the boxes full of stage coachmen, drinking and smoking, and among them is the old gentleman himself, "smoking with great vehemence." After having given his son valuable parental advice, "Mr. Weller, senior, refilled his pipe from a tin box he carried in his pocket, and, lighting his fresh pipe from the ashes of the old one, commenced smoking at a great rate."

A little later when Mr. Pickwick hunts up Perker's clerk Lowten, and joins the jovial circle at the Magpie and Stump, he finds on his right hand "a gentleman in a checked shirt and Mosaic studs, with a cigar in his mouth," who expresses the hope that the newcomer does not "find this sort of thing disagreeable." "Not in the least," replied Mr. Pickwick, "I like it very much, although I am no smoker myself." "I should be very sorry to say I wasn't," interposes another gentleman on the opposite side of the table. "It's board and lodging to me, is smoke." Mr. Pickwick glances at the speaker, and thinks that if it were washing too, it would be all the better!

Later again when the "couple o' Sawbones," the medical students, Ben Allen and Bob Sawyer, make their first appearance on the scene, they are discovered in the morning seated by Mr. Wardle's kitchen fire, smoking cigars; and it is significant of how smoking out of doors was then regarded that Dickens, going on to describe Sawyer in detail, refers to "that sort of slovenly smartness, and swaggering gait, which is peculiar to young gentlemen who smoke in the streets by day, shout and scream in the same by night, call waiters by their Christian names, and do various other acts and deeds of an equally facetious description." Apparently in 1836 the only person who would allow himself to be seen smoking in the street was of the kind naturally inclined to do the other objectionable things mentioned. The same idea runs through the allusions to tobacco in "Pickwick." Smoking was undeniably vulgar. Mr. John Smauker, who introduces Sam Weller at the "friendly swarry" of the Bath footmen, smokes a cigar "through an amber tube" - cigar-holders were a novelty. When Mr. Pickwick is taken to the house of Namby, the sheriffs' officer, the "principal features" of the front parlour are "fresh sand and stale tobacco smoke." One of the occupants of the room is a "mere boy of nineteen or twenty, who, though it was yet barely ten o'clock, was drinking gin and water, and smoking a cigar, amusements to which, judging from his inflamed countenance, he had devoted himself pretty constantly for the last year or two of his life." Tobacco-smoke pervades the Fleet prison. In fact, to trace tobacco through the pages of "Pickwick" is to realize vividly how vulgar if not vicious




an accomplishment smoking was considered by the fashionable world and how popular it was among the nobodies of the unfashionable world.


Similar morals may be drawn from other works of fiction. The action of the first chapters of Thackeray's "Pendennis" passes early in the nineteenth century. In the third chapter Foker has a cigar in his mouth as he strolls with Pen down the High Street of Chatteris. Old Doctor Portman meets them and regards "with wonder Pen's friend, from whose mouth and cigar clouds of fragrance issued, which curled round the doctor's honest face and shovel hat. 'An old school-fellow of mine, Mr. Foker,' said Pen. The doctor said 'H'm!'" and scowled at the cigar. He did not mind a pipe in his study, but the cigar was an abomination to the worthy gentleman." The reverend gentleman in liking his pipe was faithful to the traditional fondness for smoking of parsons; but smoking must be in the study. To smoke in the street was vulgar; and to smoke the newfangled cigar was worse.

Pendennis, when he comes home the first time from Oxbridge, brings with him a large box of cigars of strange brand, which he smokes "not only about the stables and greenhouses, where they were good" for his mother's plants, and which were obviously places to which a man who wished to smoke should betake himself, but in his own study, which rather shocks his mother. Pen goes from bad to worse during his University days, and, sad to say, one Sunday in the last long vacation, the "wretched boy," instead of going to church, "was seen at the gate of the Clavering Arms smoking a cigar, in the face of the congregation as it issued from St. Mary's. There was an awful sensation in the village society. Portman prophesied Pen's ruin after that, and groaned in spirit over the rebellious young prodigal." Later the smoke from Warrington's short pipe and Pen's cigars floats through many pages of the novel.

1830

 The 19th Century would be the age of the cigar. England was in this year beginning to import all of 250,000 pounds of [cigars](#) per year. Since [tobacco](#) use was known to dry out the mouth, "creating a morbid or diseased thirst," the first organized anti-tobacco movement in the US would begin during this decade as an adjunct to [the temperance movement](#).

Evidently as the result of some horrible accident, the Prussian Government ordered that in the future [cigars](#), to be smoked in public, would need to be enclosed in a sort of wire-mesh contraption. The wire mesh was designed to prevent sparks from setting fire to the "crinolines" and hoop skirts of ladies.

 In this period John Caldwell Calhoun was beginning to go ape in his devotion to strict interpretation of the Constitution. Virginia Delegate James Mason was being influenced by leading states' rights advocates such as Calhoun, and Virginia's Robert M.T. Hunter. How could they grow [tobacco](#) and make money, without slaves? –Certainly they themselves were not going to go out in the sun and do stoop labor!

➡ The taking of [snuff](#), which had been common among well-to-do Western women until about 1810, was by this point for such women a thing of the past.

➡ The failed minister Sylvester Graham attempted to become a professional reformer on the lecture circuit. At first he lectured primarily against the evils of [alcohol](#). (He would, however, allow his wife to drink [wine](#) and [gin](#), for strength, when she was ill or when she was nursing.)




During the 1830s many people would be attending such lectures and taking a pledge to live healthy lives and eat right. Baker's bread made from finely milled white flour was being recognized as injurious to health. One should have no need for stimulants such as [coffee](#) and [tea](#), [whiskey](#) and [tobacco](#), spices, which only cause a bothersome and excessive sexual appetite that distracted otherwise decent people from "civilized endeavors." To avoid [masturbation](#), one should rise as soon as one awakes, and take a cold-water bath. One should exercise regularly. Married couples could have sex once a month, and should not violate this rule even on a honeymoon, because any energy given to sex would be energy taken away from the more serious things in life. Tight corsets were unnatural. Meat was to be eaten only sparingly, and thus there would arise vegetarian "Graham boardinghouses" at which no pepper, mustard, oil, vinegar or "other garbage" would be provided.




Our sailor-boy [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) would comment extensively on the vegetarian aspect of this regimen, and of course fail entirely to comment upon its sexual aspect, in [TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST](#):

... The work was as hard as it could well be. There was not a moment's cessation from Monday morning till Saturday night, when we were generally beaten out, and glad to have a full night's rest, a wash and shift of clothes, and a quiet Sunday. During all this times,— which would have startled Dr. Graham— we lived upon almost nothing but fresh beef; fried beefsteaks, three times a day,— morning, noon, and night. At morning and night we had a quart of tea to each man; and an allowance of about a pound of hard bread a day; but our chief article of food was the beef. A mess, consisting of six men, had a large wooden kid piled up with beefsteaks, cut thick, and fried in fat, with the grease poured over them. Round this we sat, attacking it with our jack-knives and teeth, and with the appetite of young lions, and sent back an empty kid to the galley. This was done three times a day. How many pounds each man ate in a day, I will not attempt to compute. A whole bullock (we ate liver and all) lasted us but four days. Such devouring of flesh, I will venture to say, was seldom known before. What one man ate in a day, over a hearty man's allowance, would make a Russian's heart leap into his mouth. Indeed, during all the time we were upon the coast, our principal food was fresh beef, and every man had perfect health; but this was a time of especial devouring; and what we should have done without meat, I cannot tell. Once or twice, when our bullocks failed and we were obliged to make a meal upon dry bread and water, it seemed like feeding upon shavings. Light and dry, feeling unsatisfied, and, at the same time, full, we were glad to see four quarters of a bullock, just killed, swinging from the fore-top. Whatever theories may be started by sedentary men, certainly no men could have gone through more hard work and exposure for sixteen months in more perfect health, and without ailings and failings, than our ship's crew, let them have lived upon Hygela's own baking and dressing.

1831

 August 23, Tuesday: The growing of [tobacco](#) in [Ireland](#), permitted since an act of King George III in 1779, was at this point under King William I again prohibited.

1832

 David G. Tuck's AN ESSAY UPON THE CURING, MANAGEMENT, AND CULTIVATION OF [TOBACCO](#) (Washington DC: Printed by Gales and Seaton). Tuck patented an improved type of flue for the curing the Virginia leaf.

➡ On the Isle of [Jersey](#) in the English Channel, there was an outbreak of the Asian [cholera](#).



[James Fenimore Cooper](#), in Paris with his family when the scourge hit that metropolis, commented upon how the gardens of the Tuileries suddenly became deserted.

In America, white settlements were not enjoying good health but the Mandan and Hidatsa were being utterly destroyed. Take a look at the discussion by Richard Batman beginning on page 320 of James Pattie's WEST: THE DREAM AND THE REALITY (in hardcover, titled AMERICAN ECCLESIASTES: THE STORIES OF JAMES PATTIE. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1986) having to do with the new and terrifying plague of [cholera](#) sweeping the settled east about the same time. Physicians would reject the [contagion](#) theory (with the exception of smallpox), until in the latter part of the 19th Century work on cholera finally would show that it and other such diseases were indeed, like smallpox, contagious.



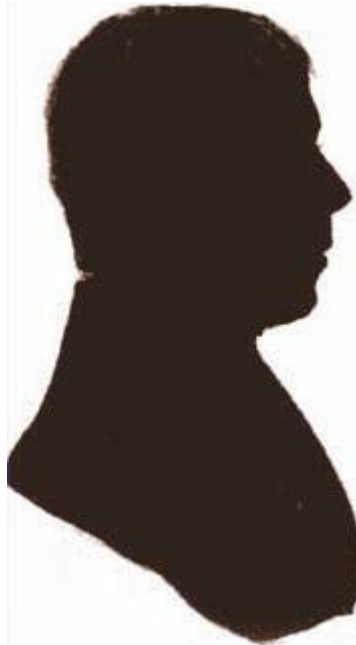
Dr. [James Ellsworth De Kay](#) returned from Turkey to New-York, where he began to prescribe port wine as a remedy for [cholera](#) and quickly earned for himself a nickname, "Dr. Port." Saloon customers would be able to ask the bartender to pour them "a Dr. DeKay." Soon he settled at Oyster Bay on Long Island, where he would study natural history, contribute to New-York newspapers, and cultivate literary friendships. Among the

romantic literary types whom he would seek to cultivate would be [Washington Irving](#), Joseph Rodman Drake, [James Fenimore Cooper](#), and Fitz-Greene Halleck.



(You will notice instantly that the exigencies of class would make it quite impossible for him ever to cultivate the likes of Henry Thoreau as part of such a clique.)

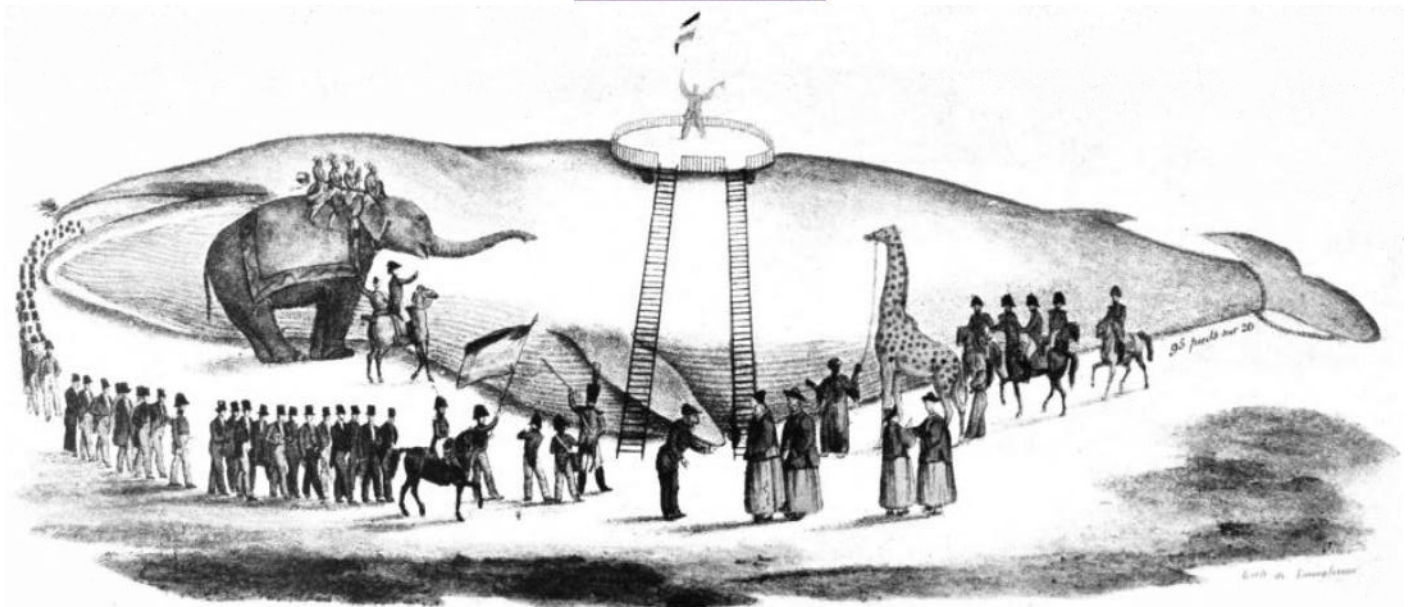
When the 1st person died of the [cholera](#) in his town, [Friend](#) John [Cadbury](#) the [chocolate](#) maker insisted on following in his “broad-brimmed hat and flowing Quaker frock-coat” as the hired laborers carried the coffin to the graveyard. This was at a time when other people were shunning the victims of the [infection](#). Such burial workers smoked [tobacco](#) constantly while on such details, as their effort to ward off the disease or at least somewhat relieve their anxieties.





**Friend** John had installed a window made of panes of plate glass in his shop (rather than using the conventional panes of crown glass), one of the 1st local businesses to do so, and was employing an authentic Chinaman attired in an authentic **Chinese** national costume, to sit on display in the window and weigh and pack his **tea**. Hoo-hah!

GLASS WINDOWS



*La Baleine d' Ostende*  
 Visitée par l'Elephant, la Giraffe, les Osages et les Chinois.

George W. Warren would write of the activities of his father Josiah Warren (1798-1874) the anarchist, during the public crisis of this year:

Then in 1832 the **cholera** first made its appearance, and I well remember how my father set up his type and printed hand-bills cautioning the people how to live during the prevalence of that disease. These bills described the symptoms and how to treat them. Then I was allowed to go with my father to scatter the bills of caution along the streets, and I remember how proud I was when those who saw what my father was doing, shook hands with him so warmly.

What with his work of printing precautionary notices and attending a large number of funerals with masonic lodges, firemen and other organizations requiring bands, my father was



kept busy for days and weeks and months; there was scarcely an hour that a funeral didn't take place. Time went on, so did deaths, but our family lived through it. Fortunately the writer, being only six years of age, could not realize the state of affairs, nor the horror of the situation – he trotting along, scattering [and] broadcasting the “caution” notices, proud of telling how many papers he had given to the people each day. If the city records of 1832-1834 were not destroyed during the destruction of the court house some years ago, the thanks of the city alderman to him will be found recorded to Josiah Warren if I mistake not.


A New York City peddler brought [cholera](#) up the canal to Rochester, New York, population 11,000, and 400 to 500 of them died, filling many of the city's small cemeteries such as the 3 1/2 acre graveyard on Buffalo Street. One local resident, Ashbel Riley, buried 80 of the victims unaided. The Rochester Board of Health was established. The Monroe County Jail, called the “Blue Eagle Jail,” was built off Court St. between the west bank of the river and the Carroll-Fitzhugh raceway. It had a walled courtyard not only for prisoner exercise but also for executions.

[Professor Richard Harlan](#) was a member of a commission of Philadelphia physicians to Montréal, to collect information on the effective treatment of [cholera](#). He became surgeon to the Philadelphia hospital.


In this year [Friend](#) Charles Farquhar, Sr. graduated from the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania and opened a practice in Alexandria, Virginia, where the city council immediately put this new physician in charge of their town's struggle to deal with the ongoing epidemic.

The cholera outbreak of this year would give rise to at least one monument. It is atop a hill in Sheffield, England and commemorates 402 victims buried in grounds between Park Hill and Norfolk Park adjoining Clay Wood. The monument was designed by M.E. Hadfield and sculpted by Earp and Hobbs and would be complete in 1835. Its plaque names John Blake, Master Cutler, one of the victims, and notes that the foundation stone was laid by a poet, James Montgomery:



 May: The First Turko/Egyptian War began on October 29, 1831 when the Egyptians moved to occupy Syria. Jerusalem had been taken without a problem, but in the coastal region of Palestine and Lebanon, the Ottoman Pasha Abdullah Elgazar had been able to hold onto the fortified city of Acre. The siege of that strongpoint, which involved much cannon fire, culminated during this month. There is a story that during this siege, an [Egyptian](#) cannon crew invented the [cigarette](#). Now, of course, we know that there had been cigarettes of one form or another prior to this point in time. The Southwest Indians, the Aztecs, and the Mayans had made cylinders filled with tobacco out of hollow reeds, cane, and the stalks of their maize, and in Seville, Spain, people had been rolling the scraps left over from cigar manufacture into “papeletes,” inside scraps of paper. However, during this artillery siege, the story goes, an Egyptian cannon crew had improved their rate of fire significantly by pre-rolling their gunpowder inside paper tubes, and for this improvement in efficiency, they had been granted one pound of tobacco. Because the only pipe they had available in their unit was broken, they began to roll the tobacco in the paper in order to smoke it, producing the 1st real cigarettes.

1836

 500 townspeople of Rochester, New York signed a [temperance](#) petition urging the federal Congress to address the nation’s [alcohol](#) problem.

Samuel Green of the NEW ENGLAND [ALMANACK](#) AND FARMERS FRIEND wrote that [tobacco](#) was an insecticide, a poison, a filthy habit — and could kill a man.

THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANAC](#) FOR 1836. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): Hugh H. Brown.  
 This year the letter “k” was omitted from the word “almanac.”

1839

In [North Carolina](#), for the 1st time, charcoal began to be used in the flue-curing of [tobacco](#). Charcoal curing was not only cheaper, but also the intense heat it generated turned the thinner, low-nicotine “Piedmont leaf” a brilliant golden color, the result being a “Slade yallercure” presaging our flue-cured classic American “Bright leaf” — a product so mild that smokers find it pleasurable to inhale deeply.

If you ask the contemporary whites of North Carolina, they’ll volunteer that this important discovery had been made by a slave named Steven, a blacksmith who was supposed to stay awake and tend the curing fire and keep it from going out, who nevertheless went to sleep and let the fire go out. In a panic when he woke to discover that he had let the fire go out and the curing shed cool off, fearful of the coming punishment, he had rushed to his blacksmithing forge and scooped up its charcoal and shoveled that into the curing shed. —When you hear this story from the contemporary whites of North Carolina, please be receptive while they go on to assure you that said Steven was rewarded for having made such an important discovery rather than punished for typical slave laziness and inattention to duties.



Sunday Sep 1st: We glided over the broad bosom of the merrimack between Middlesex and Tyngsboro at noon, here a quarter of a mile wide, while the rattling of our oars was echoed over the water to



## PLANTS

SIK'AR

those villages, and their slight sounds to us. Their harbors lay as smooth and fairy like as the Lido, or Syracuse or Rhodes in our imaginations. Like a strange piratical craft we flitted past the dwellings of noble home-staying men — seeming to float upon a tide which came up to every villager's breast, as conspicuous as if we were on an eminence. Communicating with the villas and hills and forests on either hand by the glances we sent to them, or the echoes we awakened. We glanced up many a pleasant ravine with its farm house in the distance, where some contributory stream came in, Again the site of a saw-mill, and a few forsaken eel pots were all that greeted us. *{One-third page blank}*

Our thoughts reverted to Arabia Persia and Hindostan — the lands of contemplation — and dwelling place of the ruminant nations. And in the experience of those noon tides we found an apology and an instinct for the opium — betel — and tobacco chewers. Mount Saber, according to the French traveller and naturalist Botta is celebrated for producing the Kat tree. Of which “The soft tops of the twigs and tender leaves are eaten,” says his reviewer, “and produce an agreeable soothing excitement, restoring from fatigue, banishing sleep, and disposing to the enjoyment of conversation.”

What a dignified oriental life might be lived along this stream, browsing the tree tops — and chewing mallows and apple tree buds like the camelopards — rabbits and partridges.

Salmon Brook runs under the rail-way — but we sailed up far enough into the meadows which border it, to learn its piscatorial history from a haymaker on its banks. He told us that silver eel was formerly abundant here, and pointed to some sinker creels at its mouth.

TOBACCO  
OPIUM

Salmon Brook	Silver eels
Pennichook	Wooden creels
Ye sweet waters of my brain	These the baits that still allure
When shall I look	And dragon fly
Or cast the hook	That floated by
In thy waves again?	May they still endure?



## X

EARLY VICTORIAN DAYS<sup>60</sup>

Scent to match thy rich perfume  
Chemic art did ne'er presume  
Through her quaint alembic strain,  
None so sovereign to the brain.  
Lamb, *A Farewell to Tobacco*.

The social attitude towards smoking in early Victorian days, and for some time later, was curious. The development of cigar-smoking among those classes from which tobacco had long been practically banished, and the natural consequent spread downwards of the use of cigars – in accordance with the invariable law of fashion – together with the continued devotion to the pipe among those whose love of tobacco had never slackened, made smoking a much more general practice than it had been for some generations.

It is somewhat significant that Dickens, in the "Old Curiosity Shop," 1840, makes that repulsive dwarf, Quilp, smoke cigars. When the little monster comes home unexpectedly in the fourth chapter of the book, and breaks up his wife's tea-party, he settles himself in an arm-chair – "with his large head and face squeezed up against the back, and his little legs planted on the table" – with a case-bottle of rum, cold water, and a box of cigars before him. "Now, Mrs. Quilp," he says, "I feel in a smoking humour, and shall probably blaze away all night. But sit where you are, if you please, in case I want you." Quilp smokes cigars one after the other, his wretched wife sitting patiently by, from sunset till some time after daybreak. The dwarf's tastes, however, were catholic. A little later in the book the reader finds him, when encamped in the back parlour of the old man's shop, smoking pipe after pipe, and compelling that knavish attorney, Sampson Brass, to do the same. Tobacco-smoke always caused Brass "great internal discomposure and annoyance"; but this made no difference to Quilp, who insisted on his "friend" continuing to smoke, while he inquired: "Is it good, Brass, is it nice, is it fragrant, do you feel like the Grand Turk?" But Quilp and Brass were not in "society."

Notwithstanding that the number of smokers had so largely increased, and was continually increasing, smoking was regarded socially as something of a vice – to be practised in inconvenient places and not too publicly.

There were still plenty of active opponents and denouncers of tobacco. One of the most distinguished was the great Duke of Wellington, who abominated smoking, and was annoyed by the increase of cigar-smoking among officers of the army. In the early 'forties he issued a General Order (No. 577) which contained a paragraph that would have delighted the heart of

60. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



King James I. It ran thus: "The Commander-in-Chief has been informed, that the practice of smoking, by the use of pipes, cigars, or cheroots, has become prevalent among the Officers of the Army, which is not only in itself a species of intoxication occasioned by the fumes of tobacco, but, undoubtedly, occasions drinking and tippling by those who acquire the habit; and he intreats the Officers commanding Regiments to prevent smoking in the Mess Rooms of their several Regiments, and in the adjoining apartments, and to discourage the practice among the Officers of Junior Rank in their Regiments."

The Duke's prejudices were stronger than his facts. The statement, not very grammatically expressed, that "the practice of smoking" was "itself a species of intoxication" was absurd enough; but the allegation, introduced by a question-begging "undoubtedly," that smoking occasioned drinking was directly contrary to fact. It was the introduction of after-dinner smoking that largely helped to kill the bad old practice of continued after-dinner drinking.

Perhaps the best reflection of and comment upon the attitude of society towards smoking is to be found in the ironical, satirical pages of Thackeray. Let the reader turn to the confessions of George Fitz-Boodle Esq. - the "Fitz-Boodle Papers" first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for 1842 - and he will find how smoking was regarded at that date, and what Thackeray, speaking through the puppet Fitz-Boodle, thought of it. George starts by saying: "I am not, in the first place, what is called a ladies' man, having contracted an irrepressible habit of smoking after dinner, which has obliged me to give up a great deal of the dear creatures' society; nor can I go much to country-houses for the same reason." The ladies had a keen scent for the abominable odour of tobacco, and distrusted the men who smoked. Here is Fitz-Boodle's, or Thackeray's, comment on it - "What is this smoking that it should be considered a crime? I believe in my heart that women are jealous of it, as of a rival. They speak of it as of some secret awful vice that seizes upon a man, and makes him a pariah from genteel society. I would lay a guinea that many a lady who has just been kind enough to read the above lines lays down the book, after this confession of mine that I am a smoker, and says, 'Oh, the vulgar wretch!' and passes on to something else." He goes on to prophesy - and for once the "most gratuitous of follies" has been justified by the event - that tobacco will conquer. "Look over the wide world," he says to the ladies, "and see that your adversary has overcome it. Germany has been puffing for three score years; France smokes to a man. Do you think you can keep the enemy out of England? Psha! look at his progress. Ask the club-houses, Have they smoking-rooms, or not? Are they not obliged to yield to the general want of the age, in spite of the resistance of the old women on the committees? I, for my part, do not despair to see a bishop lolling out of the 'Athenæum' with a cheroot in his mouth, or, at any rate, a pipe stuck in his shovel-hat."

The flight of fancy in the last sentence has hardly yet been fulfilled; but I saw, many years ago, a distinguished man of



letters, the late Mr. Francis Turner Palgrave, of "Golden Treasury" fame, who was an inveterate smoker, sitting on one of the cane benches by the door of the Athenæum Club, smoking a short clay pipe.

Thackeray does not appear to have realized that tobacco was not invading England for the first, but for the second time, nor did he foresee that the ladies, to whom he addressed his impassioned defence of smoking, would not only submit to the conqueror but would themselves be found among his joyous devotees.

George Fitz-Boodle recounts how, as a boy, he was flogged for smoking, and how, at Oxford, smoking among other villainies led to his rustication. Later his tobacco, combined with insolence to his tobacco-hating colonel, conducted him out of the army into the retirement of civil life; and so on and so on. There is, of course, an element of exaggeration in all this; but Mr. Fitz-Boodle's experiences and reflections throw much light on the social history of smoking in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Mr. Harry Furniss, in the preface to his edition of Thackeray, has an admirably terse and pertinent paragraph on this aspect of the "Fitz-Boodle Papers." He says – "No gentleman in those days was seen smoking even a 'weed' in the streets. Cigarettes were practically unheard of in England, and outside one's private smoking-room pipes were tabooed. Men in Society slunk into their smoking-rooms, or, when there was no smoking-room, into the kitchen or servants' hall, after the domestics had retired. A smoking-jacket was worn in the place of their ordinary evening coat, and their well-oiled, massive head of hair was protected by a gorgeously decorated smoking-cap. Thus the odour of tobacco was not brought into the drawing-room."

The fear of the odour of tobacco-smoke was extraordinary. Mr. J.C. Buckmaster in his reminiscences describes the famous debating society at Cogers' Hall, and says that "after one night at the Cogers' it took three days on a common to purify your clothes" from the smoke. The journalists and Bohemians who met at the Cogers were above (or below) the dictates of fashion, and smoking was always a feature of their gatherings. The "yard of clay" is provided gratis for members, and it is to its almost universal use, says Mr. Peter Rayleigh, in his book on "The Cogers and Fleet Street," "that Cogers owe their existence in the present quarters. Once upon a time the Cogers 'swarmed' to a well-appointed room, where carpets covered the floors, the chairs were upholstered, and the tables had finely polished marble tops. The hot pipes and smouldering matches stained the table tops and burnt the carpets, so that they had the option of abandoning either the pipe or the quarters. Old customs die hard with Cogers, and they stuck to their pipe.... The pipe is a feature in all illustrations of Cogerian meetings."

The influence of the Court was wholly against smoking. Both Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort detested it, so tobacco was taboo wherever the Court was. The late Lady Dorothy Nevill, who lived to see the new triumph of tobacco, said that she thought the greatest minor change in social habits which she had witnessed was that in the attitude assumed towards smoking,





which, in her youth, "and even later, was, except in certain well-defined circumstances, regarded as little less than a heinous crime." Lady Dorothy remarked that "smoking-rooms in country houses were absolutely unknown" – but that was not quite correct as we shall see in the experiences of Professor von Holtzendorff, to be mentioned directly – and that "such gentlemen as wished to smoke after the ladies had gone to bed used, as a matter of course, to go either to the servants' hall or to the harness-room in the stables, where at night some sort of rough preparation was generally made for their accommodation.... Well do I remember the immense care which devotees of tobacco used to take, when sallying forth in the country to enjoy it, not to allow the faintest whiff of smoke to penetrate into the hall as they lit their cigars at the door."

In 1845 Dickens wrote: "I generally take a cigar after dinner when I'm alone." The reservation in the last three words may be noted. In the "Book of Snobs," Major Wellesley Ponto goes to smoke a cigar in the stables – Ponto had no smoking-room – with Lord Gules, who is described as a "very young, short, sandy-haired and tobacco-smoking nobleman, who cannot have left the nursery very long." Later, Ponto and Gules "resume smoking operations ... in the now vacant kitchen."

Even so late as 1861 the attitude towards smoking was still much the same in some quarters. In that year a German scholar, Professor Franz von Holtzendorff, paid a visit to a country gentleman's house in Gloucestershire – Hardwicke Court. Later he printed an account of his experiences, a translation of which was published in this country in 1878. When the professor arrived, his host, the first greeting over, at once pointed out to him a secluded apartment – the one which he thought it most important for a German to know, namely, the smoking-room. "According to his idea," continued the professor, "every German has three national characteristics, smoking, singing, and Sabbath-breaking; the first and only idea in which I found him led astray by an abstract theory." Later, his hostess, explaining to him the method and routine of life in an English country-house, said that the ladies retired about eleven, while the gentlemen finished their day's work in the smoking-room – the secluded apartment – or enjoyed a cigar at the billiard-table; but a smoke in the billiard-room was only allowed if that room was not near the drawing-room or in the hall close by. "You must have often been surprised," she continued, "that we English ladies have such an invincible repugnance to tobacco smoke, but there is no dispensation from our rule of abstinence, except in those rooms which my husband has already pointed out to you."

The professor, after luncheon, was pressed by the squire – "who, on any other occasion would never waste time in smoking, and only filled his short clay pipe at the end of his day's work" – to come to his smoking-room. As regards this room the professor drily remarked – "I thought I had noticed that even the key-hole was stopped up, in order to preserve the ladies' delicate nerves from every disagreeable sensation." After dinner, again, when the ladies had left the table, "the gentlemen passed the bottles of port, sherry, and claret, with the regularity of planets from



hand to hand," but no one dreamed of smoking. That was reserved for the secluded apartment after the ladies had gone to bed. Neither host nor guest imagined what a revolution another generation or so would make in these social habits.

In the 'fifties the pipes smoked were mostly clays. There were the long clays or "churchwardens," to be smoked in hours of ease and leisure; and the short clays – "cutties" – which could be smoked while a man was at work. Milo, a tobacconist in the Strand, and Inderwick, whose shop was near Leicester Square, were famous for their pipes, which could be bought for 6d. apiece. A burlesque poem of 1853, in praise of an old black pipe, says:

Think not of meerschaum is that bowl: away,  
Ye fond enthusiasts! it is common clay,  
By Milo stamped, perchance by Milo's hand,  
And for a tizzy purchased in the Strand.

Famed are the clays of Inderwick, and fair  
The pipes of Fiolet from Saint Omer.

I am indebted for this quotation to a correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, September 27, 1913.

Another correspondent of the same journal, Colonel W.F. Prideaux, also replying to a query of mine, wrote: "Before briar-root pipes came into common use clay pipes were of necessity smoked by all classes. When I matriculated at Oxford at the Easter of 1858 ... University men used to be rather particular about the pipes they smoked. The finest were made in France, and the favourite brand was 'Fiolet, Saint Omer.' I do not know if this kind is still smoked, but it was made of a soft clay that easily coloured. In taverns, of course, the churchwarden – beloved of Carlyle and Tennyson – was usually smoked to the accompaniment of shandygaff. At Simpson's fish ordinary at Billingsgate these pipes were always placed on the table after dinner, together with screws of shag tobacco, and a smoking parliament moistened with hot or cold punch according to the season, was generally held during the following hour. Of course, in those days no one ever thought of smoking a pipe in the presence of ladies."

Colonel Harold Malet at the same time wrote – "When I was a cadet at Sandhurst in 1855-58, Milo's cutty pipes were quite the thing, and the selection by cadets of a good one out of a fresh consignment packed in sawdust was eagerly watched by the 'Johns.' Of course we were imitating our parents." It was no doubt these cutty pipes which are referred to in one of the sporting books of Robert Surtees as the "clay pipes of gentility."

In a private letter to me, which I am privileged to quote, Colonel Prideaux adds some further particulars as to the social attitude of early Victorian days towards tobacco – particulars which are the more valuable and interesting as being supplied from personal recollection of those now somewhat distant days. The Colonel writes: "When I was a young man people never thought of smoking in what house-agents call the 'reception-rooms,' the



principal reason being that the occupation of these rooms was shared by ladies, and it was 'bad form' (not, by the way, a contemporary expression) to smoke while in the company of the fairer half of creation. Consequently, men had either to indulge in the practice out of doors, or else, as you say, sneak away to the kitchen when the servants had gone to bed, and puff up the chimney. It was only in large houses that a billiard room could be found, and even in a billiard room a pipe or cigar was *taboo* if ladies were present, while smoking-rooms could no more be found in middle-class houses than bath-rooms. Both cutties and churchwardens were smoked, but the latter of course were not adapted for persons engaged in active pursuits and were essentially of what I may call a sedentary nature. You could not even walk while holding a long churchwarden in your mouth, and consequently the short clay was most favoured by young men at Sandhurst and the Universities.... Labourers smoked short clays when out of doors, and churchwardens when they rested from their labours and took their ease in their inn in the evenings."

Mr. Furniss, in the paragraph quoted on a previous page, says: "No gentleman in those days was seen smoking even a 'weed' in the streets." The nearest approach to this seems to have been smoking on club steps. Thackeray, in the seventeenth chapter of the "Book of Snobs," speaks of dandies smoking their cigars upon the steps of "White's," most fashionable of clubs, and, in an earlier chapter, of young Ensign Famish lounging and smoking on the steps of the "Union Jack Club," with half a dozen other "young rakes of the fourth or fifth order." Two of Thackeray's own drawings in the "Book of Snobs" – in chapters three and nine – show men, one civil the other military, smoking cigars out of doors; but as these were no doubt arrant snobs, the drawings may be accepted as proof of Mr. Furniss's statement.

In this same book Thackeray says ironically – "Think of that den of abomination, which, I am told, has been established in *some* clubs, called the *Smoking-Room*." The satirist was very familiar with the smoking-room at the club he loved well – the "Little G." – the Garrick. The original Garrick club-house was at 35 King Street, Covent Garden, where the club was founded in 1831. It had formerly been a quiet, old-fashioned family hotel, but apparently was not furnished with a smoking-room, for one of the first acts of the club, when they obtained possession of the house, was to build out over the "leads" a large and comfortable smoking-room. Shirley Brooks said that this room, which was reached by a long passage from the Strangers' Dining-room, "was not a cheerful apartment by daylight, and when empty, but which, at night and full, was thought the most cheerful apartment in Town." At other clubs of more fashion, perhaps, but certainly of less good-fellowship, smoking-rooms made their way more slowly. At White's, smoking was not allowed at all till 1845. The Alfred Club, founded in 1808, which Lord Byron described as pleasant – "a little too sober and literary, perhaps, but, on the whole, a decent resource on a rainy day," and which Sir William Fraser called "a sort of minor Athenæum," owed its death in 1855, if report be true, to a dispute about smoking. One section of the members wished for an improved smoking-room – they called the existing room, which was at the top of the house



– an “infamous hole” – while the more old-fashioned and more influential members objected to any improvement. The latter carried the day, but the consequent loss of members ruined the club, which soon after ceased to exist. This secession must have been subsequent to that of the bishops, of whom at one time many were members, but who left, it is said, because of the introduction of a billiard-table!

The growth of cigar-smoking was rapid. Mr. Steinmetz, in his book on “Tobacco,” published in 1857, remarked that no way of using tobacco had made a more striking advance in England within the preceding twenty years than cigars. For a long time it had been confined in this country to the richer class of smokers, but when he wrote it was “in universal use.” The wonder is that with so many men smoking cigars the old domestic and club restrictions, as pilloried in Thackeray’s pages, were maintained so long. In 1853 Leech had an admirably drawn sketch in *Punch* of paterfamilias, in the absence of his wife, giving a little dinner. Beside him sits his small son, and on either side of the table sit two of his cronies. One has a cigar in his hand and is blowing a cloud of smoke, while the other is selecting a “weed.” The host is just lighting his cigar as the maid enters with a tray of decanters and glasses, and with disgust written plainly on her face. The objectionable child beside him says – “Lor! Pa, are you going to smoke? My eye! won’t you catch it when Ma comes home, for making the curtains smell!”

Another witness to the rapid development of cigar-smoking is Captain Gronow, the author of the well-known “Reminiscences.” Gronow says that the famous surgeon, Sir Astley Cooper, on one occasion perceiving that he was fond of smoking, cautioned him against that habit, telling him that it would, sooner or later, be the cause of his death. This must have been before 1841, when Sir Astley died. Writing in the ‘sixties Gronow said: “If Sir Astley were now alive he would find everybody with a cigar in his mouth: men smoke nowadays whilst they are occupied in working or hunting, riding in carriages, or otherwise employed” – which shows how the prejudice against outdoor smoking was then breaking down. “During the experience of a long life, however,” continued Gronow, “I never knew but one person of whom it was said that smoking was the cause of his death: he was the son of an Irish earl, and an attaché at our embassy in Paris. But, alas! I have known thousands who have been carried off owing to their love of the bottle.”

Thackeray, as the satirist of the foolish social prejudices against smoking, was naturally an inveterate smoker himself. He died in 1863, and so hardly saw the beginning of a change in the attitude of society towards the pestilent weed; but he was one of the many men of letters and artists, who, despising the conventions of society, were largely instrumental in breaking down stupid restrictions, and in overcoming senseless prejudices, and were thus heralds of freedom. Charles Keene’s attitude was that of many artists. He smoked a little Jacobean clay pipe in his “sky-parlour” overlooking the Strand, and did not care in the least what the world might think or not think about that or any other subject.



Those who smoked pipes at Cambridge continued to smoke pipes afterwards, whatever "society" might do. Spedding, who spent his life on the elucidation of Bacon, was one of the "Apostles," and he continued a pipe-lover to the end. In 1832 we hear of Tennyson being in London with him, and "smoking all the day."

Lady Ritchie, in "Tennyson and his Friends," says: "I can remember vaguely, on one occasion through a cloud of smoke, looking across a darkening room at the noble, grave head of the Poet Laureate. He was sitting with my Father in the twilight after some family meal in the old house in Kensington." Thackeray was a cigar-smoker, but Tennyson was a devotee of the pipe. It was on this occasion, as the poet himself reminded Thackeray's daughter, that while the novelist was speaking, Lady Ritchie's little sister "looked up suddenly from the book over which she had been absorbed, saying in her sweet childish voice, 'Papa, why do you not write books like 'Nicholas Nickleby'?'"

Tennyson wrote "In Memoriam" at Shawell Rectory, near Lutterworth, Leicestershire. The rector was a Mr. Elmfirst, a native of the poet's Lincolnshire village. The latest historian of Lutterworth says that "The great puffs of tobacco smoke with which he [Tennyson] mellowed his thoughts, proved insufferable to his host, and he was accordingly turned out into Mr. Elmfirst's workshop in the garden, which in consequence became the birthplace of one of the gems of English literature."

About 1842, when Tennyson often dined at the Old Cock (by Temple Bar) and at other taverns, the perfect dinner for his taste, says his son, was "a beef-steak, a potato, a cut of cheese, a pint of port, and afterwards a pipe (never a cigar)." When the Kingsleys paid the Tennysons a visit about 1859, Charles Kingsley, so the Laureate told his son, "talked as usual on all sorts of topics, and walked hard up and down the study for hours smoking furiously, and affirming that tobacco was the only thing that kept his nerves quiet." The late Laureate, Alfred Austin, once asked Tennyson, after reading a passage in Dorothy Wordsworth's "Journal" that William had gone to bed "very tired" with writing the "Prelude," if he had ever felt tired by writing poetry. "I think not," said the poet, "but tired with the accompaniment of too much smoking."

Kingsley's devotion to smoke seems to have surprised Tennyson, who was no light smoker himself. The most curious story illustrating Kingsley's love of tobacco is that told in the life of Archbishop Benson by his son, Mr. A.C. Benson. One day about the year 1860, the future archbishop was walking with the Rector of Eversley in a remote part of the parish, on a common, when Kingsley suddenly said - "I must smoke a pipe," and forthwith went to a furze-bush and felt about in it for a time. Presently he produced a clay churchwarden pipe, "which he lighted, and solemnly smoked as he walked, putting it when he had done into a hole among some tree roots, and telling my father that he had a cache of pipes in several places in the parish to meet the exigencies of a sudden desire for tobacco." If this story did not appear in the life of an archbishop, some scepticism on the part of the reader might be excused.



Carlyle, as every one knows, was a great smoker. The story is familiar – it may be true – that one evening he and Tennyson sat in solemn silence smoking for hours, one on each side of the fireplace, and that when the visitor rose to go, Carlyle, as he bade him good-night, said – “Man, Alfred, we hae had a graund nicht; come again soon.”

Tennyson's own devotion to tobacco led, on at least one occasion, to a peculiar and somewhat questionable proceeding. Mr. W.M. Rossetti had a temporary acquaintance with the poet, and in the “Reminiscences” which he published in 1906, he told a curious anecdote concerning him which was new to print. Rossetti told, on the authority of Woolner, how, in the course of a trip with friends to Italy, tobacco such as Tennyson could smoke gave out at some particular city, whereupon the poet packed up his portmanteau and returned home, breaking up the party! The late Joseph Knight, who reviewed Rossetti's volumes in the *Athenæum*, vouched for the truth of this relation, which he had heard, not only from Woolner, but also from Tennyson's brother Septimus.

In more fashionable circles the mere possession of a pipe might be looked at askance. Robertson's comedy “Society” was produced in 1865, and in it, Tom Stylus, a somewhat Bohemian journalist, has the misfortune, in a fashionable ball-room, when pulling out his handkerchief to bring out his pipe with it from his pocket. The vulgar thing falls upon the floor, and Tom is ashamed to claim his property and so acknowledge his ownership of a pipe. He presently calls a footman, who comes with a tray and sugar-tongs, picks up the offending briar with the tongs, and carries it off “with an air of ineffable disgust.”

Undergraduates, like men of letters, did not pay much attention to the conventional attitude of society towards tobacco, and pipes maintained their popularity in college rooms. Thackeray, in the “Book of Snobs,” describes youths at a University wine-party as “drinking bad wines, telling bad stories, singing bad songs over and over again. Milk punch – smoking – ghastly headache – frightful spectacle of dessert-table next morning, and smell of tobacco.” But the satirist is often tempted to be epigrammatic at the expense of accuracy, and this picture is at least too highly coloured. In the recently published memoir of “J” – John Willis Clark – some reminiscences of the late Registry are included; and “J” does not recognize Thackeray's picture as quite true of the “wines” of his undergraduate day, *i.e.* about 1850. “They may,” he says, “have ‘told bad stories and sung bad songs,’ as Thackeray says in his ‘Book of Snobs.’ I can only say that I never heard either the one or the other.” But certainly there was noise, and there was smoke – plenty of it. “Conversation there was none,” says “J,” “only a noise. Then came smoke. In a short time the atmosphere became dense, the dessert and the wine came to an end, and it was chapel time (mercifully).” One story Clark tells of an extraordinary attempt to smoke. Referring to the compulsory “chapels,” he says that as a rule everybody behaved with propriety, whether they regarded the attendance as irksome or otherwise. But, he admits, “‘Iniquity Corner,’ as the space at the east end on each side



of the altar was called, may occasionally have effectually sheltered card-playing; but when a young snob went so far as to light a cigar there, he had the pleasure of finishing it in the country, for he was rusticated. It was on a cognate occasion in Jesus College, in which cobblers' wax played a prominent part, that Dr. Corrie dismissed the culprit, after a severe lecture, with these admirable words: 'Your conduct, sir, is what a Christian would call profane, and a gentleman vulgar.'

At Oxford, in November 1859, the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors issued the following notice, which shows that an occasional outbreak of bad manners might happen on the Isis as on the Cam: "Whereas complaints have been made that some Undergraduate members of the University are in the habit of smoking at *public entertainments*, and otherwise creating annoyance, they are hereby cautioned against the repetition of such ungentlemanlike conduct."

There was plenty of smoking among undergraduates at Oxford in those days, as may be seen in such books as "The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green," and Hughes's "Tom Brown at Oxford," both of which date from 1861. When Tom, after a reading-bout, thought of going out - "there was a wine party at one of his acquaintance's rooms; or he could go and smoke a cigar in the pool-room, or at any one of a dozen other places." Cigars were the fashionable form of smoke. When Tom offers his box to Captain Hardy, that worthy's son says: "You might as well give him a glass of absinthe. He is churchwarden at home, and can't smoke anything but a long clay," with which the old sailor was accordingly supplied.

A striking example of the attitude of the mid-nineteenth century days towards tobacco may be found in connexion with railways and railway travelling. In the early days of such travel there were no smoking compartments, and indeed smoking was "strictly forbidden" practically everywhere on railway premises. Relics of this time may still be seen in many stations and on many platforms in the shape of somewhat dingy placards announcing that smoking is strictly forbidden, and that the penalty is so much. Nowadays the incense from pipes and cigars and cigarettes curls freely round these obsolete notices and helps to make them still dingier. If you wanted to smoke when travelling you had either to contrive to get a compartment to yourself, or to arrange terms with your fellow-travellers. In a *Punch* of 1855, Leech drew a railway-platform scene wherein figures one of those precocious youngsters of a type he loved to draw. A railway porter says to his mate, as the two gaze at the back of this small swell, with his cane and top-hat, "What does he say, Bill?" "Why, he says he must have a compartment to hisself, because he can't get on without his smoke!" Another drawing in a *Punch* of 1861 points the same moral. It represents an elderly "party" and a "fast Etonian" seated side by side in a first-class compartment. The latter has a cigar in one hand and with the other offers coins to his neighbour; the explanation is as follows: "Old Party. Really, sir, - I am the manager of the line, sir - I must inform you that if you persist in smoking, you will be fined forty shillings, sir. *Fast Etonian*. Well, old boy, I



must have my smoke; so you may as well take your forty shillings now!"

Tobacco was always popular in the army; and even the strongest of anti-tobacconists would have felt that there was at least something, if not much, to be said for the abused weed, when in times of campaigning suffering it played so beneficent a part in soothing and comforting weary and wounded men. The period covered by this chapter included both the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, and every one knows how the soldiers in the Crimea and in India alike craved for tobacco as for one of the greatest of luxuries, and how even an occasional smoke cheered and encouraged and sustained suffering humanity. The late Dr. Norman Kerr, who was no friend to ordinary, everyday smoking, wrote: "There are occasions, such as in the trenches during military operations, when worn out with exposure and fatigue, or when exhausted by slow starvation with no food in prospect, when a pipe or cigar will be a welcome and valuable friend in need, resting the weary limbs, cheering the fainting heart, allaying the gnawing hunger of the empty stomach."

Sir G.W. Forrest, in his book on "The Indian Mutiny," tells how at the siege of Lucknow, as the month of August advanced, "the tea and sugar, except a small store kept for invalids, were exhausted. The tobacco also was gone, and Europeans and natives suffered greatly from the want of it. The soldiers yearned for a pipe after a hard day's work, and smoked dry leaves as the only substitute they could obtain." Mr. L.E.R. Rees in his diary of the same siege noted - "I have given up smoking tobacco, and have taken to tea-leaves and neem-leaves, and guava fruit-leaves instead, which the poor soldiers are also constantly using." The neem-tree is better known, perhaps, as the margosa. It yields a bitter oil, and is supposed to possess febrifugal properties.

Among the general mass of the population in the early Victorian period, smoking, though certainly not so all-prevailing as now, was yet very common. It is highly probable that one of the things which led to the great increase in pipe-smoking which took place from this time onwards was the introduction of the briar pipe.

The earliest example of the use of a wooden pipe I have met with is dated 1765 - but this was not in England. Many years ago the late Mr. A.J. Munby pointed out that Smollett, in one of his letters dated March 18, 1765, giving an account of his journey from Nice to Turin, describes how he ascended "the mountain Brovis," and on the top thereof met a Quixotic figure, whom he thus pictures: "He was very tall, meagre, and yellow, with a long hooked nose and twinkling eyes. His head was cased in a woollen nightcap, over which he wore a flapped hat; he had a silk handkerchief about his neck, and his mouth was furnished with a short wooden pipe, from which he discharged wreathing clouds of tobacco-smoke." This scarecrow turned out to be an Italian marquis; and no doubt the singularity of his smoking apparatus was of a piece with the singularity of his attire.

Mr. Munby, after this reference to Smollett's adventure, proceeded to claim the honour of having helped to bring the use of wooden pipes into England. In the year 1853 he wrote,





"meerschaums and clays were the rule at both the English universities and in all shops throughout the land, and the art of making pipes of wood was either obsolete [it had never been introduced] or wholly *in futuro*. But a college friend of mine, a Norfolk squire, possessed a gardener who was of an inventive turn, though he was not a Scotchman. This man conceived and wrought out the idea of making pipes of willow-wood, cutting the bowl out of a thick stem, and the tube out of a thinner one growing from the bowl, so that the whole pipe was in one piece. Willow-wood is too soft, so that the pipes did not last long; but they were a valuable discovery, and the young squire's friends bought them eagerly at eighteenpence apiece."

This experiment in the direction of wooden pipes was interesting, and deserves to be remembered; but it was not long before the briar was introduced and carried everything before it.

It was about 1859 that the use of the root of the White Heath (*Erica arborea*), a native of the South of France, Corsica, and some other localities, for the purpose of making tobacco-pipes was introduced into this country. The word "brier" or "briar" has no connexion whatever with the prickly, thorny briar which bears the lovely wild rose. It is derived from the French *bruyère*, heath – the root of the White Heath being the material known as "briar" or "brier," and at first as "bruyer." The Oxford Dictionary quotes an advertisement from the *Tobacco Trade Review* of so recent a date as February 8, 1868, of a "Heath Pipe: in Bruyer Wood." The briar pipe not only soon drove the clay largely out of use, but immensely increased the number of pipe-smokers. Bulwer Lytton may not have known the briar, but he wrote enthusiastically of the pipe. Every smoker knows the glowing tribute he paid to it in his "Night and Morning," which appeared in 1841. It is terser and more to the point than most panegyrics: "A pipe! It is a great soother, a pleasant comforter. Blue devils fly before its honest breath. It ripens the brain, it opens the heart; and the man who smokes thinks like a sage and acts like a Samaritan."

1843

The correct molecular identification of [nicotine](#) was made.



In France, the SEITA monopoly began its manufacture of [cigarettes](#).

June 3, Saturday: Donna María Dolores de Porris y Montez, who would become the first woman ever to have herself photographed smoking a [cigarette](#), made her dance debut on the London stage in a black velvety bodice and a red, blue, and purple skirt, overlaid with a large black lace *mantilla*. Her dance, *El Oleano*, included as its high point a notorious sequence in which the dancer was to search her skirts for a crawling tarantula “rather higher than was proper in so public a place” while the audience shouted out “Spider! Spider! Spider!”<sup>61</sup> She was portraying herself as the tragic wife of the hero Don Diego Leon, recently killed in an attempt at a *putsch* against the Spanish monarchy. She had studied dancing for all of five months and nevertheless her act bombed. However, she would be going around for ever so many years proclaiming quite spuriously that [Queen Victoria](#) had been delighted with her in this initial appearance.

To those who had previously known this *danceuse*, she was a former Mrs. James, a *divorcée* from southern Ireland, and was not “Lola Montez” but plain Eliza Gilbert.

61. We can compare this 19th-Century erotic gesture with 20th-Century performers such as Madonna and Michael Jackson, who attract attention to their vocal performances by fondling their crotches onstage.



1845

Prosper Merimee's novel about CARMEN, a feisty Gypsy girl in an Andalusian [cigarette](#) factory.

[Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) was invalidated by what would eventually be discovered to be a tumor in her brain.

John Quincy Adams wrote to the Reverend Samuel H. Cox: "In my early youth I was addicted to the use of [tobacco](#) in two of its mysteries, smoking and chewing. I was warned by a medical friend of the pernicious operation of this habit upon the stomach and the nerves."

[Thomas De Quincey](#)'s "[Coleridge](#) and [Opium](#)-Eating" and "Suspiria de Profundis" appeared in [Blackwood's Magazine](#). His "On [Wordsworth](#)'s Poetry" and "Notes on [Gilfillan](#)'s Gallery of Literary Portraits: Godwin, Foster, Hazlitt, [Shelley](#), Keats" (which would run until 1846) appeared in [Tait's Magazine](#).

### SUSPIRA DE PROFUNDIS

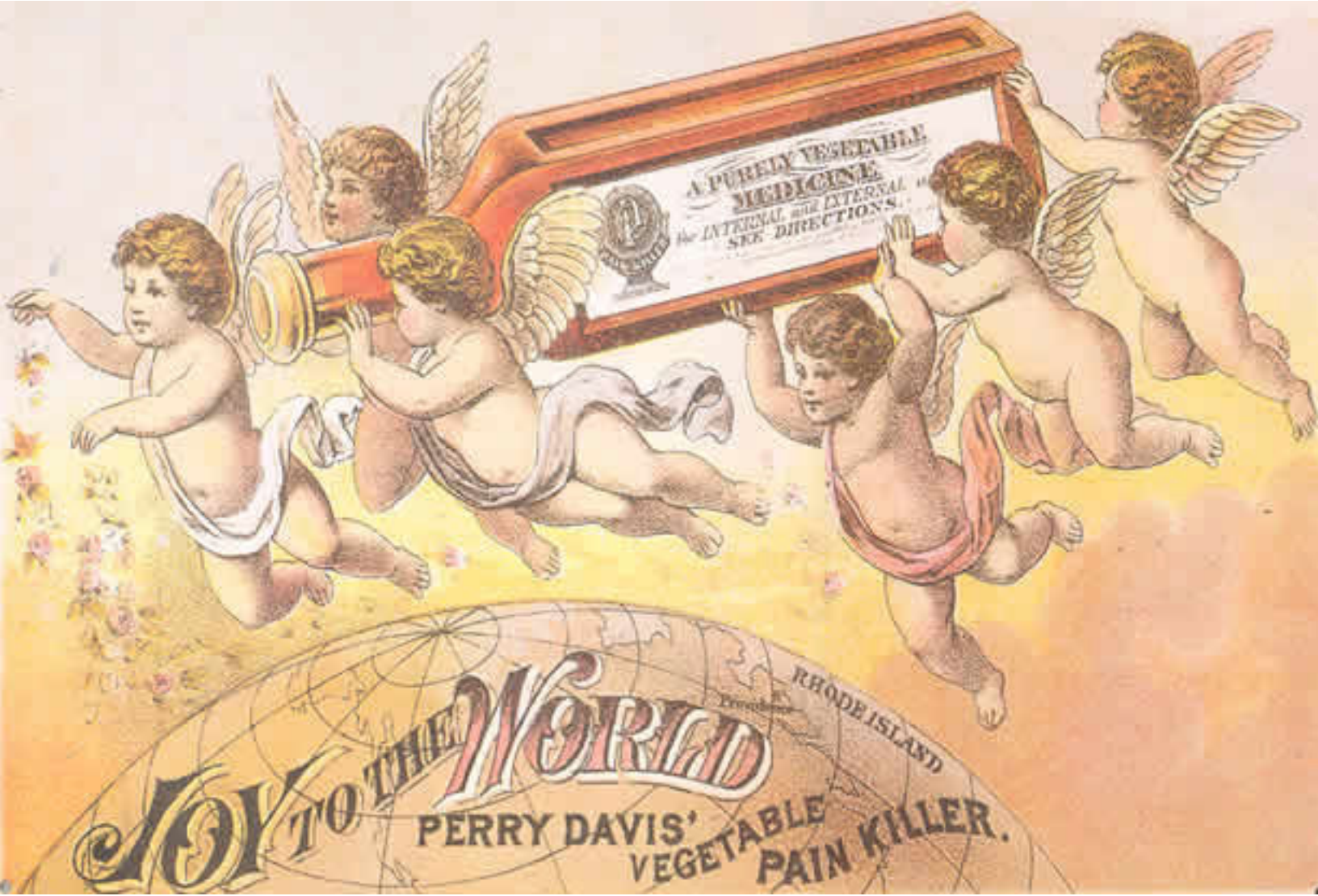
[Perry Davis](#)'s patent vegetable painkiller consisted of [opiates](#) and [ethanol](#) and—as is evident in the globe map on its label—originated from that known center of "Joy to the World" sensory satisfaction, [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

1846

Over the next few years, US soldiers would be coming back from the war against Mejico having acquired a taste for the darker, richer [tobacco](#) that they had found favored in Latin countries. This would lead to an explosive increase in the smoking of [cigars](#). (Our South would remain firmly attached to the chewing of [tobacco](#).)

1847

In England, Philip Morris opened his [tobacco](#) shop, vending hand-rolled Turkish [cigarettes](#).



1848

The protests of Berliners led to the abolition of the last restrictions on their use of [tobacco](#).

In [Italy](#), a “Tobacco War” modeled on the Boston Tea Party erupted as Italians protested Austrian control of the [tobacco](#) monopoly.

Our PG war correspondent in [Italy](#), [Margaret Fuller](#), insisted “Those have not lived who have not seen [Rome](#).”



THE GRAND TOUR

July 7, Friday-8, Saturday: [Waldo Emerson](#) and [Thomas Carlyle](#) visited Stonehenge.<sup>62</sup>



1849

The J.E. Liggett and Brother [tobacco](#) firm was established in St. Louis, Missouri by John Edmund Liggett.

1850

At about the middle of the century, a light cigar wrapped in paper was beginning to be popular — the “cigarette” this was termed. It was a Russian habit. Thus, England’s 1st [cigarette](#) factory would be opened in 1856 by a veteran of the Crimean War, Robert Gloag, who would begin manufacturing a [tobacco](#) product he termed “Sweet Threes.” Unlike [cigars](#), these [cigarettes](#) were typically inserted into a mouthpiece. Having a smoke was going from about the length of time it takes to have a meal, without being nearly as much fun as having a meal, to about the length of time it takes to have sex, without being nearly as much fun as having sex.

Rooms were being set aside as “smokers” in well-to-do homes, and smoking was being discouraged in the other rooms. From the very beginning of rail travel, as a concession to the ladies, smoking had been forbidden in first-class carriages.

62. It was so windy [Carlyle](#) had trouble lighting his [cigars](#), they were riding around by dogcart, and the local tea was just horrid. On this trip they came close to quarreling.

Indentured laborers from [India](#) arrived in Jamaica, bringing with them the multi-purpose use of [cannabis](#), their ganja. At this point, however, in the United States, despite ready availability and general use in medical practice for a wide range of conditions, [hemp](#) was being little used for purposes of intoxication.

The moon-and-stars symbol now associated with Procter & Gamble would be beginning to appear during this decade, as wharf hands marked boxes of Star Candles.<sup>63</sup> By the 1860s, this Moon and Stars would be appearing as a corporate logo on all P&G products and correspondence. (Although Star Candles would of course eventually decline in sales with the availability of distributed electric power and the electric light bulb, P&G would not entirely discontinue candlemaking until the 1920s.)



63. Despite whisper campaigns by fundamentalist Christians, the logo does not indicate that the company secretly indulges in Satan worship.

November 20, Wednesday: In order to obtain urgently needed money, Belgian count Hippolyte Visart de Bocarmé invited his one-legged young brother-in-law Gustave Fougnes to dinner at his château of Bury, Belgium and, with the help of his wife Lydie Victoire Joséphe Fougnes, countess of Bocarmé, poisoned him (previously, using a false name, he had consulted a professor of chemistry and had conducted experiments on cats and ducks to verify that the sort of alkaloids present in *Nicotiana tabacum* would indeed induce death, and had prepared two wine bottles containing concentrated nicotine). The husband would be guillotined but the wife would be spared because evidently under duress from her husband.



[Henry Thoreau](#) was written to again by Josiah Pierce, Jr. of the Portland Lyceum, to confirm change of the date of his lecture from December 11th to January 15th per Thoreau's request.

*Portland. Nov. 20<sup>th</sup> 1850.*

*Dear Sir,*

*You may perhaps believe that I am writing to you from Ireland and not from Portland, making [a] blunder even in the date of the letter, when you read that this is for the purpose of apologizing for and correcting another error— I [intended] and ought to have designated the evening of January. 15<sup>th</sup> and not of January 8<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup>, as that on which we hoped to hear a lecture from you[.]*

*With the wish that this newly appointed time, the fifteenth of January next, may be equally acceptable to you, I am*

*with great respect [ , ]*

*Yours truly*



*J. Pierce[.] Jr*

Here occurs the only mention we have in Thoreau's JOURNAL of the fellow who would make so many comments about him and his dealings in Concord after his death, Horace Rice Hosmer. Hosmer had picked "a different and better kind of cranberry." Thoreau explores this without mentioning any relationship with this former pupil of the Thoreau brothers at the Concord Lyceum and former meal-mate at the Thoreau boardinghouse, as one "of those instances in which the farmer detects a new species and makes use of the knowledge from year to year in his profession, while the botanist devoted to such investigation has failed to observe it." This well bears out what Hosmer himself said about their relationship, that "Henry never spoke to me out of school till I was nearly 20 [which would indeed have been in about this year of 1850, so it is very likely that this is the precise conversation to which Hosmer was referring], that I remember." Other instances of such a cultivation phenomenon within Thoreau's cultural context might include the Baldwin apple discovered and developed by John Ball of Woburn MA and publicized by Loammi Baldwin, and the Concord fox grape discovered and developed by Ephriam Wales Bull. I do not know that the Hosmer cranberry ever became a select variety:



November 20: It is a common saying among country people that if you eat much fried hasty pudding it will make your hair curl –my experience which was considerable did not confirm this assertion. Horace Hosmer was picking out today half a bushel or more of a different & better kind of cranberry as he thought, separating them from the rest– They are very dark red shaded with lighter –harder & more oblong somewhat like the fruit of the sweetbriar, or a canada red plum though I have no common cranberry to compare with them. He says that they grow apart from the others. I must see him about it. It may prove to be one more of those instances in which the farmer detects a new species –and makes use of the knowledge from year to year in his profession while the botanist expressly devoted to such investigations has failed to observe it. The farmer in picking over many bushels of cranberries year after year finds at length or has forced upon his observation a new species of that berry, and avails himself thereafter of his discovery for many years before the naturalist is aware of the fact.



SIK'AR

PLANTS

[Desor](#) who has been among the Indians at Lake Superior this summer told me the other day that they had a particular name for each species of tree, as of the maple –but they had but one word for flowers– They did not distinguish the species of the last.

It is often the unscientific man who discovers the new species– It would be strange if it were not so. But we are accustomed properly to call that only a scientific discovery which knows the relative value of the thing discovered –uncovers a fact to mankind.

**PIERRE JEAN ÉDOUARD DESOR**

1851

→ July 19, Saturday: It was being reported in the gazettes that in England a determined effort was being made to convert everyone to [Mormonism](#).

*Mormonism*—The *Sheffield Independent* states that the Mormons have determined on a great and systematic attempt to convert England to Mormonism. They are at this moment adding to their churches, by adult baptism, 400 disciples every month. So confident are they, that they propose to hold a great Mormon Conference in London in the month of June.

On November 20th, 1850, because he had been determinedly living beyond his means, Count Hippolyte Visart de Bocarmé had needed to invite his well-to-do one-legged young brother-in-law Gustave Fougnyes to dinner at his château of Bury, Belgium and poison him (previously, using a false name, the count had consulted a professor of chemistry and had conducted experiments on cats and ducks to verify that the sort of alkaloids present in *Nicotiana tabacum* would indeed induce death, and had prepared two wine bottles containing concentrated [nicotine](#)). On this day the count was taken to the [guillotine](#) in one of the squares of Mons—the blade, at the convicted man's request, having been freshly sharpened—and his head was neatly taken off.



To the displeasure of the Belgian audience of thousands, Lydie Victoire Joséphe Fougnyes, countess of Bocarmé, who had been a full participant in the murder and subsequent destruction of evidence, had been presumed to have been under duress (one may doubt that she even attended at the event of the demise of her

husband).

HEADCHOPPING



July 19, Saturday: Here I am 34 years old, and yet my life is almost wholly unexpanded. How much is in the germ! There is such an interval between my ideal and the actual in many instances that I may say I am unborn. There is the instinct for society –but no society. Life is not long enough for one success. Within another 34 years that miracle can hardly take place. Methinks my seasons revolve more slowly than those of nature, I am differently timed. I am –contented. This rapid revolution of nature even of nature in me –why should it hurry me. Let a man step to the music which he hears however measured. Is it important that I should mature

DIFFERENT DRUMMER

as soon as an apple tree? Ye, as soon as an oak?<sup>64</sup> May not my life in nature, in proportion as it is supernatural, be only the spring & infantile portion of my spirit's life shall I turn my spring to summer? May I not sacrifice a hasty & petty completeness here –to entirety there? If my curve is large –why bend it to a smaller circle? My spirits unfolding observes not the pace of nature. The society which I was made for is not here, shall I then substitute for the anticipation of that this poor reality. I would have the unmixed expectation of that than this reality.

If life is a waiting –so be it. I will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality. What were any reality which I can substitute. Shall I with pains erect a heaven of blue glass over myself though when it is done I shall be sure to gaze still on the true ethereal heaven –far above as if the former were not –that still distant sky over arching that blue expressive eye of heaven. I am enamored of the blue eyed arch of heaven

I did not **make** this demand for a more thorough sympathy. This is not my idiosyncrasy or disease. He that made the demand will answer the demand.

My blood flows as slowly as the waves of my native Musketaquid –yet they reach the ocean sooner perchance than those of the Nashua.

Already the golden-rod is budded, but I can make no haste for that.



July 19, Saturday: 2 Pm The weather is warm & dry –& many leaves curl. There is a threatening cloud in the SW. The farmers dare not spread their hay. It remains cocked in the fields. As you walk in the woods now a days the flies striking against your hat sound like rain drops. The stump or root fences on the Corner road




64. William M. White's version is:

*Methinks my seasons revolve more slowly  
Than those of nature;  
I am differently timed.  
I am contented.*

*This rapid revolution of nature,  
Even of nature in me,  
Why should it hurry me?*

*Let a man step to the music which he hears,  
However measured.  
Is it important that I should mature  
As soon as an apple tree?  
Aye, as soon as an oak?*



remind me of fossil remains of mastodons &c exhumed and bleached in sun & rain. To day I met with the first orange flower of autumn— What means this doubly torrid—this Bengal tint— Yellow took sun enough—but this is the fruit of a dogday sun. The year has but just produced it. Here is the Canada thistle in bloom visited by butterflies & bees. The butterflies have swarmed within these few days especially about the milkweed's. The swamp pink still fills the air with its perfume in swamps & by the causeways—though it is far gone. The wild rose still scatters its petals over the leaves of neighboring plants. The wild morning glory or bind-weed with its delicate red & white blossoms— I remember it ever as a goblet full of purest morning air & sparkling with dew. showing the dew point—winding round itself for want of other support— It grows by the Hubbard bridge causeway near the Angelica. The cherry birds [Cedar Waxwing  *Bombycilla cedrorum*] are making their seringo sound as they flit past. They soon find out the locality of the cherry trees. And beyond the bridge there is a golden rod partially blossomed. Yesterday it was spring & to-morrow it will be autumn— Where is the summer then? First came the St Johns wort & now the golden rod to admonish us. I hear too a cricket amid these stones under the blackberry vines—singing as in the fall. Ripe blackberries are multiplying. I see the red-spotted berries of the small solomons seal in my path. I notice in the decayed end of an oak post that the silver grain is not decayed—but remains sound in thin flakes alternating with the decayed portions, & giving the whole a honey-combed look.— Such an object supramundane—as even a swallow  may descend to light on—a dry mullein stalk for instance— I see that hens too follow the cows feeding near the house like the cowtroopial [Brown-headed Cowbird  *Molothrus ater*]—& for the same object. They cannot so well scare up insects for themselves. This is the dog the cowbird uses to start its insect game



I see yellow butterflies in pairs pursuing each other—a rod or two into the air & now as he had bethought himself of the danger of being devoured by a passing birds he descends with a zig zag flight to the earth & the other follows. The black huckleberries are now so thick among the green ones that they no longer incur suspicion of being worm eaten. When formerly I was looking about to see what I could do for a living—some sad experience in conforming to the wishes of friends being fresh in my mind to tax my ingenuity—I thought often & seriously of picking huckleberries—that surely I could do, and its small profits might suffice. So little capital it required—so little distraction from my wonted thoughts I foolishly thought— While my acquaintances went unhesitatingly into trade or the professions I thought of this occupation as most like theirs. ranging the hills all summer to pick the berries which came in my way which I might carelessly dispose of—so to keep the flocks of king Admetus— My greatest skill has been to want but little. I also dreammed that I might gather the wild herbs—or carry evergreens to such villagers as love to be reminded of the woods & so find my living got. But I have since learned that trade curses everything it handles. & though you **trade** in messages from heaven—the whole curse of trade attaches to the business.

The wind rises more & more The river & the pond are blacker than the threatening cloud in the south— The thunder mutters in the distance— The surface of the water is slightly rippled— Where the pads grow is a light green border— The woods roar. Small white clouds are hurrying across the dark blue ground of the storm—which rests on all the woods of the South horizon But still no rain now for some hours as if the clouds were dissipated as fast as they reached this atmosphere.

The barberry's fruit hangs yellowish green— What pretty covers the thick bush makes so large & wide & drooping. The *Fringilla junco*<sup>65</sup> sings still in spite of the coming tempest which perchance only threatens The wood chuck is a good native of the soils. The distant hills side & the grain fields & pastures are spotted yellow or white with his recent burrows—and the small mounds remain for many years Here where the clover has lately been cut, see what a yellow mound is brought to light!

Heavily hangs the Common Yellow lily *Lilium Canadense* in the meadows— In the thick alder copses by the causeway side I find the *Lysimachia hybrida*. Here is the *Lactuca Sanguinea* with its runcinate leaves—tall-stem & pale crimson ray. And that green stemmed one higher than my head resembled the last in its leaves—is perchance the “tall lettuce or Fire weed. Can that fine white flowered meadow plant with the leaf be a *Thalictrum*?

BARBERRY

65. [Thoreau](#) could not have intended here the bird then known as *Fringilla* or *F. or linaria* (**Common Redpoll**  *Carduelis flammea*), for this record is for the month of July and that bird winters in Concord and summers in the far north. He must have intended the bird then known as *junco* (**Field Sparrow**  *Spizella pusilla*). So, can anyone explain why he wrote *Fringilla junco*, other than as a mere slip of the pen?



SIK'AR

PLANTS

**1852**

Matches were introduced, making the smoking of [tobacco](#) much more convenient.

A young tobacco farmer of [Durham, North Carolina](#), James Buchanan “Buck” Duke, built a modest, two-story home for himself and his new bride. The house, and the log structure which served as a “tobacco factory” after the Civil War, may still be seen at the Duke Homestead Museum.

**1853**

During their campaign in the Crimea, British soldiers were learning how cheap and convenient were the “Papirossi” [cigarettes](#) of the French and Turkish soldiers, in comparison with other forms of [tobacco](#), and so they would be bringing the practice of smoking cigarettes back home with them to England — those of them, of course, who would be returning home.

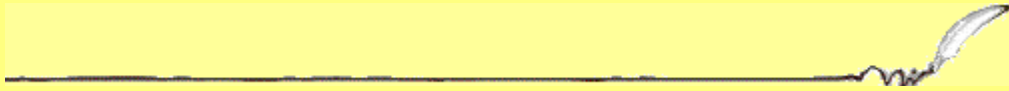


## PLANTS

SIK'AR

January/March: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

*Dr Kirkland & Professor Brazer mutually resolved one day to break off smoking for six months. Soon after, they met at a dinner party at Col. P.'s, where all appointments were excellent. Segars were offered, & Brazer declined them. Dr Kirkland lighted one, & after smoking with much content for a time, he said to nobody in particular, as he puffed away the smoke – It is doubtful, whether we show more want of self control in breaking good resolutions, or self-conceit in keeping them.*



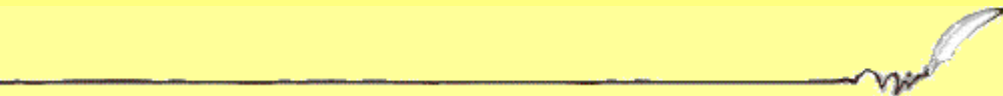
CIGARS

*Walk with Ellery to Lincoln. Benzoin lauris, rich beautiful shrub in this dried up country. Particolored warbler. E. laughed at Nuttall's description of birds: "on the top of a high tree the bird pours all day the lays of affection," &c. Affection! Why what is it? a few feathers, with a hole at one end, & a point at the other, & with a pair of wings: affection! Why just as much affection as there is in that lump of peat.*

*Thoreau is at home; why he has got to maximize the minimum; that will take him some days.*

*We went to Bear Hill & had a fine outlook. Descending E. got sight of some labourers in the field below. Look at them, he said, those four! for daemoniacs scratching in their cell of pain! Live for the hour. Just as much as any man has done, or laid up, in any way, unfits him for conversation. He has done something, makes him good for boys, but spoils him for the hour. That's the good of Thoreau, that he puts his whole sublunary stock into the last quarter of an hour; carries his whole stock under his arm.*

*At home, I found H.T. himself who complained of [A.H.] Clough [a poet] or somebody that he or they recited to every one at table the paragraph just read by him & then by them in the latest newspaper & studiously avoided every thing private. I should think he was complaining of one H.D.T.*



1854

In London, the tobacconist Philip Morris began making his own [cigarettes](#). Old Bond Street would soon become a center for this retail traffic.

Friedrich Tiedemann authored the 1st exhaustive treatment on [tobacco](#).

The hoop skirt came back into fashion, and was usually fashioned of graduated steel wires covered with a woven cotton netting held together by perpendicular straps of broad tape. Lady Dorothy Neville came too close to a drawing-room fireplace wearing one of these contraptions, one evening after dinner – unfortunately while the gentlemen were still finishing their [cigars](#) and before they came to rejoin the ladies – and when her dress caught fire none of the other ladies could come to her assistance because of their own skirts,

and in an instant I was in a blaze, but I kept my presence of mind, and rolling myself in the hearth rug by some means or other eventually put out the flames.



Speaking of setting things on fire, in this year William Gates, Jr. patented a machine for mechanizing the handling of the frames that hold match splints during dipping, thus further reducing the manual labor ingredient in the mass manufacture of matches.<sup>66</sup>

WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, DESCRIPTION OF HUGH QUAIL: Before his house was pulled down, when his comrades avoided it as “an unlucky castle,” I visited it. There lay his old clothes curled up by use, as if they were himself, upon his raised plank bed. His pipe lay broken on the hearth, instead of a bowl broken at the fountain. The last could never have been the symbol of his death, for he confessed to me that, though he had heard of Brister’s Spring, he had never seen it; and soiled cards, kings of diamonds spades and hearts, were scattered over the floor.

WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, MENTION OF PIPE SMOKING: Sometimes, notwithstanding the snow, when I returned from my walk at evening I crossed the deep tracks of a woodchopper leading from my door, and found his pile of whittlings on the hearth, and my house filled with the odor of his pipe.

WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, MENTION OF CIGAR AND PIPE SMOKING: When I return to my house I find that visitors have been there and left their cards, either a bunch of flowers, or a wreath of evergreen, or a name in pencil on a yellow walnut leaf or a chip. They who

66. Would this Bill Gates the Match King be an ancestor of **the** Bill Gates, richest nerd in the world, biggest benefactor in the world?





come rarely to the woods take some little piece of the forest into their hands to play with by the way, which they leave, either intentionally or accidentally. One has peeled a willow wand, woven it into a ring, and dropped it on my table. I could always tell if visitors had called in my absence, either by the bended twigs or grass, or the print of their shoes, and generally of what sex or age or quality they were by some slight trace left, as a flower dropped, or a bunch of grass plucked and thrown away, even as far off as the railroad, half a mile distant, or by the lingering odor of a cigar or pipe. Nay, I was frequently notified of the passage of a traveller along the highway sixty rods off by the scent of his pipe.

THE MAINE WOODS “CHESUNCOOK,” MENTION OF PIPE SMOKING: Late at night the other two Indians came home from moose-hunting, not having been successful, aroused the fire again, lighted their pipes, smoked awhile, took something strong to drink, and ate some moose-meat, and, finding what room they could, lay down on the moose-hides; and thus we passed the night, two white men and four Indians, side by side.

THE MAINE WOODS “THE ALLEGASH AND EAST BRANCH,” MENTIONS OF PIPE SMOKING: As for the Indian, all the baggage he had, beside his axe and gun, was a blanket, which he brought loose in his hand. However, he had laid in a store of tobacco and a new pipe for the excursion.... A tipsy Canadian asked him at a tavern, in a drawling tone, if he smoked, to which he answered with an indefinite “yes.” “Won’t you lend me your pipe a little while?” asked the other. He replied, looking straight by the man’s head, with a face singularly vacant to all neighboring interests, “Me got no pipe”; yet I had seen him put a new one, with a supply of tobacco, into his pocket that morning.... Next, pipes are lit by those who smoke, and veils are donned by those who have them, and we hastily examine and dry our plants, anoint our faces and hands, and go to bed, — and — the mosquitoes.... The Indian would not use our wash to protect his face and hands, for fear that it would hurt his skin, nor had he any veil; he, therefore, suffered from insects now, and throughout this journey, more than either of us. I think that he suffered more than I did, when neither of us was protected. He regularly tied up his face in his handkerchief, and buried it in his blanket, and he now finally lay down on the sand between us and the fire for the sake of the smoke, which he tried to make enter his blanket about his face, and for the same purpose he lit his pipe and breathed the smoke into his blanket.... When we arrived, he was smoking his pipe, and said that he had passed a pretty comfortable night, though it was rather cold, on account of the dew.... My companion having lost his pipe asked the Indian if he could not make him one. “O yer,” said he, and in a minute rolled up one



of birch-bark, telling him to wet the bowl from time to time.... Conversation flagged. I would only hear the Indian, perhaps, ask my companion, "You load my pipe?" He said that he smoked alder bark, for medicine.

"A YANKEE IN CANADA", COMMENTS ABOUT PIPES: His was the hardest French to understand of any we had heard yet, for there was a great difference between one speaker and another, and this man talked with a pipe in his mouth beside, a kind of tobacco French.... While my companion smoked a pipe and *parlez-vous*'d with one party, I parleyed and gesticulated to another.... Kalm said: "Though many nations imitate the French customs, yet I observed, on the contrary, that the French in Canada, in many respects, follow the customs of the Indians, with whom they converse every day. They make use of the tobacco-pipes, shoes, garters, and girdles of the Indians. They follow the Indian way of making war with exactness; they mix the same things with tobacco (he might have said that both French and English learned the use itself of this weed of the Indian); they make use of the Indian bark-boats, and row them in the Indian way; they wrap square pieces of cloth round their feet instead of stockings; and have adopted many other Indian fashions."



## XI

LATER VICTORIAN DAYS<sup>67</sup>

When life was all a summer day,  
And I was under twenty,  
Three loves were scattered in my way —  
And three at once are plenty.  
Three hearts, if offered with a grace,  
One thinks not of refusing.  
The task in this especial case  
Was only that of choosing.  
I knew not which to make my pet —  
My pipe, cigar, or cigarette.  
Henry S. Leigh.

The social history of smoking in later Victorian days is marked by the triumph of the cigarette. The introduction of the cigar, as we have seen, brought about the revival of smoking, from the point of view of fashion, in the early decades of the nineteenth century; and the coming of the cigarette completed what the cigar had begun.

The earliest references for the word "cigarette" in the Oxford Dictionary are dated 1842 and 1843, but both refer to the smoking of cigarettes abroad — in France and Italy. The 1843 quotation is from a book by Mrs. Romer, in which she says — "The beggars in the streets have paper cigars (called cigarettes) in their mouths." The wording here would seem to show that cigarettes were not then familiar to English people.

Laurence Oliphant, who was both a man of letters and a man of fashion, is generally credited with the introduction into English society of the cigarette; but it is difficult to suggest even an approximate date. Writing from Boulogne to W.H. Wills in September 1854, Dickens says, "I have nearly exhausted the cigarettes I brought here," and proceeds to give directions for some to be sent to him from London. This is the earliest reference I have found to cigarette-smoking in England; but it is possible that by "cigarettes" Dickens meant not what we now know as such, but simply small cigars. Mr. H.M. Hyndman, in his "Record of an Adventurous Life," says that when he was living as a pupil, about the year 1860, with the Rector of Oxburgh, his fellow-pupils included "Edward Abbott of Salonica, who, poor fellow, was battered to pieces by the Turks with iron staves torn from palings at the beginning of the Turco-Servian War. Cigarette-smoking, now so popular, was then almost unknown, and Abbott, who always smoked the finest Turkish tobacco which he rolled up into cigarettes for himself, was the first devotee of this habit I encountered."

Fairholt, in his book on "Tobacco," which was published in 1859, mentions cigarettes as being smoked in Spain and South and Central America, but makes no reference to their use in this

67. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



country.

The late Lady Dorothy Nevill said that although cigarettes are a modern invention, she believed that they already existed in a slightly different form at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "when old Peninsular officers used to smoke tobacco rolled up tight in a piece of paper. They called this a *papelito*, and I fancy it was much the same thing as a cigarette." But if this were so, the habit must have died out long before the cigarette, as we now know it, came into vogue.

It may fairly be concluded, I think, that although about 1860 there may have been an occasional cigarette-smoker in England, like the Edward Abbott of Mr. Hyndman's reminiscences, yet it was not until a little later date that the small paper-enclosed rolls of tobacco became at all common among Englishmen; and it is quite likely that the credit (or discredit, as the reader pleases) of bringing them into general, and especially into fashionable, use, has been rightly given to Laurence Oliphant.

Cigarettes were perhaps in fashion in 1870. In "Puck," which was published in that year, Ouida – who is hardly an unimpeachable authority on the ways and customs of fashionable folk, though she loved to paint fancy pictures of their sayings and doings – pictures the Row: "the most fashionable lounge you have, but it is a Republic for all that." There, she says, "could Bill Jacobs lean against a rail, with a clay-pipe in his mouth, and a terrier under his arm, close beside the Earl of Guilliadene, with his cigarette and his eye-glass, and his Poole-cut habiliments."

Thirty years or more ago the late Andrew Lang wrote an article entitled "Enchanted Cigarettes," which began – "To dream our literary projects, Balzac says, is like 'smoking enchanted cigarettes,' but when we try to tackle our projects, to make them real, the enchantment disappears – we have to till the soil, to sow the weed, to gather the leaves, and then the cigarettes must be manufactured, while there may be no market for them after all. Probably most people have enjoyed the fragrance of these cigarettes and have brooded over much which they will never put on paper. Here are some of 'the ashes of the weeds of my delight' – memories of romances whereof no single line is written, or is likely to be written." What Balzac said in his "La Cousine Bette" was – "Penser, rêver, concevoir de belles œuvres est une occupation délicieuse. C'est fumer des cigares enchantés, c'est mener la vie de la courtisane occupée à sa fantaisie." Balzac's cigars became cigarettes in Lang's fantasy. The French novelist seems to have been one of those who praised tobacco without using it much himself. In his "Illusions Perdues" Carlos Herrera, who was Vautrin, says to Lucien, whom he meets on the point of suicide: "Dieu nous a donné le tabac pour endormir nos passions et nos douleurs." M.A. Le Breton, however, in his book on Balzac – "L'Homme et L'Œuvre" – says: "Il ne se soutient qu'à force de café," though he would sit working at his desk for twenty-five hours running.

About the time that Lang's article was written, Sir F.C. Burnand's burlesque, "Bluebeard" was produced at the Gaiety Theatre. In those days a certain type of young man, since known



by many names, including the present day "nut," was called a "masher"; and Burnand's burlesque included a duet with the refrain:

We are mashers, we are,  
As we smoke our cigar  
And crawl along, never too quick;  
We are mashers, you bet,  
With the light cigarette  
And the quite irreproachable stick.

Nowadays the cigarette is in such universal use, that it would be impossible thus to associate it with any particular type of man, sane or inane.

The late Bishop Mandell Creighton, of London, was an incessant smoker of cigarettes. Mr. Herbert Paul, in his paper on the Bishop, says that those who went to see him at Fulham on a Sunday afternoon always found him, if they found him at all, "leisurely, chatty, hospitable, and apparently without a care in the world. There was the family tea-table, and there were the eternal cigarettes. The Bishop must have paid a fortune in tobacco-duty." There is a side view of another tobacco-lover in the "Note-Books" of Samuel Butler, the author of "Erewhon." Creighton, after reading Butler's "Alps and Sanctuaries" had asked the author to come and see him. Butler was in doubt whether or not to go, and consulted his clerk, Alfred, on the matter. That wise counsellor asked to look at the Bishop's letter, and then said: "I see, sir, there is a crumb of tobacco in it; I think you can go."

Apart from cigarette-smoking, however, the use of tobacco grew steadily during the later Victorian period. In "Mr. Punch's Pocket-Book" for 1878 there was a burlesque dialogue between uncle and nephew entitled "Cupid and 'Baccy." The uncle thinks the younger men smoke too much, and declares that tobacco "has destroyed the susceptibility, which in my time made youngsters fall in love, as they often did, with a girl without a penny. No fellow can fall in love when he has continually a pipe in his mouth; and if he ever feels inclined to when it would be imprudent, why he lights his pipe, and very soon smokes the idea of such folly out of his head. Not so when I was of your age. Besides a few old farmers, churchwardens, and overseers, and such, nobody then ever smoked but labourers and the lower orders – cads as you now say. Smoking was thought vulgar. Young men never smoked at all. To smoke in the presence of a lady was an inconceivable outrage; yet now I see you and your friends walking alongside of one another's sisters, smoking a short pipe down the street." "The girls like it," says Nepos. "In my time," replies Avunculus, "young ladies would have fainted at the bare suggestion of such an enormity." The dialogue ends as follows:

"Nepos (*producing short clay*). See here, Uncle. This pipe is almost coloured. How long do you think I have had it?

"Avunculus. Can't imagine.

"Nepos. Only three weeks.

"Avunculus. Good boy!"



In the same "Pocket-Book" one of the ideals of a wife by a bachelor is – "To approve of smoking all over the house"; while one of the ideals of a husband by a spinster is – "Not to smoke, or use a latch-key." Mr. Punch's prelections, of course, are not to be taken too seriously. They all necessarily have the exaggeration of caricature; but at the same time they are all significant, and for the social historian are invaluable.

Tobacco-smoking was advancing victoriously all along the line. Absurd old conventions and ridiculous restrictions had to give way or were broken through in every direction. The compartments for smokers on railway trains, at first provided sparsely and grudgingly, became more and more numerous. The practice of smoking out of doors, which the early Victorians held in particular abhorrence, became common – at least so far as cigars and cigarettes were concerned. Lady Dorothy Nevill, whose memory covered so large a part of the nineteenth century, said, in the "Leaves" from her note-book which was published in 1907, that to smoke in Hyde Park, even up to comparatively recent years, was looked upon as absolutely unpardonable; while smoking anywhere with a lady would, in the earlier days, have been classed as an almost disgraceful social crime. The first gentleman of whom Lady Dorothy heard as having been seen smoking a cigar in the Park was the Duke of Sutherland, and the lady who told her spoke of it as if she had been present at an earthquake! Pipes were (and are) still looked at askance in many places where the smoking of cigars and cigarettes is freely allowed, and fashion frowned on the pipe in street or Park.

Of course, what one might do in the country and what one might do in town were two quite different things. The following story was told nearly twenty years ago of the late Duke of Devonshire. An American tourist began talking one day to a quiet-looking man who was smoking outside an inn on the Chatsworth estate, and, taking the man for the inn-keeper, expressed his admiration of the Duke of Devonshire's domain. "Quite a place, isn't it?" said the American. "Yes, a pleasant place enough," returned the Englishman. "The fellow who owns it must be worth a mint of money," said the American, through his cigar-smoke. "Yes, he's comfortably off," agreed the other. "I wonder if I could get a look at the old chap," said the stranger, after a short silence; "I should like to see what sort of a bird he is." Puff, puff, went the English cigar, and then said the English voice, trying hard to control itself: "If you" – puff – "look hard" – puff, puff – "in this direction, you" – puff, puff – "can tell in a minute." "You, you!" faltered the American, getting up, "why, I thought you were the landlord!" "Well, so I am," said the Duke, "though I don't perform the duties." "I stay here," he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "to be looked at."

Among the chief strongholds of the old ideas and prejudices were some of the clubs. At the Athenæum the only smoking-room used to be a combined billiard-and smoking-room in the basement. It was but a few years ago that an attic story was added to the building, and smokers can now reach more comfortable quarters by means of a lift put in when the alterations were made in 1900. This new smoking-room is a very handsome, largely book-lined



apartment. At the end of the room is a beautiful marble mantelpiece of late eighteenth century Italian work. At White's even cigars had not been allowed at all until 1845; and when, in 1866, some of the younger members wished to be allowed to smoke in the drawing-room, there was much perturbation, the older members bitterly opposing the proposal. "A general meeting was held to decide the question," says Mr. Ralph Nevill, in his "London Clubs," "when a number of old gentlemen who had not been seen in the club for years made their appearance, stoutly determined to resist the proposed desecration. 'Where do all these old fossils come from?' inquired a member. 'From Kensal Green,' was Mr. Alfred Montgomery's reply. 'Their hearses, I understand, are waiting to take them back there.'" The motion for the extension of the facilities for smoking was defeated by a majority of twenty-three votes, and as an indirect result the Marlborough Club was founded. The late King Edward, at that time Prince of Wales, is said to have sympathized strongly with the defeated minority at White's, and to have interested himself in the foundation of the Marlborough; where, "for the first time in the history of West End Clubland, smoking, except in the dining-room, was everywhere allowed." By "smoking" is no doubt here meant everything but pipes, which were not considered gentlemanly even at the Garrick Club at the beginning of the present century. The late Duc d'Aumale was a social pioneer in pipe-smoking. His caricature in "Vanity Fair" represents him with a pipe in his mouth, although he is wearing an opera-hat, black frock-coat buttoned up, and a cloak.

By the end of the nineteenth century the snuff-box which once upon a time stood upon the mantelpiece of every club, had disappeared. The habit of snuffing had long been falling into desuetude. The cigar dealt the snuff-box its death-blow and the cigarette was chief mourner at its funeral.

As in other periods, men of letters and artists ignored the social prejudices and conventions about tobacco, and laughed at the artificial distinctions drawn between cigars and pipes. It is said that the late Sir John Millais smoked a clay pipe in his carriage when he was part of the first Jubilee procession of Queen Victoria – a performance, if it took place, which would certainly have horrified her tobacco-hating Majesty. Tennyson and his friends smoked their pipes as they had always done – and old-fashioned clay pipes too. Sir Norman Lockyer, referring to a period about 1867, mentions Monday evenings in his house which were given up to friends "who came in, *sans cérémonie*, to talk and smoke. Clays from Broseley, including 'churchwardens' and some of larger size (Frank Buckland's held an ounce of tobacco) were provided, and the confirmed smokers (Tennyson, an occasional visitor, being one of them) kept their pipes, on which the name was written, in a rack for future symposia."

Of the other great Victorian poets Morris was a pipe-smoker, and so was Rossetti. Browning also smoked, but not, I think, a pipe. Swinburne, on the other hand, detested tobacco, and expressed himself on the subject with characteristic extravagance and vehemence – "James I was a knave, a tyrant, a fool, a liar, a coward. But I love him, I worship him, because he slit the throat



of that blackguard Raleigh who invented this filthy smoking!" Professor Blackie, in a letter to his wife, remarked: "The first thing I said on entering the public room was – 'What a delightful thing the smell of tobacco is, in a warm room on a wet night!' ... I gave my opinion with great decision that tobacco, whisky and all such stimulants or sedatives, had their foundation in nature, could not be abolished, or rather should not, and must be content with the check of a wise regulation. Even pious ladies were fond of tea, which, taken in excess, was worse for the nerves than a glass of sherry."

One of the most distinguished of Victorian men of letters, John Ruskin, was a great hater of tobacco. Notwithstanding this, he sent Carlyle – an inveterate smoker – a box of cigars in February 1865. In his letter of acknowledgment Carlyle wrote – "Dear Ruskin, you have sent me a magnificent Box of Cigars; for which what can I say in answer? It makes me both sad and glad. *Ay de mi*  
'We are such stuff,  
Gone with a puff –  
Then think, and smoke Tobacco!'"

In the later years of his life, spent at Brantwood, Ruskin's guests found that smoking was not allowed even after dinner.

Another and greater Victorian, Gladstone, was also a non-smoker. He is said, however, on one occasion, when King Edward as Prince of Wales dined with him in Downing Street, to have toyed with a cigarette out of courtesy to his illustrious guest.

It was in the latter years of his life that Tennyson told Sir William Harcourt one day that his morning pipe after breakfast was the best in the day – an opinion, by the way, to which many less distinguished smokers would subscribe – when Sir William laughingly replied, "The earliest pipe of half-awakened bards."

The companion burlesque line, "The earliest pipe of half-awakened *birdseye*" appears, with one from Homer and one from Virgil, at the head of Arthur Sidgwick's poem in Greek Iambics, "+T?BAKCH?," in "Echoes from the Oxford Magazine," 1890.

Sidgwick's praise of tobacco, classically draped in Greek verse, occasionally of the macaronic order, is delightful. He hails the pipe as the work of Pan, and the divine smoke as the best and most fragrant of gifts – healer of sorrow, companion in joy, rest for the toilers, drink for the thirsty, warmth for the cold, coolness in the heat, and a cheap feast for those who waste away through hunger. How is it, he says, that through so many ages men, who have need of thee, have not seen thy nature? Often, he continues – the verses may be roughly translated – often, when I am in Alpine solitudes, tied in a chain to a few companions, clinging to the rope, while barbarians lead the way, carrying in my hands an ice-axe (+krustallopl? chersin axin?pher?, ), and breathless crawling up the snow-covered plain – then, when groaning I reach the summit (either pulled up or on foot), how have I rested, on my back on the rocks, charming my soul with thy divine clouds! He goes on in burlesque strain to speak of the joys of tobacco when he lies in idleness by the streams in breathless summer, comforted by a bath just taken, or when in





the middle of the night he is worn out by revising endless exercises, underlining the mistakes in red and allotting marks, or weighed down by the wise men of old – Thucydides, Sophocles, Euripides, the ideas of Plato, wiles of Pindar, fearfully corrupt strophe of chorus, wondrous guesses of Teutons and fancies of philologists, when men swoon in the inexplicable wanderings of the endless examination of Homer, when the brain reels among such toil – then he hails the pipe, help of mortals, and hastens to kindle sacrifices at its altars and rejoices as he tastes its smoke. Let some one, he exclaims, bring Bryant and May's fire, which strikes a light only if rubbed on the box –

+enenkat?s pur bruantoma?n+ (+kausai d' adunaton m?uchi pros kist?ribeu+)

and taking the best and blackest bowl, and putting on Persian slippers, sitting on the softest couch, I will light my pipe, with my feet on the hearth, and I will cast aside all mortal care!

Nor must the delightful verses by "J.K.S." be forgotten, in which the author of "Lapsus Calami" sings of the "Grand Old Pipe" –

And I'm smoking a pipe which is fashioned  
Like the face of the Grand Old Man;

and the quaint similarity or comparison between the pipe and Gladstone, the "Grand Old Man" when "Lapsus Calami" appeared in 1888, is maintained throughout –

Grows he black in his face with his labours?  
Well, so does my Grand Old Pipe.

For the sake of its excellent savour,  
For the many sweet smokes of the past  
My pipe keeps its hold on my favour,  
Tho' now it is blackening fast.

But although many pipes were smoked at the Universities, there were occasionally to be found odd survivals of old prejudices. Dr. Shipley, in his recent memoir of John Willis Clark, the Cambridge Registrary, says that even in the 'seventies of the last century there was an elderly Don at Cambridge who once rebuked a Junior Fellow, who was smoking a pipe in the Wilderness, with the remark, "No Christian gentleman smokes a pipe, or if he does he smokes a cigar." The perpetrator of this bull was the same parson who married late in life, and returning to his church after a honeymoon of six weeks, publicly thanked God "for *three* weeks of unalloyed connubial bliss."

1855

In England in this year, the bull was chosen as the logo for Colman's Mustard because their mustard preparation had a strong flavor (later this identification of strength with bullness would be picked up by processors of chewing [tobacco](#) and [Durham, North Carolina](#) would come to be known as the "Bull City," the home of the "Bull Durham" brand — because they had labored under the impression that Colman's Mustard was being produced at Durham in England when actually it was being produced at Norfolk).



Well, what's in a name?

September 23, Sunday: From [New Bedford, Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) (pictured below in profile because of his problem with one eye) wrote to [Henry Thoreau](#), mentioning his use of the [pipe](#) and adding that the [tobacco](#) involved had (allegedly) not been grown by [slaves](#):

*How charmingly your Channing, & I dove-tailed together- Few men such smoke pipes as we did -the real Calumet- the tobacco that we smoked was free labour produce.*

**ELLERY CHANNING**





Brooklawn, Sunday p.m., Sept. 23d, 1855.

Dear Thoreau,-

Here am I at home again seated in my Shanty. My mind is constantly reverting to the pleasant little visit I made you, and so I thought I would sit down and write you.

I regret exceedingly that I was so interrupted in my enjoyment while at Concord by my "aches and pains." My head troubled me until I had got within about 20 miles of home, when the pain passed off and my spirits began to revive, I hope that your walks, &c, with me will not harm you and that you will soon regain your usual health and strength, which I trust the cooler weather will favor; would advise you not to doctor, but just use your own good sense. I should have insisted more on your coming on with me had I not felt so ill and in such actual pain the day I left-but I want you to come before the weather gets uncomfortably cool.

I feel much your debtor, for through you and your Walden I have found my hopes and strength in those matters which I had before found none to sympathize with. You have more than any other to me discovered the true secret of living comfortably in this world, and I hope more and more to be able to put it into practice, in the mean time you will be able to extend your pity and charity. You are the only "millionaire" among my acquaintance. I have heard of people being "independently rich," but you are the only one I have ever had the honor of knowing.

How charmingly you, Channing, and I dovetailed together! Few mere smoke such pipes as we did-the real Calumet-the tobacco that we smoked was free labor produce. I haven't lost sight of Solon Hosmer, the wisest looking man in Concord, and a real "feelosopher"! I want you to see him and tell him not to take down the old house, where the feelosofers met. I think I should like to have the large chamber, for an occasional sojourn to Concord. It might be easily tinkered up so as to be a comfortable roost for a feelosofer-a few old chairs, a table, bed, &c, would be all-sufficient, then you and C. could come over in your punt and rusticate. What think of it? In the mean time come down to Brooklawn, and look about with me. As you are a little under the weather, we will make our peregrinations with horse and wagon.

With much regard to Charming and my kind remembrances to your parents and sister, I remain,

P.S.

Please come by Saturday next, as the weather is getting cool. I would like to have Channing to come with you. Please invite him from me. You can wear your old clothes here.

Yours very truly,

D'l Ricketson.

1856

In England during this year and the following one, a running debate about tobacco was going on among the readers of the medical journal, LANCET. The argument ran as much along moral as along medical lines, with little substantiation.



England's first cigarette factory was being opened by a veteran of the Crimean War named Robert Gloag, who was manufacturing a product known as "Sweet Threes."

Henry Peter Brougham's 3-volume *CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EDINBURGH REVIEW* published in London and in Glasgow omitted almost all his papers on Slave Trade, Slavery, Charitable Trusts, and Education simply because they were ancient history. Most of his recommendations had long since been adopted by the Legislature!



In [Waldo Emerson](#)'s *ENGLISH TRAITS*, "First Visit to England": —



From London, on the 5th August, I went to Highgate, and wrote a note to Mr. Coleridge, requesting leave to pay my respects to him. It was near noon. Mr. Coleridge sent a verbal message, that he was in bed, but if I would call after one o'clock, he would see me. I returned at one, and he appeared, a short, thick old man, with bright blue eyes and fine clear complexion, leaning on his cane. He took [snuff](#) freely, which presently soiled his cravat and neat black suit. He asked whether I knew Allston, and spoke warmly of his merits and doings when he knew him in Rome; what a master of the Titianesque he was, &c., &c. He spoke of Dr. Channing. It was an unspeakable misfortune that he should have turned out a Unitarian after all. On this, he burst into a declamation on the folly and ignorance of Unitarianism,— its high unreasonableness; and taking up Bishop Waterland's book, which lay on the table, he read with vehemence two or three pages written by himself in the fly-leaves,— passages, too, which, I believe, are printed in the "Aids to Reflection." When he stopped to take breath, I interposed, that, "whilst I highly valued all his explanations, I was bound to tell him that I was born and bred a Unitarian." "Yes," he said, "I supposed so;" and continued as before. 'It was a wonder, that after so many ages of unquestioning acquiescence in the doctrine of St. Paul,— the doctrine of the Trinity, which was also, according to Philo Judaeus, the doctrine of the Jews before Christ,— this handful of Priestleians should take on themselves to deny it, &c., &c. He was very sorry that Dr. Channing,— a man to whom he looked up,— no, to say that he looked **up** to him would be to speak falsely; but a man whom he looked **at** with so much interest,— should embrace such views. When he saw Dr. Channing, he had hinted to him that

he was afraid he loved Christianity for what was lovely and excellent,— he loved the good in it, and not the true; and I tell you, sir, that I have known ten persons who loved the good, for one person who loved the true; but it is a far greater virtue to love the true for itself alone, than to love the good for itself alone. He (Coleridge) knew all about Unitarianism perfectly well, because he had once been a Unitarian, and knew what quackery it was. He had been called “the rising star of Unitarianism.” He went on defining, or rather refining: ‘The Trinitarian doctrine was realism; the idea of God was not essential, but superessential;’ talked of *trinism* and *tetrakism*, and much more, of which I only caught this, ‘that the will was that by which a person is a person; because, if one should push me in the street, and so I should force the man next me into the kennel, I should at once exclaim, “I did not do it, sir,” meaning it was not my will.’ And this also, ‘that if you should insist on your faith here in England, and I on mine, mine would be the hotter side of the fagot.’



February 1, Friday: On the front page of his newspaper, Frederick Douglass featured an anonymous favorable review of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *THE MAY FLOWER AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS*.



February 1: Our kitten, Min, two-thirds grown, was playing with Sophia’s broom this morning, as she was sweeping the parlor, when she suddenly went into a fit, dashed around the room, and, the door being opened, rushed up two flights of stairs and leaped from the attic window to the ice and snow by the side of the doorstep, —a descent of a little more than twenty feet,— passed round the house and was lost. But she made her

CAT

appearance again about noon, at the window, quite well and sound in every joint, even playful and frisky.

MIN THOREAU

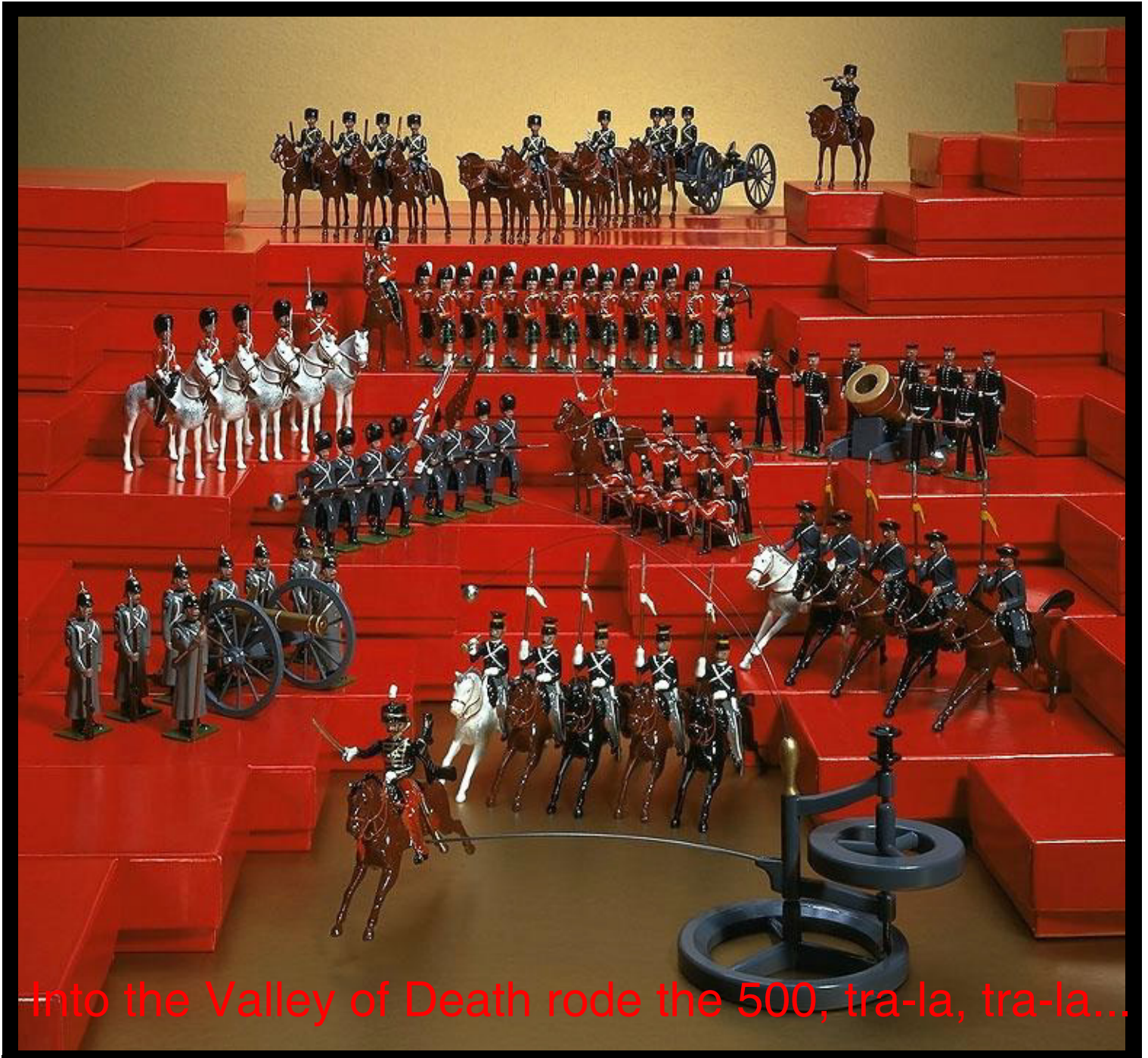




## PLANTS

SIK'AR

The Crimean War between Russia and British-French forces came to an end when, in Vienna, Russia agreed to terms for peace. In London, returning War veterans were introducing the “cigarettes” they had discovered while in Russia.



Into the Valley of Death rode the 500, tra-la, tra-la...

1857

James Buchanan "Buck" Duke was born to Washington "Wash" Duke, an independent farmer who hated the plantation class, opposed slavery, and raised food and a little [tobacco](#).

April 10, Friday: Thoreau noticed among the decorations in [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#)'s shanty a wall-motto from [Horace](#)'s ODES. We note that although he jotted down several such conceits, this stands out as the only one for which it was unnecessary to also register the name of an author.



April 10: D.R.'s Shanty is about half a dozen rods S.W. of his house (which may be one hundred rods from the road), nearly between his house and barn, is 12 x 14 feet, with 7 feet posts, with common pent roof. In building it he directed the carpenter to use western boards and timbers, though some eastern studs (spruce?) were inserted. He had already occupied a smaller shanty at "Woodlee," about a mile S. The roof is shingled, and the sides made of matched boards, and painted a light clay color, with chocolate (?) colored blinds. Within, it is not plastered, and is open to the roof, showing the timbers and rafters, and rough boards and cross-timbers overhead, as if ready for plastering. The door is at the east end, with a small window on each side of it, a similar window on each side of the building, and one at the west end, the latter looking down the garden walk. In front of the last window is a small box stove with a funnel rising to a level with the plate, and there inserted in a small brick chimney which rests on planks. On the south side of the room, against the stove, is a rude settle with a coarse cushion and pillow; on the opposite side a large low desk with some bookshelves above it; on the same side by the window, a small table covered with books; and in the N.E. corner, behind the door, an old-fashioned secretary, its pigeonholes stuffed with papers. On the opposite side as you enter is a place for fuel, which the boy leaves each morning, a place to hang greatcoats. there were two small pieces of carpet on the floor, and R. or one of his guests swept out the Shanty each morning. There was a small kitchen clock hanging in the S.W. corner, and a map of Bristol County behind the settle. The west and N.W. side is well-nigh covered with slips of paper on which are written some sentences or paragraphs from R.'s favorite books. I noticed among the most characteristic Diddin's "Tom Tackle," a translation of Anacreon's *Cicada*, lines celebrating tobacco, Milton's "How charming is divine philosophy," &c., "*Inveni requiem; Spes et Fortuna valet: Nil mihi vobiscum est: laudite nunc alios.*" (Is it Petrarch?) this is also over the door, "*Mors pallida æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turres.*" Some lines of his own in memory of A.J. Downing, "Not to be in a hurry," over the desk, and many other quotations, celebrating retirement, country life, simplicity, humanity, sincerity, &c., &c., from Cowper and other English poets, and similar extracts from newspapers. There were also two or three advertisements of cattle-show exhibitions, and the warning not to kill birds contrary to laws, he being one of the subscribers notified to enforce the act, an advertisement of a steamboat on Lake Winnepiseogee, &c., cards of his business friends. The size of different brains, from "Hall's Journal of Health," and "Take the world Easy." A sheet of blotting paper tacked up, and of Chinese characters from a tea-chest. Also a few small pictures and pencil sketches, the latter commonly caricatures of his visitors or friends, as "The Trojan" ([Channing](#)) and Van Beest; I take the most notice of these particulars because his peculiarities are so commonly unaffected. He has long been accustomed to put these scraps on his walls, and has a basket full somewhere saved from the old Shanty, though there were some quotations which had no right there. I found all his peculiarities faithfully expressed, his humanity, his fear of death, love of retirement, simplicity, &c. The more characteristic books were Bradley's Husbandry, Drake's Indians, Barber's Hist. Coll., Zimmermann on Solitude, Bigelow's Plants of Boston, &c., Farmer's Register of the first Settlers of New England, Marshall's Gardening, Vick's Gardener, John Woolman, The Modern Horse Doctor, Downing's Fruits, &c., The Farmer's Library, Walden, Dymond's Essays, Jobb Scott's Journal, Morton's Memorial, Bailey's Dictionary, Downing's Landscape Gardening, etc., The Task, Nuttall's Ornithology, Morse's Gazetteer, The Domestic Practice of Hydropathy, John Buncler, Dwight's Travels, Virgil, Young's Night Thoughts, History of Plymouth, and other Shanty books.

There was an old gun, hardly safe to fire, said to be loaded with an inextractable charge, and also an old sword over the door; also a tin sign, "D. Ricketson's office" (he having set up for a lawyer once), and a small crumpled horn; there I counted more than 20 rustic canes scattered about, a dozen or 15 pipes of various patterns (mostly the common), two spy-glasses, an open paper of tobacco, an Indian's jaw (dug up), a stuffed Bluejay, and Pine Grosbeak, and a rude Indian stone hatchet, &c., &c. There was a box with fifteen or twenty knives, mostly very large old-fashioned jack-knives, kept for curiosity, occasionally giving one to a boy or friend. A large book full

ANACREON

HORACE

COWPER

BARBER

BIGELOW

A.J. DOWNING

A.J. DOWNING

DWIGHT

PIPE



## PLANTS

SIK'AR

### QUAKERS

of pencil sketches, “to be inspected by whomsomever,” containing mostly sketches of his friends, &c., acquaintances, and himself, of wayfaring men whom he had met, Quakers, &c., &c., and now and then a verse under fence rail, or an old-fashioned house sketched on a peculiar pea-green paper. A pail of water stands behind the door, with a peculiar tin cup for drinking, made in France.

JONATHAN DYMOND  
FRIEND DANIEL RICKETSON

1859

→ The Reverend George Trask published THOUGHTS AND STORIES FOR AMERICAN LADS: UNCLE TOBY'S ANTI-TOBACCO ADVICE TO HIS NEPHEW BILLY BRUCE. In this tract he wrote that “Physicians tell us that twenty thousand or more in our own land are killed by [\[tobacco\]](#) every year.”

1860

→ Although the census for Virginia and [North Carolina](#) listed 348 [tobacco](#) factories, virtually all of these were producing chew. Only six listed smoking tobacco as a side-product being manufactured from the scraps left over from their production of plugs for chewing.

However, during this year was beginning the manufacture of [cigarettes](#) in America. A popular early brand would be named [Bull Durham](#). In order to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the firm, Lorillard was wrapping \$100 bills at random in packages of cigarettes named “Century.”

October 14, Sunday: From [New Bedford](#), [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) wrote to [Henry Thoreau](#), apologizing for bad conduct and blaming it on indulgence in [tobacco](#), which he has discontinued:

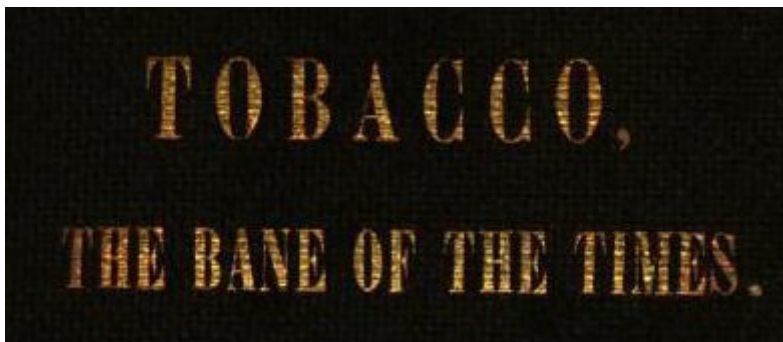
*I am by nature very easily disturbed mentally & physi[cally] and this tendency, or infi[rmity], has been increas[ed] by smoking. I have at last abandoned the use of the weed. It is now about four months since I have made any use whatever of ~~it~~ tobacco & nearly a year since I began to battle seriously with this enemy of my soul's & body's peace. When I was last at Concord, owing to bad sleep and the consequent nervous irritability aggravat[ed] by smoking, I was particularly out of orde[r] and like an intoxicated or crazed man, hardly responsible for my conduct[.] Wherefore if I betrayed any want of kindly or gentlemanly feeling, which I fear may have been the case, I trust you will pardon the same & attribute it to a source not normal with me.*

1861

→ **Cigarettes** having been brought to the US by American tourists from Europe, their use would spread during the Civil War to the point that the 1st federal excise tax, one that would help fund the war, would be one imposed upon their purchase. During our period of civil war, **tobacco** would be given to the soldiers along with their rations in both Northern and Southern armies; many Northerners would in this way be introduced to reliance upon this substance.



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.

**1862**

Partially to deal with the expenses of the US Civil War, the federal Congress established a Commissioner of Internal Revenue. One tax collected would be on [whiskey](#): beginning at \$0.<sup>20</sup> per gallon in 1863, by 1865 the tax would rise to \$2.<sup>00</sup> per gallon. The very 1st federal tax on [tobacco](#) was also instituted. This would yield in total about \$3,000,000 and –since it was benefiting to such a great extent– our federal government would be in no position to notice that the use of this leaf was causing its citizens to develop respiratory and oral cancers.

1863

The federal Congress passed a law requiring manufacturers to use [cigar](#) boxes onto which Internal Revenue Service agents could paste their Civil War excise tax stamps. This marked the beginning not only of cigar boxes but also of "cigar box art." (As a generality, nobody ever can do just one thing.)



In Sumatra, the Dutch businessman Jacobus Nienhuys was creating an Indonesian [tobacco](#) industry.

December 24, Thursday: Agreement concerning admission of [tobacco](#) between the United States of America and Austria-Hungary.

READ THE FULL TEXT

Hannah Cullwick, maid-of-all-work with a middle-class family in London, got up at 4AM to start the [Christmas](#) pudding boiling, went back to bed again until 6AM, and then began to prepare for the 40 people who were coming for dinner. She would work that night until 4AM.

1864

White Burley was first cultivated in the Ohio Valley; its highly absorbent, chlorophyll-deficient new leaf would prove ideal for sweetened chewing [tobacco](#).

LITTLE WOMEN: "A tall figure, all in white with a veil over its face and a lamp in its wasted hand," went on Meg. "It beckoned, gliding noiselessly before him down a corridor as dark and cold as any tomb. Shadowy effigies in armor stood on either side, a dead silence reigned, the lamp burned blue, and the ghostly figure ever and anon turned its face toward him, showing the glitter of awful eyes through its white veil.

They reached a curtained door, behind which sounded lovely music. He sprang forward to enter, but the specter plucked him back, and waved threateningly before him a —”

“Snuffbox,” said Jo, in a sepulchral tone, which convulsed the audience. ““Thankee,’ said the knight politely, as he took a pinch and sneezed seven times so violently that his head fell off. ‘Ha! Ha!’ laughed the ghost, and having peeped through the keyhole at the princesses spinning away for dear life, the evil spirit picked up her victim and put him in a large tin box, where there were eleven other knights packed together without their heads, like sardines, who all rose and began to —”

“Dance a hornpipe,” cut in Fred, as Jo paused for breath, “and, as they danced, the rubbishy old castle turned to a man-of-war in full sail. ‘Up with the jib, reef the tops’l halliards, helm hard a lee, and man the guns!’ roared the captain, as a Portuguese pirate hove in sight, with a flag black as ink flying from her foremast. ‘Go in and win, my hearties!’ says the captain, and a tremendous fight began. Of course the British beat — they always do.”

“No, they don’t!” cried Jo, aside.

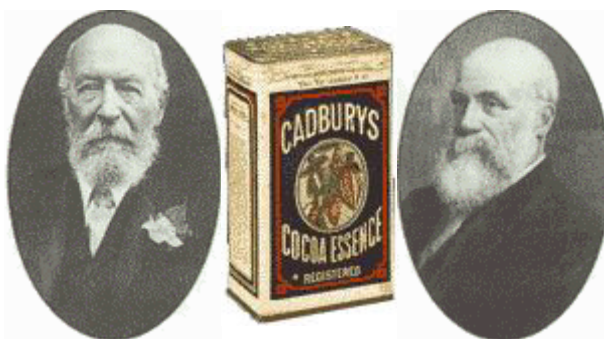
LITTLE WOMEN: “Ha, ha! Never say die, take a pinch of snuff, good-by, good-by!” squalled Polly, dancing on her perch, and clawing at the old lady’s cap as Laurie tweaked him in the rear.

1865

During General William Tecumseh Sherman’s march through Georgia, Union soldiers attracted to the mild, sweet “bright” [tobacco](#) of the South had raided warehouses –including Washington Duke’s– for some chew. Some bright made it all the way back home, and bright would become a rage in the North.

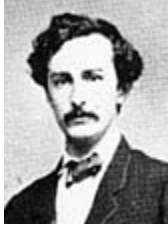
For the following five years the demand for exotic Turkish [cigarettes](#) would be growing in New-York, and therefore skilled European rollers would be being imported by the big-city [tobacco](#) shops.

The [Cadbury](#) Brothers launched their [Cocoa](#) Essence, a new unadulterated product: “Absolutely pure and therefore Best.”



Joseph Dalton Hooker became Director of Kew.

April 26, Wednesday, darkness: John Wilkes Booth, with a broken leg, cornered in a burning Virginia tobacco shed, either shot himself or was shot by a Union soldier. As he was being dragged, near death, out of the shed he looked at his palms and muttered:

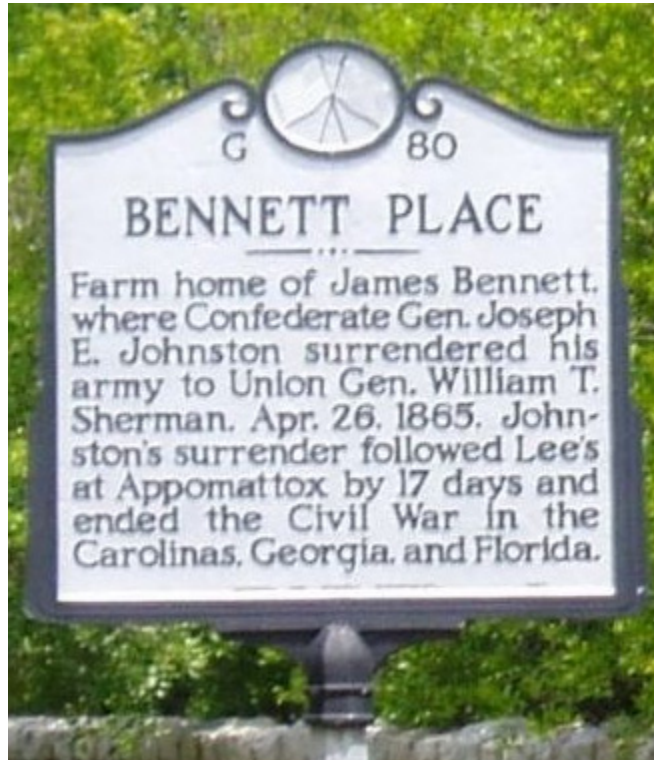


***“Useless ... useless.”***


(Of the nine other people involved in the assassination, four would hang, four would be imprisoned, and one would be acquitted. Even the medic who set his broken leg, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, who could not be said to have had certain knowledge of the identity of his patient, would be packed off to a dreadful military prison with a sentence of 133 years.)



A large number of Confederate soldiers surrendered at Bennett Place outside [Durham, North Carolina](#).



1868

 The British Parliament passed a Railway Bill which mandated smoke-free cars to prevent injury to the lungs of non-smokers of [tobacco](#).

1873

With the success of their chocolate business, the [Cadbury](#) brothers stopped selling tea and coffee and concentrated purely on [chocolate](#).

German tobacconists in Rochester, New York produced 7,000,000 [cigars](#). (By 1883 their production would total 17,000,000.)



SIK'AR

PLANTS

**1875**

In this year in which Georges Bizet's opera, *Carmen*, based on Prosper Merimee's 1845 novel about a cigarette girl in an Andalusian factory, was first being performed, Allen & Ginter's cigarette brands "Richmond Straight Cut No. 1" and "Pet," being manufactured by hand in Richmond VA, begin using picture cards to stiffen the pack. Some themes: "Fifty Scenes of Perilous Occupations," "Flags of All Nations," boxers, actresses, famous battles, etc. Allen and Ginter began to offer a reward of \$75,000 for a successful cigarette-rolling machine. The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company was being founded, not to produce [cigarettes](#) but to produce plugs of chewing [tobacco](#).

**1878**

J.E. Liggett & Brother incorporated as Liggett & Myers Company. By 1885 this would be the world's largest plug [tobacco](#) manufacturer (it wouldn't be making [cigarettes](#) until the 1890s).

In this year trading cards and coupons begin being inserted into [cigarette](#) packs.

1880

Colonel [Francis Hall](#), a botanist and plant collector, had been preparing a volume of botanical and entomological drawings during an expedition to Ecuador, but had been left as yet another bloody corpse after a night of revolution in Quito. His unpublished, unknown manuscript volume was at this point received by Sir Joseph Hooker, and so its illustrations of South American plants, moths, butterflies, spiders, and caterpillars would become available to us.



PLANTS

Farmers began to cure [tobacco](#) using clean hot air rather than the smoky air of charcoal fires, thus producing a milder, more popular form of tobacco.

In this decade more than one sailor out of every four in the [Japanese](#) navy would be developing beriberi — a nutritional disease resulting from insufficient quantities of thiamine. Beriberi had become more common because of the introduction of improved polishing techniques that removed the brown outer layers of the rice



grain in which thiamine occurs. An expanded diet would correct this endemic condition, but not until several years later would C. Eijkman, a Dutch physician working in the East Indies, demonstrate that the older naval diet, based on brown rice, could easily have forestalled the disease.

For decades, German importers gained growing control of markets in natural dye sources. BASF (the Baden Dye and Soda Company) had achieved control of indigo, a dye produced principally in India. By this point, after much work, Adolf von Baeyer and his laboratory had successfully synthesized indigo. The strength of this industry quickly galvanized, and in 1890 German exports of dyes would account for 90% of the world's supply. In 1914 German companies would form a color cartel known as I.G. Farben (*interessen Gemeinschaft Farben*) that would soon expand into the production of fine chemicals and pharmaceuticals.

21-year-old Virginian James Albert Bonsack was granted a patent for his cigarette-rolling machine. This machine would be disregarded by the established cigarette manufacturers because the product was being consumed by gentlemen well able to pay for cigarettes individually hand-rolled by girls who enjoyed the conceit that they had girls performing personal services for them. These manufacturers didn't perceive a downscale growth market. By 1883, however, 27-year-old James Buchanan "Buck" Duke would be leasing the Bonsack machine on a favored contract, and by 1887, once Duke's and Bonsack's mechanics had finished tinkering with the mechanism, each instance of this apparatus would be capable of reliably rolling as many [cigarettes](#) as a work crew of 120 of these girls. The advertising pressures created by the invention of the Bonsack machine would lead not only to the widespread use of cigarettes as America's favored form of [tobacco](#), but to the modern era of mass-market advertising and promotion. During the 1880s, in the USA, the Women's Christian Temperance Movement would be distributing a "Leaflet for Mothers' Meetings" by Lida B. Ingalls titled NARCOTICS, treating of the evils of the tobacco habit and claiming that cigarettes were "doing more to-day to undermine the constitution of our young men and boys than any other one evil." In London during this period, Messrs. Richard Benson and William Hedges would be starting up a competing tobacconist shop near the Philip Morris one.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Here is the US ambassador to Great Britain, none other than James Russell Lowell, as he seemed in this year to a British caricaturist:



1881

The eastern portion of Orange County was combined with the western tip of Wake County to form a new county centered on the growing city of [Durham, North Carolina](#), named of course Durham County.

W. Duke Sons and Company introduced a “Duke of Durham” brand of machine-manufactured cigarette. Duke’s factory alone would be producing 9,800,000 [cigarettes](#), seizing 1.5% of the existing market.<sup>68</sup>

**1883**

A new edition of [Dr. William Andrus Alcott's TOBACCO](#), ITS EFFECTS ON THE HUMAN SYSTEM, PHYSICAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND MORAL:

**TOBACCO,  
ITS EFFECTS ON  
THE HUMAN SYSTEM,  
PHYSICAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND MORAL  
BY  
DR. WILLIAM. A. ALCOTT.**

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**WITH  
NOTES AND ADDITIONS  
BY NELSON SIZER,  
Author of "Forty Years in Phrenology"; "How to Teach,  
or Phrenology in the School-room and the Family";  
"Choice of Pursuits, or What to Do and Why";  
and for more than thirty years Phreno-  
logical Examiner in the office of  
Fowler & Wells**

68. Interestingly, near the mansion of Buck Duke in [Durham, North Carolina](#) was the mansion of [General Julian Shakespeare Carr](#), one of Buck Duke's competitors, the manufacturer of the Bull Durham line of tobacco products — and at this time Carr was in the process of acquiring a protégé of sorts, a teenager by the name of Hann Card-son (1866-1918) or something like that who had run away from his boat family in South [China](#) and gone to sea and made his way to [Boston](#) and who for various interesting reasons was beginning to use the name Soon Chiao-chun or Soon Yao-ju or Charlie Jones Soon. While at Trinity College (Trinity College had not yet relocated to Durham) the yellow young man romanced Ella Carr, white daughter of white Professor O. W. Carr, that college's instructor in Greek and German. When their romance was detected, his yellow ass was abruptly thrown out of the house and out of the college. Charlie found himself enrolled overnight at Vanderbilt University, in Nashville, Tennessee — because that was far away from his Ella. The official explanation was of course pious, as shown by this Methodist Church version of the Soong legend as recounted in the Raleigh [News and Observer](#) in 1936: "Dr. Craven, with whom [Charlie Soon] had many long talks about his missionary career, took the matter up with the members of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church and they advised him that the young Chinese would make more progress at Vanderbilt, where he could at the same time continue his education and receive training for the mission fields through contacts with members of the board and returned missionaries in Nashville." The suitor-reject would go on to sell Bibles and become arguably the richest man in the world. His children Eling, Chingling, Tseven, Mayling, Tseliang, and Tsean would marry well: eventually Charles Soong would have Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek as sons-in-law. You can read about this at the beginning of Sterling Seagrave's [THE SOONG DYNASTY](#) (London: Korgi Books, 1996).

[SOONG DYNASTY](#)



**PLANTS**

**SIK'AR**

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SIK'AR

PLANTS

## PREFACE

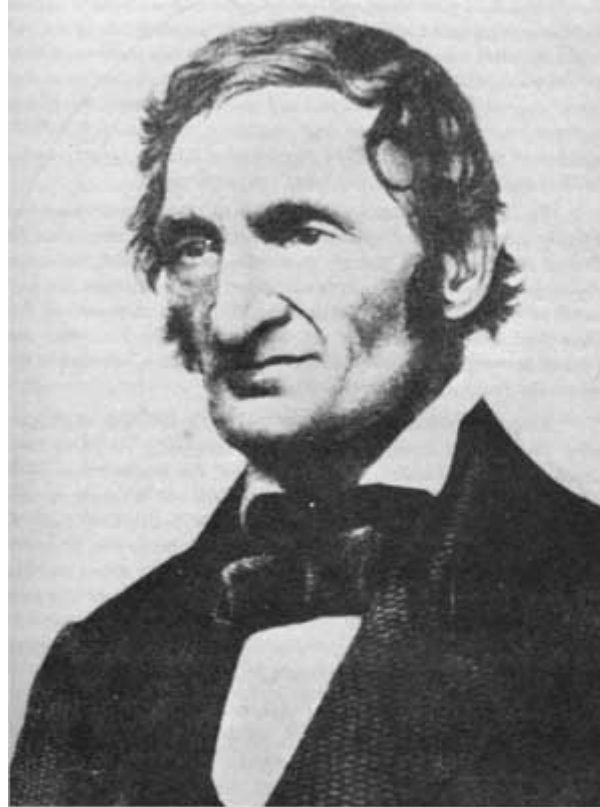
This work of Dr. Alcott has had a wide circulation, and has saved thousands from forming a bad habit and reclaimed many who were slaves to it. He was one of the early and earnest writers on this much needed reform, but since his day, new phases of the habit have appeared: – notably, that of the cigarette, the worst form of the habit, enticing to ruin of growth, health, and morals millions of children and youth. With new devices for dissipation, new means are required for reform. Fifty years ago few used tobacco before the age of twenty, but with the increase of wealth and enterprise, the habit has so increased, that a majority seem to be devotees, and children six years old openly or stealthily practice it.

The author of the NOTES and ADDITIONS has had peculiar opportunity, as the Examiner in the Phrenological Office of Fowler and Wells, during more than thirty years of professional contact and converse with the public, to learn the prevalence, the evil, and the slavery of the tobacco habit, and through his advice and labors to emancipate many, and to dissuade others from entering upon the habit; something of which is embodied in the Notes appended to this work.

Nelson Sizer.



## THE USE OF TOBACCO



### 1 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

INTEMPERANCE and disease, like the ocean, have their tributary streams – some of greater, others of less magnitude and importance. Seldom, if indeed ever, does the individual break out an inebriate or a sick man at once. A long train of causes often intervene, like the long train of fountains and rills and rivers between the ocean and its sources.

Among the larger, more efficient tributaries to the ocean of Intemperance, is Tobacco. I here refer to all the varied forms in which it is used, whether in chewing, smoking, or snuffing. This source of intemperance is, moreover, greatly increasing, especially in our cities, towns, and villages, and in our seminaries of learning.

Let it be understood, however, that, in what I am about to say on the on the subject of Tobacco I shall have reference, principally, to its use by the healthy. With its prescription for medicinal purposes, or its application in art or manufacture, I have at present, almost as little to do, as with [opium](#), or calomel, or fermented or distilled liquors.

Let it not be thought, however, that I entertain the slightest unkind feeling towards the habitual devourer to tobacco, in any of its forms. The slave to [tobacco](#), like him who is enslaved to the use of rum, opium, coffee or tea, is, in my view, a diseased



person. Shall we come down in vengeance upon the sick? So did not He, by whose worthy name most of us are called. Let us rather, like him, compassionate the diseased and enslaved of every sort; and, as far as may be in our power, afford them relief. We may not, it is true, be able to exorcise the evil spirits by a word; but we should at least, do all in our power. Our words, though not such as our Lord's were, may scatter light and truth; our deeds, though unlike His, may be deeds of love, and may console, encourage and elevate. Only let us, in all we say and do, be governed by the great law of kindness. Let me not even be suspected of a disposition to be severe on particular classes of men, any more than on individuals. My simple purpose is to speak on both individuals and classes just as much as the nature of the case appears to require, and no more; but not to shrink from that exposure which is necessary, merely to court the favor of any individual, class or caste. It is the evils of [tobacco](#) at which I aim, and not the person -man, woman or child- who uses it, however degraded he may be. Indeed, the more degraded a person is, in my view, the more tender ought we to be of the little reputation which remains to him. Yet, degraded the slave of tobacco certainly is; deeply so. "Were it possible," says Dr. Rush, "for a being who had resided on our globe, to visit the inhabitants of a planet where reason governed, and to tell them that a vile weed was in use among the inhabitants of the globe we had left, which afforded no nourishment; that this weed was cultivated with immense care; that it was an important article of commerce that the want of it produced much real misery; that its taste was extremely nauseous; that it was unfriendly to health and morals, and that the use of it was attended with a considerable loss of time and property, - the account would be thought incredible". "In no one view," confides Dr. R., "is it possible to contemplate the creature, man, in a more absurd and ridiculous light, than in his attachment to tobacco."

## II. — THE HISTORY OF TOBACCO

The history of this plant has been so faithfully presented to the public eye, especially by Dr. Mussey, in a pamphlet he has written on the subject, that it will hardly be necessary to enter upon it here. It is with its effects, principally -its physical and moral bearings- that I have to do. I shall dwell, moreover, on matters of fact, rather than advance the theories or speculations of my own mind, or of the minds of others. My object here is to enlighten and instruct, and not merely to excite or amuse.

There is, however, one fact connected with the history of [tobacco](#), in our own country, which I am unwilling to pass over in silence. In the year 1620, when the colony at Jamestown, in Virginia, had been established about thirteen years, a great want was felt of female aid, not only to soften the asperity of manners in a society composed wholly of males, but to give stability to the colony, by encouraging the domestic or family institution. Ninety females, of respectable character, (as far as appears,) but of humble fortune, were imported from England, and sold to the planters at Jamestown, for wives, at the rate



of 120 lbs of tobacco, valued at fifty cents a pound, for each individual purchased. During the next year, 1621, sixty or seventy more were sent over and sold for the same commodity, but the price had been advanced by the London Company to 150 lbs. a head. The first slavery, therefore, in Virginia, was the slavery of whites, of the wife to her husband; and the first exportation of tobacco was for this singular purpose of purchasing companions for life.

### III. — TOBACCO AND THE TEETH

The opinion is greatly prevalent, that, whatever may be the other effects of [tobacco](#), it certainly preserves the teeth, especially when chewed. Common, however, and even plausible as the opinion is, it is not difficult to show that it is very far from having its foundation in fact.

The soundness of teeth will always bear an exact proportion to the soundness and firmness of the gums, and of the lining membrane of the mouth, and the whole alimentary canal. But, that tobacco makes the gums loose and spongy, and injures the lining membrane of the alimentary canal, especially that part of it called the stomach, is as well attested as any fact in physiology. The application of tobacco, therefore, to the inside of the mouth and to the gums -if the foregoing principle is correct- instead of preserving the teeth, cannot otherwise than hasten their decay.

And so, in point of fact, we find it. The teeth of those who use tobacco are in a less perfect state than those of other people - I mean those whose habits are no worse than theirs in other respects. For there are many more things which injure teeth as well as tobacco; and it would be unfair to compare the tobacco-chewer, whose habits may be correct in other respects, with those individuals, who, though they use no tobacco, are yet addicted to gluttony or [drunkenness](#), or have had their teeth spoiled by poisonous medicines.

The teeth of some tobacco-chewers, it is true, do not ache; for the tobacco, at least for a time, stupefies the nerves. Nor are there wanting cases, here and there, of old tobacco-chewers, whose teeth, so far as they are not worn out, are free from decay. But such cases are as rare as those of long-lived or healthy intemperance; and they prove just nothing in favor of tobacco. They simply show that the individuals who thus held out, had strong constitutions, with not hereditary tendency to diseases of the alimentary canal or the teeth, and, that if, in spite of the tobacco, their teeth were comparatively perfect, they would have been still more so, had they wholly abstained from it.

But there is one thing to be observed in the case of those who chew tobacco, even when the teeth do not really decay: they wear out very fast. Dr. Mussey has verified the truth of this position, not only by observing the mouths of "some scores of individuals in our own communities," but likewise those of "several individuals belonging to the Seneca and St. Francois tribes of Indians, who, like most of the other North American tribes, are much addicted to the use of this narcotic."<sup>69</sup> I have,

69. See his Essay on Tobacco.



myself, observed the same thing even in the case of those tobacco-chewers who boasted of their sound teeth, and of freedom from tooth-ache. I have seen them so worn down as actually to project but a little way beyond the gums. In the part of the mouth in which the cud is kept, this wearing out or wasting away is more obvious than in other parts.

Dr. Rush mentions a man in Philadelphia who lost all of his teeth by smoking. Dr. Warren, of Boston, assures us, that not only the common belief of tobacco being beneficial to the teeth is entirely erroneous, but that, by its poisoning and relaxing qualities, it is positively injurious to them. And such, it is believed, is the general opinion of medical men, not only in this country, but in Europe.

But, granting the most which can be claimed for tobacco in the way of preserving teeth—grant that it benumbs the nerves, and thus, in many instances, prevents pain—grant even, that it occasionally precludes all other decay, except that premature wearing out, of which I have spoken. Still, the general truth will remain, that it injures the gums and the lining membrane of the mouth, stomach, and alimentary canal generally, and, in fact, of the lungs also; and thus, not only prepares the way for various diseases, (to be mentioned hereafter,) but spoils the beauty, injures the soundness, and hastens the decay of those organs. It was, no doubt, the intention of the Creator, that the teeth should last as long as their owner. Yet, in how few of a thousand tobacco-chewers, or smokers, or snuff-takers is this the result?

#### IV. — INJURY TO THE VOICE.

"Tobacco, when used in the form of snuff," says Dr. Rush, "seldom fails of impairing the voice, by obstructing the air." The truth of this remark, though made about half a century ago, we see verified in the case of thousands of public speakers. It is not the snuff-taker alone, however, who injures his voice by [tobacco](#), though the injury which he sustains may be most immediate and severe. By the dryness of the nasal membrane, which chewing and smoking produce, these vile habits have a similar effect. The smoke of the tobacco contains many fine particles of the weed itself, which lodge in the passages. Who does not know how soon smoke of any kind, especially tobacco smoke, will darken or blacken a white surface? Yet, how could it darken it, except by depositing a fine dust upon it? And is the lining membrane of the nasal passages less likely to receive the dark, filthy, poisonous deposit than any other surface? Do we wonder, then, why the voice should be affected when the hollow nasal cavities are converted into so many flues of a sooty chimney?<sup>70</sup>

Dr. Mussey says, that the habitual use of tobacco, in any of the forms of snuff, cud or cigar, will sometimes produce weakness, tremulousness, and squeaking or hoarseness.

70. If this were the place for it, I might speak of the very great dimensions of the cavities connected with the nose—extending into the cheeks, forehead, &c. I might also say something of the still more extended cavity of the lungs, and show how the smoke of the tobacco must inevitably reach all these cavities, to blacken, irritate and poison their lining membrane, and thus, by being absorbed, to irritate and poison, in a greater or less degree, the whole system.



Dr. Allen, of Maine, says; "That tobacco is injurious to the voice, every one can testify, who has heard the harsh, thick, husky, mumbling, stammering, insonorous voice of the inveterate tobacco-chewer."

Dr. Woodward, of the State Hospital for the Insane, at Worcester, is decidedly of the same opinion. He, however, goes much further than Dr. Mussey or Dr. Allen, and attempts to show, from his strong cases and facts, that one frequent cause of permanent loss of voice in modern times, by public speakers, especially clergymen, is owing to the use of tobacco, in some of its forms. How far he is correct, in the latter opinion, is a point, which, in my own view, remains to be settled; though, of his general views of the injurious tendency of using tobacco daily, there can be no reasonable doubt.

### V. — INJURY OF THE SENSES.

Of the injury of the senses by tobacco, there can be as little reasonable doubt as of the injury done to the voice by the same agent. A substance so powerful, whether in its more solid form, or in that of powder or smoke, cannot be applied to membranes in the region of the eyes, ears, nose and brain, day after day, and year after year, without seriously affecting them.

It injures the taste. Who has not observed the dull taste of the tobacco-chewer? "Nothing insipid," says the Journal of Health,<sup>71</sup> "can be relished, after the mouth and throat have been exposed to the stimulus of the juice or smoke of tobacco." The tobacco-chewer and smoker may, it is true, be unconscious of any change in themselves; but his will not alter the matter of fact. Plain food soon becomes tiresome to them, and therefore it is usual to add a large amount of salt or other seasoning. Water, also, and even fruit, to the taste which is depraved by tobacco, soon become insipid; and not a few reject fruit altogether.

Tobacco impairs the smell. Some continue the use of this poisonous substance, till they can hardly smell at all. Perhaps snuff is more injurious to the sense of smell than tobacco. The Journal of Health says that the use of snuff destroys entirely the sense of smell, as well as injures the tone of the voice; while chewing and smoking vitiate the sense of taste. It is added, moreover, that those who make use of tobacco to any extent, have one and frequently two of their senses less perfect for it. Snuff-takers, it is insisted, are peculiarly liable to polypus in the nose.

It also injures the sight. How seldom do we find a snuff-taker or a tobacco-chewer whose eyes are not more or less affected? Germany, a nation of smokers, is proverbially a spectacled nation. But, even among ourselves, the connection between the use of tobacco and defective or impaired vision, is sufficiently obvious.

Finally, it injures the hearing. This is so common a consequence of snuff-taking, that I need but to mention it. That chewing and smoking tobacco have the same tendency, only in a slighter degree, there can be not doubt; but, to show why it must be so, would lead us far away into the world of anatomy and physiology.

71. As I shall often refer to the Journal of Health, it may be well to state that its Editors were Drs. Bell and Condie, two of the most distinguished medical men in Philadelphia.



Of the sense of touch, as affected by the use of tobacco, I am able to say but little. I will barely observe, that, in reasoning from analogy, we should be led to a suspicion of tobacco, even here. But, perhaps it is sufficient to impair our confidence in it, that I have shown it to be injurious, in a greater or less degree, to at least four or five of the senses.

Dr. Mussey mentions the case of Mr. Cummings, in Plymouth, N. H., who, though he enjoyed, at the age of twenty, the best of health, except weak eyes, commenced the use of snuff, and afterward, at the age of twenty-five, resorted to chewing and smoking. In this way he went on, for thirty years, till he was nearly destroyed. It is true, that he thought himself, all this while, remarkably temperate, though it is quite obvious that a moderate use of tobacco in each of the three usual forms, may have been equivalent to a free use of any one of them.

"The effects on his senses were striking. At the age of fifty-five, he could not read a word in any book without spectacles; and he had already been in the used of them several years. He had also been subject to a ringing and deafness in both ears for ten years, and at times the right ear was entirely deaf."

In about a month after quitting his snuff (which was the last thing he gave up,) his hearing became correct, and none of his troubles with this organ ever returned. It was many months, however, before he could dispense with his spectacles; but he finally got rid of them. At sixty-three, his senses were keener, especially his eyesight, than those of most men his age. Being a surveyor, he was able to keep his minutes without spectacles; thought, when obliged to use his eyes many hours in succession, particularly in the evening, he found his "glasses" quite convenient.

That the defective vision and hearing were owing, in no small degree, to the tobacco and snuff, is evident, from the fact that neither at the time of his abandoning these stimulants, nor subsequently, did he make any other change in his habits. He had always been what is called temperate in other things.

## VI. — ITS EFFECTS ON THE APPETITE.

It has already been shown, that the use of tobacco, in any form, injures the sense of taste. Now, it is a general rule, that whatever injures or impairs the taste, tends also to impair the appetite. But we have direct and positive testimony on this part of our subject.

The "Journal of Health" says, that those who use tobacco experience, at intervals, a want of appetite. Dr. Rush says expressly, "It impairs the appetite." The testimony of those who have the care of our prisons and penitentiaries, is, that the inmates, most of whom have been habituated to using tobacco before they came there, have their appetite increased in a few days by quitting the use of it. Is not this equivalent to admitting that the previous use of it had impaired the appetite? Many of the facts or cases presented in Dr. Mussey's pamphlet, are to the same general effect.

There is extant an anecdote of Gov. John Hancock, which is much to my present purpose. To avoid the necessity of throwing off his saliva in good company -for he was a gentleman tobacco-



chewer- he acquired the strange habit of swallowing it, which, in the end, almost destroyed his appetite, and, as is stated by Gov. Sullivan, increased the severity of those attacks of gout to which he was subject, and hastened his death.

## VII. — IT DESTROYS DIGESTION.

On this point, we have testimony still more ample than on the former. Dr. Stephenson, in an essay read before the "Society for the Promotion of Knowledge," in New York, observes, "It must be obvious to the most unprejudiced mind, that the immense quantity of saliva expended during the use of cud and pipe, retards the digestive process, producing flatulency," &c. When the juice of the tobacco is swallowed, the evil is still greater.

Dr. Mussey says, "It is a mistake to suppose that smoking aids digestion. The very uneasiness which it were desirable to remove, is occasioned either by tobacco itself, or by some other means. If tobacco facilitates digestion, how comes it that after laying aside the habitual use of it, most individuals experience an increase of appetite and of digestive energy, and an accumulation of flesh?" He also says, "I know a boy of eight years of age, whose father had taught him the use of tobacco-cud, four years before. He was a pale, thin, sickly child, and often vomited up his dinner." On another occasion he says, "Physicians meet with thousands of cases of dyspepsia connected with the use of tobacco in some one of its forms."

Dr. Rush says, "It produces dyspepsia." Again he says, "It prevents the early and complete digestion of the food." Again, in another place, "It imparts to the complexion a disagreeable dusky color." This change of color, we may be certain, had something to do with derangement of the liver, and of the biliary system generally; but this state of things always involves or presupposes more or less of indigestion.

Dr. Cullen says, "I have found all the symptoms of dyspepsia produced by snuffing. The dependence of the disease on the snuff was perfectly evident."

Dr. Hossack, late of New York, says, "That the recent great increase of dyspepsia among us is attributable in part to the use of tobacco." Prof. Hitchcock says, "It excites indigestion." The "Journal of Health" says, "that most, if not all, of those who are accustomed to the use of tobacco, labor under dyspeptic symptoms." Dr. McAllister, of Utica, says of the habitual and habitually suffering smoker, that "he pursues a course which continues to weaken the organs of digestion and assimilation, and, at length, plunges him into all the accumulated horrors of dyspepsia." Dr. Stephenson says, "that, from the sympathy subsisting between the olfactory and the nerves of the stomach, the use of snuff has, in some instances, produced dyspepsia."

Authorities on this subject might be multiplied, were it desirable or necessary, to almost any extent. But, however far this were carried, and however numerous the cases presented, the slave of tobacco would still say in his heart, "All this testimony, and all these facts and cases are nothing to me. For, though my case may be a peculiar one, I know certainly, if I



know anything, that tobacco, instead of hurting my digestion, greatly helps it."

Riding in a stage-coach, not long since, with a young man of twenty, and of general good sense and habits, I found him in the full belief that he could not possibly digest his dinner till he had followed it by a cud of tobacco; and I have not doubt of his sincerity. -Now, can it be that God so made the stomach that it cannot do its appointed work till aided by a cud of tobacco, a pipe or cigar, or a snuff-box?

But the worst forms and degrees of tobacco-slavery have not yet been adverted to. There are those among us, who honestly think that they cannot digest a meal till they have swallowed a quantity of the very juice of the tobacco. The case of Gov. Hancock had been already mentioned; to which might be added that of Mr. John Benson, a merchant in Boston, and several individuals, details of whose cases are to be found in the writings of Dr. Rush.

### VIII. — IT PRODUCES THIRST.

He who uses tobacco habitually, in any of its forms, is often apt to be thirsty. And this circumstance alone renders tobacco suspicious. Those things which are most proper for the human stomach, and best adapted to the system generally, do not produce much thirst.

Is proof demanded on this point? Most unhappily for humanity it is at hand. The thirst of which I am speaking, is, most undoubtedly, a morbid or diseased thirst, but this does not render it the less real.

Dr. Mussey, in his writings, alludes frequently to this morbid thirst ad induced by tobacco. He also assures us of smoking, that it produced a huskiness of the mouth. Dr. Rush says "One of the usual effects of smoking and chewing" -he might have said, of snuff-taking too- "is thirst." "This thirst cannot be allayed by water, for no sedative, or even insipid liquor, will be relished after the mouth and throat have been exposed to the stimulus of the smoke or the use of tobacco." Here, I repeat it, is the strongest indirect testimony we could possibly have of the unnatural or unhealthy character of tobacco; for, a thirst which pure water will not quench, can never be any other than a diseased one.

Dr. Brown, of West Randolph, in Vermont, says, "The use of tobacco produces a dryness or huskiness of the mouth; thus creating a [t]hirst which in many cases is not satiated with any thing short of alcoholic drinks." But, a thirst which is not satisfied with any thing short of alcoholic drinks, cannot be a very desirable if, indeed, it were a healthy one.

The Report of the "New York Anti-Tobacco Society," for the year 1835 -written, it is believed, by Dr. Stephenson- is to the same effect "Chewing and smoking tobacco," the Report says, "exhaust the salivary glands of their secretions; thus producing dryness and thirst. Hence it is, that after the use of the cigar and the cud, brandy, whiskey, or some other spirit is called for."

### IX. — LEADS TO INTEMPERANCE.

The testimony of the New York Anti-Tobacco Society just quoted,





is as strongly in favor of the opinion that the use of tobacco leads to intemperance, as that it produces thirst. The Report even adds, that, "by rendering water and all simple drinks insipid, it creates an appetite for strong drinks."

Dr. Woodward says, "I have supposed that tobacco was the most ready and common stepping stone to that use of spiritous liquors which leads to intemperance. Those who chew or smoke tobacco, are rarely satisfied with water or other insipid or tasteless drinks; else, why should the bar-room and the grog-shop be the resort of the smoker?"

Dr. Mussey thus testifies: - "In the practice of smoking, there is no small danger. It produces a huskiness of the mouth, which calls for some liquid. Water is too insipid, as the nerves of taste are in a half-palsied state, from the influence of tobacco smoke; hence, in order to be tasted, an article of a pungent or stimulating character is resorted to, and hence, the kindred habits of smoking and drinking."

"A desire is excited," says Dr. Rush, while speaking of the effects of both smoking and chewing, "for strong drinks; and these, when taken between meals, soon lead to intemperance and [drunkenness](#). One of the greatest sots I ever knew, acquired the love of ardent spirits by swallowing cuds of tobacco, which he did to escape detection in the use of it; for he had acquired the habit of chewing contrary to the advice and commands of his father." He also says, "the practice of smoking [cigars](#) has been followed by the use of brandy and water as a common drink."

Mr. Fowlder, of Fall River, in his "Disquisition on the Evils of Tobacco," insists strongly on the natural connection between tobacco and exciting drinks; and fortifies his opinion by the authority, among others, of Dr. Agnew, Gov. Sullivan, and a writer in the Genius of Temperance.

The editors of the Journal of Health take the same ground, and quote their authorities. Among these is Dr. McAllister, who speaks very freely of tobacco as "paving the way to [drunkenness](#)," and of smoking, as being a very frequent precursor of the same evil.

The use of tobacco, says Dr. Stephenson, is one great leading step towards intemperance. But it is a lamentable fact, that the very many who stand the most prominent in the temperance reform, are grossly intemperate in the use of tobacco.

My own observation, so far as it goes, would confirm the idea of a connection between tobacco and stimulating drinks. Though there are many honorable exceptions, it is, nevertheless, the general rule that they go together. Or, at least, that he who uses tobacco, in any considerable quantity, will, sooner or later, come to be fond of exciting drinks. Who has not heard of the eagerness of all savage and barbarous people for exciting or stimulating drinks? Yet these same people, almost to an individual, are equally fond of tobacco in all its varied forms. Tobacco, moreover, is, of itself, an intoxicating substance. Messrs. Arms and Coan, American missionaries to Patagonia, testify of the savages there, that they are not only excessively fond of tobacco, but that they will even get intoxicated by mere smoking. I know the attempt is often made to show that narcotic substances, such as [opium](#), tobacco, coffee, &c., though exciting or exhilarating, are not really intoxicating. But the



distinction which is thus attempted is almost without a difference, and is usually spoken of by those persons to whom it would be quite convenient to have a distinction shown, which, after all, it is more easy to assert than to prove.

### X. — LEADS TO VARIOUS DISEASES.

But, tobacco not only leads to intemperance -of itself a disease- it both originates and aggravates a great many more of the complaints to which flesh in its fallen estate is heir. This will now be my object to show.

That tobacco is not only an irritant but a poison -a most virulent one, too- cannot be doubted. The authorities on this subject are exceedingly numerous, and highly respectable. Among foreign chemists, physicians, and other scientific men, whose experiments and statements go to establish the poisonous character of tobacco, are the highly respected names of Conwell, Vanquelin, Brodie, Berzelius, Hermstadt, Posselt, Reimann, Fontana, Albinus, Henry, Hooper, Boutron, Rees, Buchner and Wilson. Among our own countrymen, are Franklin, Rush, Silliman, Wood, Bache, Bell, Condie, Mussey, Graham, McAllister, Waterhouse, Woodward, Eberle and Ives.

I shall not attempt to follow out and present, in detail, the numerous experiments and opinions of these distinguished men. A few only will be selected. The following are the results of the experiments of Brodie, Vanquelin and Henry.

By the ordinary process of distillation, an alkaline principle, in small quantity, is procured from tobacco, called by chemists, nicotin, [sic] as well as an oily substance, called nicotianin. A drop of either of these, but especially of the former, is found sufficient to destroy life in a dog of moderate size; and two drops destroy the largest and most fierce. Small birds perish as the bare approach of a small tube holding it.

There is another oil procured from tobacco by distilling it at a temperature above that of boiling water, called empyreumatic oil. It is of a dark brown color, and has a smell exactly like that of old and strong tobacco pipes. A drop of it, forced into the lower portion of the intestine of a cat, causes death in most instances, in about five minutes; and two drops, applied in the same manner to a dog, are often followed by a similar result.

The experiments of which these conclusions are based, have been repeated and verified, in this country, by Dr. Mussey. His subjects were dogs, squirrels, cats, and mice. The following are among the most important of his experiments:

Two drops of oil of tobacco, placed on the tongue, were sufficient to destroy life in cats which had been brought up, as it were, in the midst of tobacco smoke, in three or four minutes. Three drops, rubbed on the tongue of a full-sized cat, killed it in less than three minutes. Two drops on the tongue of a red squirrel, destroyed it in one minute. A small puncture made in the tip of the nose with a surgeon's needle, bedewed with the oil of tobacco, caused death in six minutes.

"Dr. Franklin ascertained," says Dr. Mussey, "that the oily material which floats on the surface of water after a stream of tobacco smoke has been passed through it, is capable, when



applied to the tongue of a cat, of destroying life in a few minutes."

"The Indians of our country," says the Journal of Health, "were well aware of the poisonous effects, and were accustomed to dipping the heads of their arrows in an oil obtained from the leaves of tobacco, which, being inserted into the flesh, occasioned the sickness and fainting, or even convulsions and death." "Tobacco," adds the same Journal on another occasion, "is an absolute poison."

But it is not in a concentrated form alone, that tobacco proves poisonous. A very small quantity of the tobacco itself introduced into the system, especially in the case of one wholly unaccustomed to its presence or use, has been known to extinguish life. The moistened leaves, even, when placed over the stomach, have proved fatal. It is related of some soldiers in Canada, that, when under hard service, they contrived to unfit themselves for duty by placing a moistened leaf of tobacco in the armpit. It caused sickness at the stomach, and general prostration.

Mr. Barrow, the African traveller, assures us that the Hottentots use this plant for destroying snakes. "A Hottentot," says he, "applied some of it from the short end of his wooden pipe, to the mouth of a snake while darting out his tongue. The effect was an instantaneous as that of an electric shock. With a momentary convulsive motion, the snake half untwisted itself, and never stirred more; and its muscles were so contracted that the whole animal felt as hard and as rigid as if dried in the sun."<sup>72</sup>

"The tea of twenty or thirty grains of tobacco," says Dr. Mussey, "introduced into the human body for the purpose of relieving spasm, has been known repeatedly to destroy life."

"Tobacco," says Mr. Graham, "is one of the most powerful and deadly poisons in the vegetable kingdom." "Its effects on the living tissues of the animal system," he adds, "are always to destroy life, as the experiments on pigeons, cats, and other animals, abundantly prove."

Dr. Hossack calls tobacco "a fashionable poison." Dr. Stephenson says, "To the practitioner it is well known that a cataplasm of tobacco applied to the region of the stomach, will produce violent and almost uncontrollable vomiting." Dr. Murray relates the history of three children who were seized with vomiting, vertigo, and profuse perspiration, and died in twenty-four hours, with tremors and convulsions, after having the head rubbed with a liniment made of tobacco, in the hope of freeing them from the scurf.

A case of importance came under my own observation. A strong, and, in general, a robust person, was affected, occasionally, by strangulated hernia. Tobacco, in one instance, being introduced by means of a bladder, quickly restored the strangulated intestine, but the prostration was excessive, and fears were for some time entertained that he could not survive it. He, however, slowly recovered, and lived several years, though he was never afterwards as vigorous as before.

72. "True it is that what is poisonous to brutes, is not always equally so to man, and vice versa. Nevertheless, in the present case, it is proved that tobacco is poisonous to both."



Orfila, a French physician, says, that the decoction of a drachm [sic] of this drug, given, as in the last-mentioned case, by injection, in one instance, produced death. Indeed, the death of the French poet Santa Santeuil, was caused by the thoughtless person's emptying the contents of a snuff-box into his wine. As soon as he had swallowed the draught, he was attacked with excessive pains, violent vomitings, and faintings, of which he died in fourteen hours.

Now, if it be true that tobacco is thus poisonous - to man and all other animals - who could expect it to be used habitually, in any form whatsoever, without inducing disease? But on this point also we have the most undoubted and ample testimony.

Dr. Rush says, that even when used in moderation, "tobacco causes dyspepsia, headache, tremors, vertigo, and epilepsy." "It produces," again he says, "many of those diseases which are supposed to be seated in the nerves." "I once lost a young man," he adds, "seventeen years of age, of a pulmonary consumption, whose disorder was brought on by the intemperate use of cigars." Dr. Woodward, after presenting a long array of facts showing the tendency of tobacco to produce disease - apoplexy, aphony, hypochondria, consumption, epilepsy, headache, tremors, vertigo, dyspepsia, cancer, and insanity - concludes with the following inquiry: - "Who can doubt that tobacco, in each of the various ways in which it has been customarily used, has destroyed more valuable lives, and broken down the health of more useful members of society, than have been sufferers from the complaint in question, (bronchitis) up to the present time, or than ever will be hereafter?"

Dr. Brown, of Providence, says, "The symptoms which are liable to arise from the habitual use of tobacco, whether chewed, smoked, or snuffed, may be any of the following: - Dizziness, head-ache, faintness, pain at the pit of the stomach, weakness, tremulousness, hoarseness of the voice, disturbed sleep, incubus or nightmare, irritability of temper, seasons of mental depression, epileptic fits, and sometimes mental derangement. "From the habitual use," says Dr. Mussey, "of tobacco, in either of its forms, of snuff, cud, or cigar, the following symptoms may arise: - a sense of weakness, sinking or pain at the pit of the stomach, dizziness or pain in the head, occasional dimness or temporary loss of sight, paleness and sallowness of the countenance, and sometimes swelling of the feet, and enfeebled state of the voluntary muscles, manifesting itself sometimes by tremulousness, weakness, squeaking, a hoarseness of the voice, rarely a loss of voice, disturbed sleep, starting from early slumbers with a sense of suffocation, or feeling of alarm, incubus or nightmare, epileptic or convulsive fits, confusion or weakness of the mental faculties, peevishness and irritability of temper, instability of purpose, seasons of great depression of the spirits, long fits of unbroken melancholy and despondency, and in some cases, entire and permanent mental derangement."

The New York Anti-Tobacco Society, after attributing the alarming increase of consumption, dyspepsia, palsy, apoplexy, epilepsy, and the whole train of nervous diseases, in part to the use of tobacco, give the following statements in cases in addition to that of Gov. Hancock, which has been mentioned:



"The late Rev. Dr. S. Cooper, of Boston, by the constant use of snuff, brought on a disorder of the head, which was thought to have ended his days. A very large quantity of hardened Scotch snuff was found, after death."

1884

James Buchanan "Buck" Duke bought two more Bonsack machines and in this year produced 744,000,000 [cigarettes](#) — more than the total manufactured nationally in the previous year.

TOBACCO

1886

An US patent was granted for a machine to manufacture plugs of chewing [tobacco](#).

1887

Two men staged a [tobacco](#)-smoking contest that lasted an hour and a half: victory was declared when one man filled his [pipe](#) for the 10th time — and his opponent did not.

A traveler reporting back from the Levant related that Arabs in the desert of Syria who had been smoking a local plant termed *Hyoscyamus* were getting giddy and getting headaches from a few whiffs of our [tobacco](#). In America, the advice offered by the cigar and tobacco price list of M. Breitweiser and Brothers of Buffalo was succinct and germane:

"If you think smoking injurious to your health, stop smoking in the morning."

Between the Civil War and World War I [opiate](#) use in the USA appeared widespread and uncontrollable. Two patterns of use have become apparent. In one typical pattern the users were white middle-class middle-aged citizens, mostly female, and their use was considered therapeutic and legal. Although there would be some public concern and local regulations would begin to make their appearance, there would be little moral stigma and no class persecution. The other typical pattern was that of [opium](#) smoking among the [Chinese](#), which was generally associated in the public mind with criminality and in this year resulted in a ban on [opium](#) imports. In the 1890s the first state anti-[morphine](#) laws would appear. By 1896 [opium](#) imports would have peaked and would be subsiding.



SIK'AR

PLANTS

1889

Langley and Dickinson published landmark studies on the effects of [nicotine](#) on the ganglia; they hypothesize that there are receptors and transmitters that respond to stimulation by specific chemicals. “Buck” Duke spent \$800,000 in this year, marketing his [cigarettes](#).

1890

At this point 26 states and territories had outlawed the sale of [cigarettes](#) to minors (the age of majority in any particular state was varying between 14 and 24). During the 1890s the Women’s Christian Temperance Movement would be distributing E.B. Ingalls’s NARCOTIC, a pamphlet discussing the evils of numerous drugs including [tobacco](#) as well as [cocaine](#), [ginger](#), [hashish](#), and headache medications.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

1892

In the United States, [cocaine](#) was becoming widely used for a variety of medical problems and was regularly included in numerous tonics and stimulant drinks (such as, beginning in this year, “Coca-Cola”).



Reformers petitioned the US Congress to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of [cigarettes](#). The Senate Committee on Epidemic Diseases, while agreeing that cigarettes indeed represented a public health hazard, indicated that under our restricted federal constitution only the states would have the authority to act. The committee therefore urged these petitioners to go consult with the various state legislatures of regions in which [tobacco](#) was a major cash crop.<sup>73</sup>

73. Oh, and don't let the doorknob hit you in the butt on your way out.

**1893**

The [Prohibition](#) Party's venture into partisan politics having collapsed, an Anti-Saloon League took over leadership of the [abolition movement](#). The movement's appeal was spreading primarily among middle-class, [nativist](#) Protestants, who had become so desperate to maintain their prerogatives in society against threats from massive immigration, industrialization, and urbanization that they were embracing "family values" such as industry, frugality, sobriety, and religiosity.

The state of Washington banned the sale and use of [cigarettes](#).

Under pressure from Joshua Rowntree and the Anglo Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, the British Government of [India](#) appointed a royal commission to inquire into the prevalence of [opium](#) use on that subcontinent. The commission would discover oral use to be so common as to be impossible to prohibit, but would describe this primarily medical or quasi-medical use as nonproblematic. The commission would report that the East's reliance upon [opium](#) was rather similar to the West's reliance upon [alcohol](#), in that it was a practice against which the government would have no real need to crusade. The smoking of the substance, although more dangerous, was found to be still "comparatively rare and novel."

Initial presentation of the Glass Flowers to Harvard University (created under the guidance of Harvard Professor Ware by artists Leopold Blaschka and his son, Rudolph).

A Supreme Court decision written by Justice Horace Gray declared the tomato to be a vegetable based on common usage of the term "vegetable" as opposed to the term "fruit." On this basis tomato importer John Nix would be obligated to pay a 10% vegetable tariff on shipments of [tomatoes](#) (declared to be honorary vegetables for tax purposes) grown in the West Indies.<sup>74</sup>

**PLANTS****1894**

James Mooney referred to the Enoe tribespeople as the "Enos."

By this point, the Philip Morris brand has passed from the troubled Morris family and was being controlled by a family named Thompson. Brown & Williamson formed as a partnership in Winston-Salem, [North Carolina](#), making mostly plug (chewing), [snuff](#), and [pipe tobacco](#).

**1898**

During the Spanish-American War the US Congress raised taxes on [cigarettes](#) by 200%.

74. It would be on this basis that, eventually, the Reagan administration would determine that in the planning of the child's nutritional needs in the public school lunch program, french fries with catsup was to count as "two servings of vegetables."



1899

In this year Iowa, Tennessee, and North Dakota followed the state of Washington in outlawing the sale of [cigarettes](#). Lucy Payne Gaston, who claimed that young men who smoke [tobacco](#) develop a distinguishable “cigarette face,” founded the Chicago Anti-Cigarette League, which would grow by 1911 to the Anti-Cigarette League of America, and by 1919 to the Anti-Cigarette League of the World. The Senate Finance Committee, in secret session, rolled back the enormous excise tax on cigarettes that had been enacted for the duration of the Spanish-American War. The Liggett & Myers firm was taken into Duke’s Tobacco Trust. The RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company was incorporated.



1904

The ice cream cone was invented at the St. Louis World's Fair because one of the ice-cream vendors ran short of clean dishes — for awhile the booth accommodated to this situation by vending its product in a thin Persian waffle.

When [Helen Keller](#), graduating *magna cum laude* from Radcliffe College, began to write about blindness for women's magazines, she was venturing on what had been in effect a taboo topic (many cases of blindness were caused by the unmentionable — sexually transmitted diseases).

A medallion was issued by the *Société contre l'abus du Tabac* (Society Against Tobacco Abuse). This depicted [tobacco](#) plants and a distillation apparatus, with Hygeia pointing toward a figure who is in a state of helplessness.



(This medallion has a blank space after “CONCOURS DE” within which to engrave the name of a particular recipient to be honored, as the occasion arose.)

[President Theodore Roosevelt](#) asked [Augustus Saint-Gaudens](#) to design a new double-eagle gold coin. He expressed himself in opposition to continuing to include “[In God We Trust](#)” on the coins on the grounds that such a motto was “a constant source of jest and ridicule” (the federal congress, always devout, voted to make the motto a mandatory part of the Saint-Gaudens design).

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

September 28, Wednesday: A woman was arrested on 5th Avenue in New York City for smoking a [cigarette](#) in an open car.



## XII

SMOKING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY<sup>75</sup>

Sweet when the morn is grey;  
Sweet, when they've clear'd away  
Lunch; and at close of day  
Possibly sweetest.  
C.S. Calverley.

Tobacco is once more triumphant. The cycle of three hundred years is complete. Since the early decades of the seventeenth century, smoking has never been so generally practised nor so smiled upon by fashion as it is at the present time. Men in their attitude towards tobacco have always been divisible into three classes – those who respected and followed and obeyed the conventions of society and the dictates of fashion, and smoked or did not smoke in accordance therewith; those who knew those conventions but disregarded them and smoked as and what they pleased; and those who neither knew nor cared whether such conventions existed, or what fashion might say, but smoked as and what, and when and where they pleased. At the present time the three classes tend to combine into one. There are, it is true, a few conventions and restrictions left; but they are not very strong, and will probably disappear one of these days. There is also, of course, and always has been, a fourth class of men, who for one reason or another, quite apart from what fashion may say or do, do not smoke at all.

Perhaps the most absurd and unmeaning of the restrictions that remain, is that which at certain times and in certain places admits the smoking of cigars and cigarettes and forbids the smoking of pipes. The idea appears to be that a pipe is vulgar. There are few restaurants now in which smoking is not allowed after dinner; but the understanding is that cigars and cigarettes only shall be smoked. In some places of resort there are notices exhibited which specifically prohibit the smoking of pipes. Why? At a smoking concert where few pipes are smoked, anyone looking

Athwart the smoke of burning weeds  
can at once realize how much greater is the volume of smoke from cigars and cigarettes than would result from the smoking of a like number of pipes. It cannot, therefore, be that pipes are barred because of a supposed greater effect upon the atmosphere of the room. The only conclusion the observer can come to is, that the fashionable attitude towards pipes is one of the last relics of the old social attitude – the attitude of Georgian and Early Victorian days – towards smoking of any kind. The cigar and the cigarette were first introduced among the upper classes of society, and their use has spread downward. They have broken down many barriers, and in many places, and under many and divers conditions, the pipe has followed triumphantly in their wake;

75. G.L. Apperson, I.S.O. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SMOKING. London: Martin Secker, Number 5 John Street Adelphi. First published 1914, Printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.



but the last ditch of the old prejudice has been found in the convention, which, in certain places and at certain times, admits the cigar and cigarette of fashionable origin, but bars the entry of the plebeian pipe – the pipe which for two centuries was practically the only mode of smoking used or known.

An article which appeared in the *Morning Post* of February 20, 1913, may be regarded as a sign of the times. It was entitled "A Plea for the Pipe: By one who Smokes it." "I should like," said the writer, "pipe-men of all degrees to ask themselves whether the time has not really arrived to enter a protest against the convention which forces the pipe into a position of inferiority, and exalts to a pinnacle of undeserved pre-eminence the cigar, and still more the cigarette ... why should it be considered a mark of vulgarity, of plebeianism, to inhale tobacco-smoke through the stem of a briar, and the hall-mark of good breeding to finger a cigar or dally with that triviality and travesty of the adoration of My Lady Nicotine – a cigarette?" To these questions there can be but one answer: and the future, there can be little doubt, will emphasize that answer, and abolish the unmeaning convention.

The prejudice against the pipe is not confined to places of indoor resort. There are many men who smoke pipes within doors, who yet would not care to be seen in London smoking a pipe in the street, or in the park. In some circumstances this is quite intelligible. The writer of the *Morning Post* article remarked with much force and good sense that "Apart from social environment, there is a certain affinity between pipes and clothes. It is considered 'bad form' for a man in a frock-coat and silk hat to be seen smoking a pipe in the streets. If you are wearing a bowler hat and a lounge suit you may walk along with a briar protruding from your lips, and no one will think ill of you. If you are a son of toil garbed in your habit as you work, there is nothing incongruous in a well-seasoned clay or a 'nose-warmer,' which, for convenience, you carry upside down. Not so very long ago it was considered unseemly to smoke a pipe at all in the street unless you belonged to the humbler orders, who inhale their nicotine through the stem of a clay and expectorate with a greater sense of freedom than of responsibility."

At a few clubs there are still some curious and rather unmeaning restrictions. A particularly absurd rule that maintains its ground here and there, is that which forbids smoking in the library of a club. What more appropriate place could there be for the thoughtful consumption of tobacco than among the books? But after due allowance has been made for a few minor restrictions of this kind, the fact remains that smoking has triumphed socially all along the line in Clubland. We have travelled far from the days when a committee man could declare that "No Gentleman smoked," to the time when, for example, the large smoking-room at Brooks's is one of the finest rooms in one of the most famous and exclusive of clubs. This splendid room in the eighteenth-century days of gambling was the "Grand Subscription Room" – the gambling room of Georgian times. It still retains two of the old gaming tables. Now this magnificent



apartment, with its splendid barrelled ceiling, which a well-known architectural writer, Mr. Stanley C. Ramsey, A.R.I.B.A., describes as "probably the finest room of its kind in London," is the temple of Saint Nicotine. The strangers' smoking-room in the same club, formerly the dining-room, is another beautiful and delightfully decorated apartment. Similar transformations have been witnessed in other clubs.

Barry's original plan for the Travellers' Club, erected in 1832, shows no smoking-room on the ground floor. It was probably some inconvenient apartment of no account. The early "Travellers" did smoke, for Theodore Hook, satirizing them and the club rule that no person was eligible as a member who had not travelled out of the British Islands to a distance of at least 500 miles from London in a direct line, wrote:

The travellers are in Pall Mall, and smoke cigars so cosily,  
And dream they climb the highest Alps, or rove the plains of Moselai,  
The world for them has nothing new, they have explored all parts  
of it;  
And now they are club-footed! and they sit and look at charts  
of it.

The present-day smoking-room at the Travellers' is a noble apartment, which was originally the coffee-room. It occupies the whole of the ground-floor front to the gardens of Carlton House Terrace, and is divided into three bays by the projection of square piers.

Another sign of the complete change which has come over the attitude of most folk towards tobacco is to be seen in the permission of smoking at meetings of committees and councils, where not so long ago such an indulgence would have been regarded as an outrage. Many of the committees of municipal councils and other public bodies now permit smoking while business is proceeding. It has even become usual for members of the House of Commons to smoke in committee rooms when the sitting is private; and cigars and cigarettes and pipes are now lighted in the lobby the moment that the House has risen. A very thin line thus separates the legislative chamber itself from the conquering weed. A further step forward (or backward, according to each reader's judgment) was taken on July 21, 1913, when smoking was allowed at the sitting of the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills — one of the committees which does not conduct its business in private. On this occasion, after the luncheon interval, two members entered the committee room smoking, one a cigarette the other a cigar. The former was soon finished; but the latter continued to shed its fragrance on the room. Naturally the chairman, Mr. Arthur Henderson, was appealed to. He gave a diplomatic reply. It had been held, he said, by two chairmen that smoking was not in order at the public sessions of a Standing Committee; and, of course, if his ruling were formally asked he would be bound to follow precedent. He said this with a suavity and a smile which disarmed any possible objector. Nobody raised the formal point of order; so other members "lighted up," and the proceedings went on peacefully to the appointed hour of closing.



Yet another sign of the times was the permission given not so very long ago to the drivers of taxi-cabs to smoke while driving fares – a development regarding which there may well be two opinions.

The number of cigarette-smokers nowadays is legion; but to a very large number of "tobacconists" (in the old sense of the word) a pipe remains the most satisfactory of "smokes." A cigar or a cigarette is – and it is not; the pipe renders its service again and again and yet remains – a steadfast companion. "Over a pipe" is a phrase of more meaning than "over a cigarette." Discussions are best conducted over a pipe. No one can get too excited or over-heated in argument, no one can neglect the observance of the amenities of conversation, who talks thoughtfully between the pulls at his pipe, who has to pause now and again to refill, to strike a light, to knock out the ashes, or to perform one of those numberless little acts of devotion at the shrine of St. Nicotine, which fill up the pauses and conduce to reflection. The Indians were wise in their generation when they made the circulation of the pipe an essential part of their pow-wows. A conference founded on the mutual consumption of tobacco was likely, not, as the frivolous would say, to end in smoke, but to lead to solid and lasting results. "The fact is, squire," said Sam Slick, "the moment a man takes a pipe he becomes a philosopher." The pipe, says Thackeray, "draws wisdom from the lips of the philosopher, and shuts up the mouth of the foolish; it generates a style of conversation, contemplative, thoughtful, benevolent and unaffected.... May I die if I abuse that kindly weed which has given me so much pleasure."

And what more fitting emblem of peace could be chosen than the calumet, the proffered pipe? Tobacco, whatever its enemies may have said, or may yet say, is the friend of peace, the foe of strife, and the promoter of geniality and good fellowship. Mrs. Battle, whose serious energies were all given to the great game of whist, unbent her mind, we are told, over a book. Most men unbend over a pipe, even if the book is an accompaniment.

To the solitary man the well-seasoned tube is an invaluable companion. If he happen, once in a way, to have nothing special to do and plenty of time in which to do it, he naturally fills his pipe as he draws the easy-chair on to the hearthrug, and knows not that he is lonely. If he have a difficult problem to solve, he just as naturally attacks it over a pipe. It is true that as the smoke-wreaths ring themselves above his head, his mind may wander off into devious paths of reverie, and the problem be utterly forgotten. Well, that is, at least, something for which to be grateful, for the paths of reverie are the paths of pleasantness and peace, and problems can usually afford to wait.

"Over a pipe!" Why the words bring up innumerable pleasant associations. The angler, having caught the coveted prize, refills his pipe, and with the satisfied sense of duty done, as the rings curl upward he reviews the struggle and glows again with victory. At the end of any day's occupation, especially one of pleasurable toil – whether it be shooting or hunting, or walking or what not – what can be pleasanter than to let the



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mind meander through the course of the day's proceedings over a pipe?

There is much wisdom in Robert Louis Stevenson's remarks in "Virginibus Puerisque" – "Lastly (and this is, perhaps, the golden rule), no woman should marry a teetotalter, or a man who does not smoke. It is not for nothing that this 'ignoble tabagie,' as Michelet calls it, spreads over all the world. Michelet rails against it because it renders you happy apart from thought or work; to provident women this will seem no evil influence in married life. Whatever keeps a man in the front garden, whatever checks wandering fancy and all inordinate ambition, whatever makes for lounging and contentment, makes just so surely for domestic happiness."

Nothing is more marked in the change in the social attitude towards tobacco than the revolution which has taken place in woman's view of smoking. The history of smoking by women is dealt with separately in the next chapter; but here it may be noted that most of the old intolerance of tobacco has disappeared. "To smoke in Hyde Park," said the late Lady Dorothy Nevill, in 1907, "even up to comparatively recent years, was looked upon as absolutely unpardonable, while smoking anywhere with a lady would have been classed as an almost disgraceful social crime."

Women do not nowadays shun the smell of smoke as they did in early Victorian days, as if it were the most dreadful of odours. They are tolerant of smoking in their presence, in public places, in restaurants – in fact, wherever men and women congregate – to a degree that would have horrified extremely their mothers and grandmothers. It is only within the last few years that visits to music-halls and theatres of varieties have been socially possible to ladies. Men go largely because they can smoke during the performance; women go largely because they have ceased to consider tobacco-smoke as a thing to be rigidly avoided, and therefore have no hesitation in accompanying their menfolk.

The observant visitor to the promenade concerts annually given in the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, will notice that but one small section of the grand circle is reserved for non-smokers, while smoking is freely allowed (with no absurd ban on the friendly pipe) in every other part of the great auditorium – floor, circle and balcony.

There are still some people who share the Duke of Wellington's delusion that smoking promotes drinking, although experience proves the contrary, and historic evidence, especially as regards drinking after dinner, shows that it was the introduction of the cigar, followed by that of the cigarette, which absolutely killed the old, bad after-dinner habits. The Salvation Army do not enforce total abstinence from tobacco as well as from alcoholic drinks as a condition of membership or soldiership, but a member of the Army must be a non-smoker before he can hold any office in its rank, or be a bandsman, or a member of a "songster brigade." And in other religious organizations there are yet a few of the "unco' guid" who look askance at pipe or cigarette as if it were a device of the devil. But the numbers of these misguided folk become fewer every year.

Smoking in the dining-room after dinner is now so general that



people are apt to forget that this particular development is of no great age. It is not yet, however, universal. A valued correspondent tells me that he knows a house "where tobacco is still kept out of the dining-room, and smoke indulged in elsewhere after wine. This old-fashioned habit must now be pretty rare."

The chief legitimate objection to cigarette smoking was well stated some years ago by the late Dr. Andrew Wilson. "I think cigarettes are apt to prove injurious," he said, "because a man will smoke far too much when he indulges in this form of the weed, and because I think it is generally admitted that cigarettes are apt to produce evil effects out of all proportion to the amount of tobacco which is apparently consumed." Excess can equally be found among cigar and pipe-smokers. The late Chancellor Parish, in his "Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect," tells a delightful story of a Sussex rustic's holiday – "May be you knows Mass [Master, the distinctive title of a married labourer] Pilbeam? No! doänt ye? Well, he was a very sing'lar marn was Mass Pilbeam, a very sing'lar marn! He says to he's mistus one day, he says, 'tis a long time, says he, sence I've took a holiday – so cardenly, nex marnin' he laid abed till purty nigh seven o'clock, and then he brackfustes, and then he goos down to the shop and buys fower ounces of barca, and he sets hissself down on the maxon [manure heap], and there he set, and there he smoked and smoked and smoked all the whole day long, for, says he 'tis a long time sence I've had a holiday! Ah, he was a very sing'lar marn – a very sing'lar marn indeed."

Some men seem to act upon Mark Twain's principle of never smoking when asleep or at meals, and never refraining at any other time. But excess is self-condemned. There is no good reason why anyone, for social or any other reasons, should look askance at the reasonable use of tobacco. "But used in moderation, what evils, let me ask," – I again quote Dr. Andrew Wilson's calm good sense – "are to be found in the train of the tobacco-habit! A man doesn't get delirium tremens even if he smokes more than is good for him; he doesn't become a debased mortal; there is nothing about tobacco which makes a man beat his wife or assault his mother-in-law – rather the reverse, in fact, for tobacco is a soother and a quietener of the passions, and many a man, I daresay, has been prevented from doing rash things in the way of retaliation, when he has lit his pipe and had a good think over his affairs. Whenever anybody counterblasts to-day against tobacco, I feel as did my old friend Wilkie Collins, when somebody told him that to smoke was a wrong thing. 'My dear sir,' said the great novelist, 'all your objections to tobacco only increase the relish with which I look forward to my next cigar!'"

**1908**

January 22, Wednesday: Katie Mulcahey was arrested for lighting a [cigarette](#) in New York City's Bowery.



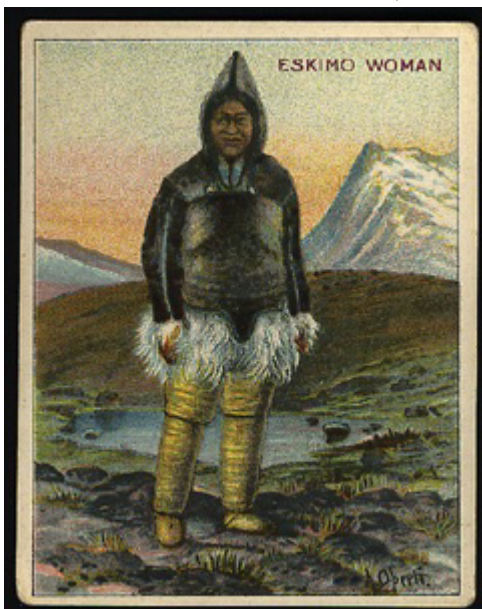
1910

The American Tobacco Company would be putting out, in HASSAN Cork-Tip Cigarettes from this year into 1915, a series of Arctic Trading Cards with images from paintings by Albert Jasper Ludwig Operti (1852-1927), whose “Farewell” had famously depicted the abandonment of the *Advance* by Elisha Kent Kane. Here is “The *Erebus* and *Terror*” on such a trading card, from the collection of Russell A. Potter:



THE FROZEN NORTH

Operti’s depictions of Inuit life on the 24 cards are vivid and the brief texts printed on the reverse (I won’t share this with you, but it is clear from the texts that these cancer sticks of the American Tobacco Company were not intended to be marketed in the frozen north) educate us on the period’s racist stereotyping of “The Eskimo.” From the same collection, here are “Eskimo Woman,” “Eskimo Child,” and “Eskimo Puppies”:



HDT

WHAT?

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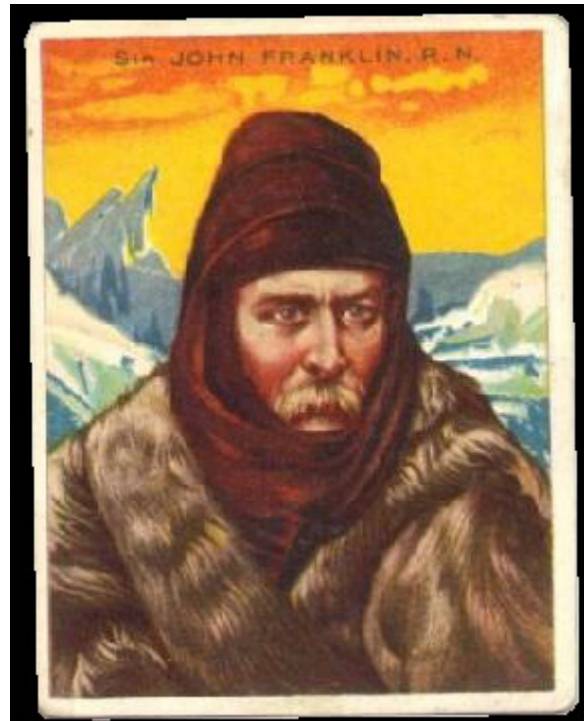
PLANTS



## PLANTS

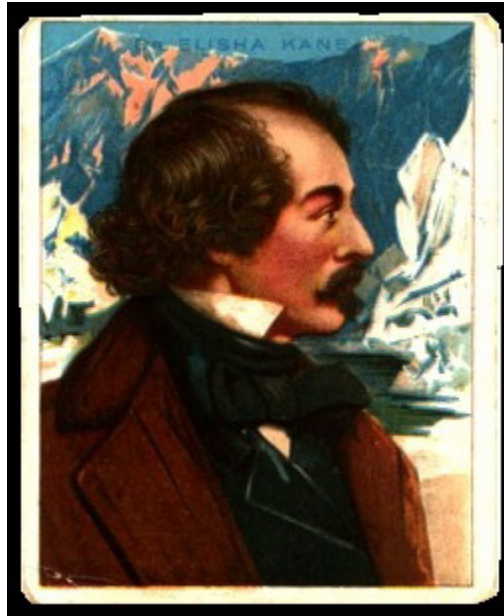
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In addition to cards depicting natural scenery and Eskimo life, there was a series on explorers:



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1913

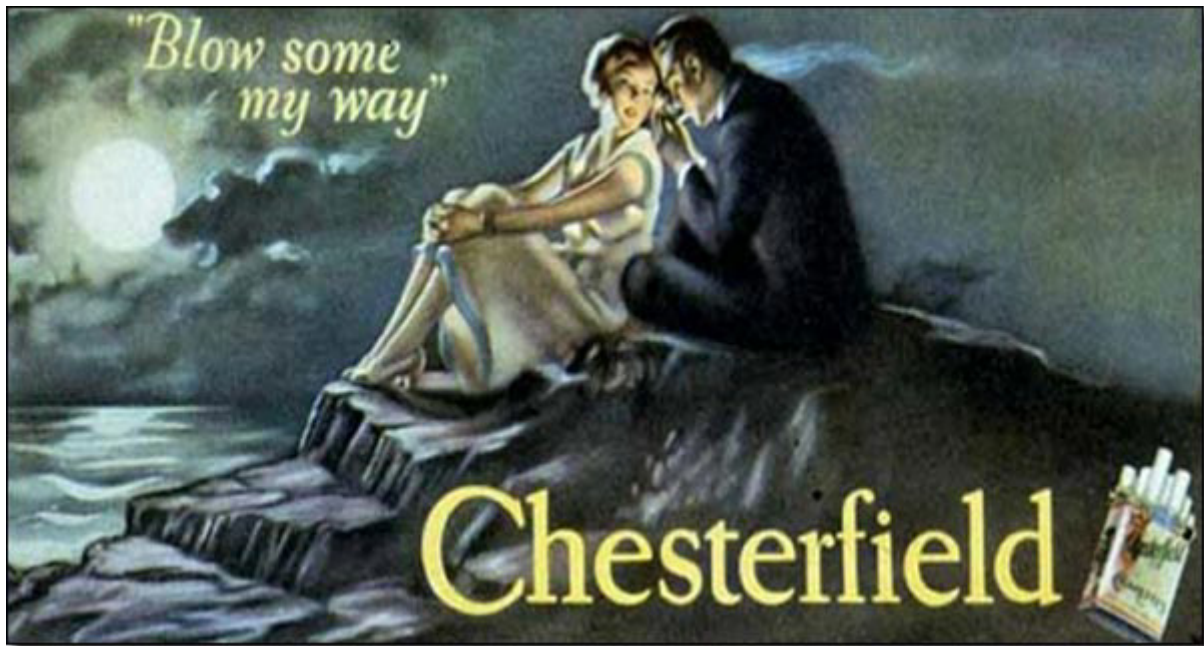
Dairy Milk had become the [Cadbury](#) company's bestselling product.



CHOCOLATE

A 2d [Cadbury](#) factory was set up in Gloucestershire. Both factories were situated next to canals, in order to ensure economical transportation. In 1910 a requirement had been made, that all young workers attend evening classes until the age of 18, but in this year such night education was allowed to become voluntary rather than remaining mandatory.

Chesterfield [cigarettes](#) were introduced by Liggett & Meyers despite the fact that it was not yet considered quite proper to market such drug delivery devices directly to women.



**1914**

December 25, Sunday: In Rochester, Minnesota, Edward Calvin Kendall became the 1st person to crystallize Thyroxine, the hormone which controls metabolism in cells and tissues.

British and Indian troops captured Jassin, [German](#) East Africa (Tanzania).

**WORLD WAR I**

[Christmas Day](#): The informal “[Christmas](#) Truce”:

My dear sister Janet,  
It is 2:00 in the morning and most of our men are asleep in their dugouts – yet I could not sleep myself before writing to you of the wonderful events of Christmas Eve. In truth, what happened seems almost like a fairy tale, and if I hadn't been through it myself, I would scarce believe it. Just imagine: While you and the family sang carols before the fire there in London, I did the same with enemy soldiers here on the battlefields of France! As I wrote before, there has been little serious fighting of late. The first battles of the war left so many dead that both sides have held back until replacements could come from home. So we have mostly stayed in our trenches and waited. But what a terrible waiting it has been! Knowing that any moment an artillery shell might land and explode beside us in the trench, killing or maiming several men. And in daylight not daring to lift our heads above ground, for fear of a sniper's bullet.  
And the rain – it has fallen almost daily. Of course, it collects right in our trenches, where we must bail it out with pots and pans. And with the rain has come mud – a good foot or more deep. It splatters and cakes everything, and constantly sucks at our boots. One new recruit got his feet stuck in it, and then his hands too when he tried to get out – just like in that American story of the tar baby!  
Through all this, we couldn't help feeling curious about the German soldiers across the way. After all, they faced the same dangers we did, and slogged about in the same muck. What's more, their first trench was only 50 yards from ours. Between us lay No Man's Land, bordered on both sides by barbed wire – yet they were close enough we sometimes heard their voices. Of course, we hated them when they killed our friends. But other times, we joked about them and almost felt we had something in common. And now it seems they felt the same.  
Just yesterday morning – Christmas Eve Day – we had our first good freeze. Cold as we were, we welcomed it, because at least the mud froze solid. Everything was tinged white with frost, while a bright sun shone over all. Perfect Christmas weather. During the day, there was little shelling or rifle fire from either side. And as darkness fell on our Christmas Eve, the shooting stopped entirely. Our first complete silence in months! We hoped it might promise a peaceful holiday, but we didn't count on it. We'd been told the Germans might attack and try to catch



us off guard.

I went to the dugout to rest, and lying on my cot, I must have drifted asleep. All at once my friend John was shaking me awake, saying, "Come and see! See what the Germans are doing!" I grabbed my rifle, stumbled out into the trench, and stuck my head cautiously above the sandbags.

I never hope to see a stranger and more lovely sight. Clusters of tiny lights were shining all along the German line, left and right as far as the eye could see.

"What is it?" I asked in bewilderment, and John answered, "Christmas trees!"

And so it was. The Germans had placed Christmas trees in front of their trenches, lit by candle or lantern like beacons of good will.

And then we heard their voices raised in song.

"Stille nacht, heilige nacht...."

This carol may not yet be familiar to us in Britain, but John knew it and translated: "Silent night, holy night." I've never heard one lovelier – or more meaningful, in that quiet, clear night, its dark softened by a first-quarter moon.

When the song finished, the men in our trenches applauded. Yes, British soldiers applauding Germans! Then one of our own men started singing, and we all joined in.

"The first Nowell, the angel did say...."

In truth, we sounded not nearly as good as the Germans, with their fine harmonies. But they responded with enthusiastic applause of their own and then began another.

"O Tannenbaum, o Tannenbaum...."

Then we replied.

"O come all ye faithful...."

But this time they joined in, singing the same words in Latin.

"Adeste fideles...."

British and German harmonizing across No Man's Land! I would have thought nothing could be more amazing – but what came next was more so.

"English, come over!" we heard one of them shout. "You no shoot, we no shoot."

There in the trenches, we looked at each other in bewilderment. Then one of us shouted jokingly, "You come over here."

To our astonishment, we saw two figures rise from the trench, climb over their barbed wire, and advance unprotected across No Man's Land. One of them called, "Send officer to talk."

I saw one of our men lift his rifle to the ready, and no doubt others did the same – but our captain called out, "Hold your fire." Then he climbed out and went to meet the Germans halfway. We heard them talking, and a few minutes later, the captain came back with a German cigar in his mouth!

"We've agreed there will be no shooting before midnight tomorrow," he announced. "But sentries are to remain on duty, and the rest of you, stay alert."

Across the way, we could make out groups of two or three men starting out of trenches and coming toward us. Then some of us were climbing out too, and in minutes more, there we were in No Man's Land, over a hundred soldiers and officers of each side, shaking hands with men we'd been trying to kill just hours earlier!



Before long a bonfire was built, and around it we mingled – British khaki and German grey. I must say, the Germans were the better dressed, with fresh uniforms for the holiday.

Only a couple of our men knew German, but more of the Germans knew English. I asked one of them why that was.

"Because many have worked in England!" he said. "Before all this, I was a waiter at the Hotel Cecil. Perhaps I waited on your table!"

"Perhaps you did!" I said, laughing.

He told me he had a girlfriend in London and that the war had interrupted their plans for marriage. I told him, "Don't worry. We'll have you beat by Easter, then you can come back and marry the girl."

He laughed at that. Then he asked if I'd send her a postcard he'd give me later, and I promised I would.

Another German had been a porter at Victoria Station. He showed me a picture of his family back in Munich. His eldest sister was so lovely, I said I should like to meet her someday. He beamed and said he would like that very much and gave me his family's address.

Even those who could not converse could still exchange gifts – our [cigarettes](#) for their [cigars](#), our [tea](#) for their [coffee](#), our [corned beef](#) for their [sausage](#). Badges and buttons from uniforms changed owners, and one of our lads walked off with the infamous spiked helmet! I myself traded a jackknife for a leather equipment belt – a fine souvenir to show when I get home.

Newspapers too changed hands, and the Germans howled with laughter at ours. They assured us that France was finished and Russia nearly beaten too. We told them that was nonsense, and one of them said, "Well, you believe your newspapers and we'll believe ours."

Clearly they are lied to – yet after meeting these men, I wonder how truthful our own newspapers have been. These are not the "savage barbarians" we've read so much about. They are men with homes and families, hopes and fears, principles and, yes, love of country. In other words, men like ourselves. Why are we led to believe otherwise?

As it grew late, a few more songs were traded around the fire, and then all joined in for – I am not lying to you – "Auld Lang Syne." Then we parted with promises to meet again tomorrow, and even some talk of a football match.

I was just starting back to the trenches when an older German clutched my arm. "My God," he said, "why cannot we have peace and all go home?"

I told him gently, "That you must ask your emperor."

He looked at me then, searchingly. "Perhaps, my friend. But also we must ask our hearts."

And so, dear sister, tell me, has there ever been such a Christmas Eve in all history? And what does it all mean, this impossible befriending of enemies?

For the fighting here, of course, it means regrettably little. Decent fellows those soldiers may be, but they follow orders and we do the same. Besides, we are here to stop their army and send it home, and never could we shirk that duty.

Still, one cannot help imagine what would happen if the spirit shown here were caught by the nations of the world. Of course,





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disputes must always arise. But what if our leaders were to offer  
well wishes in place of warnings? Songs in place of slurs?  
Presents in place of reprisals? Would not all war end at once?  
All nations say they want peace. Yet on this Christmas morning,  
I wonder if we want it quite enough.  
Your loving brother,  
Tom

1915

R.J. Reynolds's [chewing tobacco](#) manufacturing company in Winston, [North Carolina](#) had developed a line of pipe tobaccos, and had in 1913 introduced the first American blend cigarette, known as "Camel." By his death in 1918 of a pancreatic cancer that hypothetically might now be linked to a lifetime of chewing tobacco, Reynolds would have brought economic development in [North Carolina](#).<sup>76</sup> By this year, however, 14 states had banned cigarettes while others enacted control regulations. The taxes on tobacco products had increased, and the government had broken up a trade cartel. An advertising campaign began for a new brand of [cigarettes](#), made of a very much milder than usual mixture of American and Turkish tobacco:



(By 1927 such prohibitions against [tobacco](#) would have been rescinded in all states because income from taxes upon tobacco products had rendered our government a full-profit participant in this aspect of the drug trade.)

Richard Martin Willstätter was awarded a Nobel Prize for his work with plant pigments, particularly chlorophyll. After World War I, Willstätter would continue his work in biological chemistry, investigating the synthesis of [cocaine](#) and the nature of enzymes. By [World War II](#), Willstätter would suffer the isolation and persecution of so many other [Jewish German](#) scientists, and eventually would feel obliged to migrate to Switzerland. At one point during the war Gestapo agents would attempt to take him into custody: "He was in

76. R.J. Reynolds had four children one of whom was either murdered or a suicide, one of whom died of a stomach cancer that may have been smoking-related, and two of whom definitively died because of smoking.

READ ALL ABOUT IT

his garden at the time, however, and the Gestapo did not think to look for him there.”

BOTANIZING

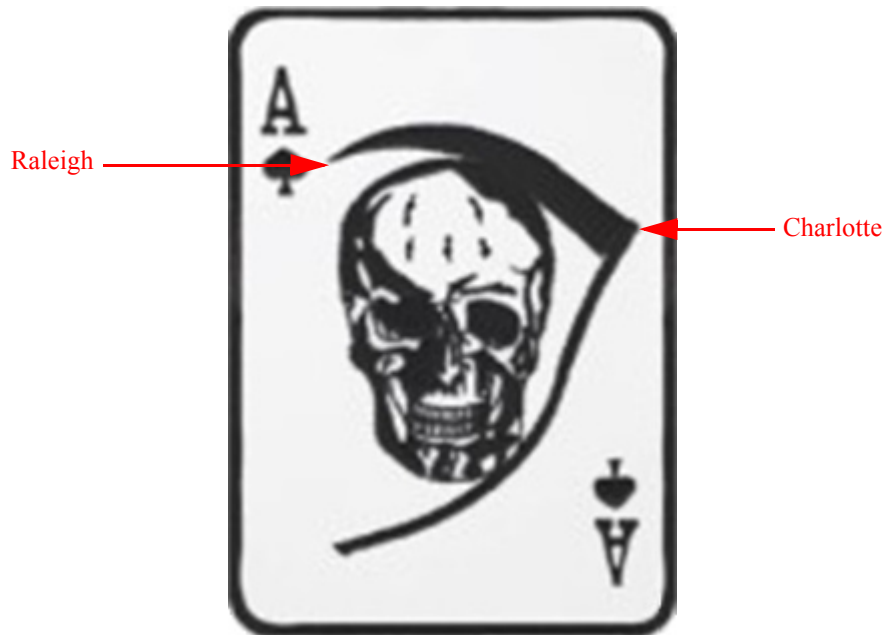
1920

65 people were lynched in the United States of America during the course of this year. 57 of them were black men. One was a black woman. 7 were not black. The Duluth Publishing Company put out a pictorial booklet, MOB VIOLENCE, that sold for 35¢.

MINNESOTA



By this point tobacco had become an important crop in North Carolina and yet the economy was being primarily driven by the state's cheap-labor manufacturing capacity. The three major labor-intensive industries, tobacco products, cotton textiles, and furniture, had come to be largely concentrated in an area roughly the shape of a scythe: Raleigh as the tip, with the blade curving west and then southwest along the route of the Southern Railway through Durham, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem to Charlotte, and its handle stretching westward from Charlotte.



**1926**

Scientists were beginning to formulate genetic explanations for some plant conundrums of long standing. For instance, in this year East and Manglesdorf resolved the issue of self-sterility in *Nicotiana tabacum*, while Filzer and Lehmann conducted similar studies of *Veronica*.

Vito Volterra applied mathematics to ecology in "Fluctuations in the abundance of a species considered mathematically" in Nature (118: 558-60).

Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky's *BIOSFERA* (THE BIOSPHERE) explained our "biosphere" as the integrative combination all this planet's various ecosystems.

**1927**

General Election in Free State; *Fianna Fáil* entered *Dáil Éireann*.

Further restrictions on indulgence in ether in Ireland permitted registered sales only to doctors. This, combined with on the one side with greater availability of cheap alcohol and on the other with rising incomes, would bring about reductions in use.

The bans against cigarettes had by this point been rescinded in all states, and taxes upon tobacco products had become a major source of government revenue. A wave of mortality due to respiratory-system cancers was about to sweep over the nation.

**1942**

K rations packed for US troops by the Wrigley Company contained "defense" biscuits and compressed Graham crackers, canned meat, three tablets of sugar, four cigarettes, and a stick of chewing gum. The breakfast ration included also a fruit bar and instant coffee developed by Maxwell House.

1945

The New Orleans surgeon Alton Ochsner reported that he was observing a “distinct parallelism between the incidence of cancer and the sale of [cigarettes](#).” People would need reassurance that smoking was not going to give them cancer. The little girl in this advertisement, for instance, is going to grow a hundred years old because her wise doctor, like most doctors, smokes Camels — knowing that Camels go easy on the T-zone.



1946

October 2, Wednesday: A symposium at the University of Buffalo linked [cigarette](#) smoking with lung cancer.



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1955

US [cigarette](#) consumption resumed its rise after a 2-year drop as the industry increased expenditures for advertising, especially on network television. The chief brands being promoted were filter-tipped Winstons, Tarytons, Benson & Hedges, Kools, and Raleighs.

The Ford Thunderbird was released as a 2-seater sports car, with a little round porthole.

As criticism of the Bratt system mounted in Sweden, it was abolished. Liberalization would be followed, however, by increased consumption of [alcohol](#).

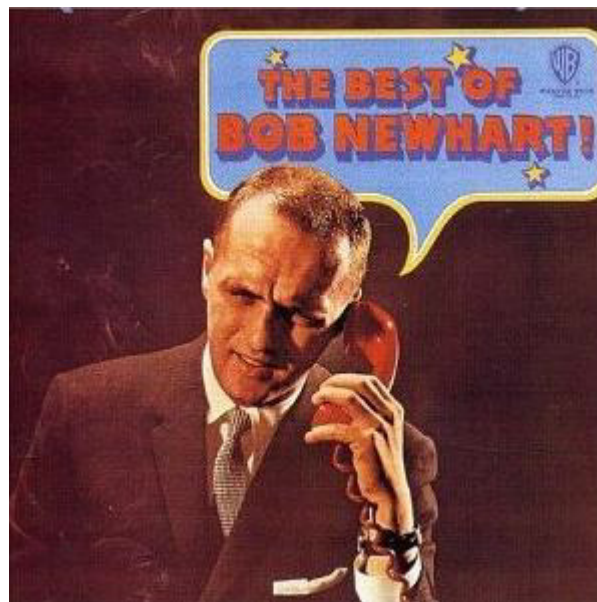
1960

August 16, Tuesday: A CIA official was handed a box of Fidel Castro's favorite [cigars](#) and instructed to poison them. It is unknown whether any serious attempt was later made by the Mafia contacts of these US officials, to pass these poisoned cigars on to Castro — for certain they didn't actually do so since the shellfish toxin that had been applied was the deadliest material in the world, so utterly deadly that all he would have needed to have done was place one between his teeth. According to a 1975 Senate investigation, this would become one of at least eight assassination plots devised by the US government against the leader of Cuba between 1960 and 1965.<sup>77</sup>

77. We have now made it technically illegal for our government to kill people, when they are foreign heads of state, and when they have been singled out to be killed. If you kill someone, they ask "Well, but was he a foreign head of state?" And if you go "Well, yes, he was," then they go "Well, but did you single him out to kill him?" And if you go "Well, yes, I did," then they go "Well, you know, that's very much against the law, next time you should just kill somebody ordinary, or, if you need to kill a foreign head of state, you should kill a bunch of other people alongside him so you can show that he hadn't been singled out to be killed. One can't be too careful about these things." Then they can go "No, but before we killed him we got the President to sign a secret finding saying that he needed to be dead. We can't show you the document because then we'd need to kill you." Then you have to go "If the President indeed signed a secret finding that it was OK, well, OK then. I don't need to see it, so don't kill me."

1962

April 18, Wednesday: Around the middle of the 16th Century, Jean Nicot, the French ambassador to the Portuguese court, had brought back a leaf called “tabac.” The active ingredient in this leaf would in his honor eventually come to be known as “nicotine.” On this evening Bob Newhart pointed out in one of his telephone monologues that what one needed to do was to crumble the dry leaves, light them, and breathe the vapors given off as they smouldered, and that although at first this practice would produce sweating and nausea, once would get used to it, and it would be good — it produced a sort of dry drunkenness.



TOBACCO

1964

The report of the Surgeon General of the United States connecting smoking with lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema, and other diseases created a momentary decline in tobacco use (despite such health warnings and despite advertising bans, in the 1970s [cigarette](#) smoking would again increase).

1968

At Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City it was demonstrated that multiple factor interactions, such as asbestos in conjunction with [cigarettes](#), can cause cancer.

Bob Newhart Show, The NBC-TV Network, April 18, 1962.

HOW DID SIR WALTER RALEIGH SELL HIS TOBACCO?

NEWHART: "Tonight we're going to take a look at the possible origin of the cigarette industry."

\* \* \* \* \*

NEWHART: "I think that most of us are inclined to take things for granted. For example, cigarettes and the great tobacco industry. This multimillion dollar business had very humble origins. It was brought to the attention of the civilized world by Sir Walter Raleigh when he brought the first boatload from North America to England. Now, since the uses of tobacco may not be obvious right off the bat, I kept imagining Sir Walter having a little trouble trying to talk the sea captain into putting it on the ship, and then I imagined Walt trying to get permission from the home office of the West Indies Company to do it, and I think it must have sounded something like this..."

(MUSICAL INTRODUCTION)

NEWHART (As an official of the West Indies Company): "Hello, who, who's calling? Sir, Sir Walter Raleigh from the Colony. Yeah, put him on, will you? Ah, Harry, pick up your extension, will you? It's nutty Walt again. (LAUGHTER)

"Hi, Walt baby! Good hearing your voice. Things are fine here, Walt. The boatload of turkeys you sent us over here last November? They're still here, Walt. Yeah, they're walkin' all over London. (LAUGHTER) You see, that isn't a holiday over here, Walt, just in America. (LAUGHTER)

"You got another winner for us, Sir Walt, have ya? To-bacco. What's tobacco, Walt? A leaf. You've got 80 tons of it. (LAUGHTER) You bought 80 tons of leaves, Walt? Ha, ha, oh you're beautiful, Walt. (LAUGHTER) Look, Walt, I don't know if you noticed last time, we have plenty of leaves over here in England. (LAUGHTER) You see, come fall, we're up to... It's a special kind of leaf? Some kind of food, is it, Walt? Not exactly. What do you do with the leaves, Walt? Lots of different things. Ha.

"Are you saying 'snuff,' Walt? (LAUGHTER) And what's snuff? You take a pinch of tobacco, and you stick it up your nose. (LAUGHTER) And it makes you sneeze. (LAUGHTER) Ha, ha, ha, I imagine it would, Walt, yeah. Goes over very big there, does it? Yeah, goldenrod seems to do it over here, Walt. (LAUGHTER)

- more -



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"Tobacco has other uses. You can chew it? Or stuff it in a pipe? Or you can shred the leaves, put it in a little piece of paper, roll it up. You don't have to tell me, Walt, you stick it in your ear, right? (LAUGHTER) Between your lips? Okay, Walt, and then what do you do with it? Ha, ha, ha, ha. (NEWHART SLAPPED DESK.) You set fire to it, Walt! (LAUGHTER) Hey, Harry, you want to get on the innercom? I don't want the boys to miss this. (LAUGHTER) Walt, you're puttin' me on, aren't you. You set fire to it, and then what happens, Walt? You breathe in the smoke. (LAUGHTER) Well, it seems to me you could stand in front of a fireplace and get the same thing goin' for you. I don't think we'll be able to move that, Walt.

"You know, Walt, we've been a little worried about you since you put your caps down over all that mud. (LAUGHTER) You're all right though, Walt, huh? You see, what bugs me, Walt, is who's going to want to put burning leaves in his mouth? (LAUGHTER) You don't call 'em burning leaves. You call them a cigarette. Walt, I've got to level with you. I don't care what you call 'em, they're still burning leaves and I don't think people are going to buy 'em.

"You have some sales gimmicks? I'd love to hear some of those, Walt. You're going to add a mint flavor. (LAUGHTER) How much mint? Just a hint. (LAUGHTER) That's not too bad, Walt. Huh? And you're going to make some cigarettes longer than others. Why is that, Walt? It travels the smoke further. (LAUGHTER) That make it better, Walt? You don't know but it's a catchy slogan. (LAUGHTER)

"Walt, Walt, can you speak up? I can hardly hear you. What's that noise? You've got the Indian marching band, and they stomp all through this tobacco field? (LAUGHTER) That's the way they get their kicks, Walt, you know.

"What's the matter, Walt? You spilled your coffee. What's coffee, Walt? (LAUGHTER) Ha, ha, it's a drink you make out of beans. You roast them, and then you pour them in a cup. (LAUGHTER) You drink it in the morning while you smoke your cogarette! (LAUGHTER) I'm still here, Walt, I'm still here. Look, Walt, I tell you what you do. Put some of those on the boat. If you can hook 'em with the burning leaves, I'm sure they'll go for the bean. (LAUGHTER) I'm with you, Walt. Do me one favor, Walt. Don't call me anymore!" (APPLAUSE)

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1994

June 8, Sunday: About a century and a half too late to help the sufferers of the [Irish Potato Famine](#), researchers at Purdue University discovered that a gene found in another member of the nightshade family (*Solanaceae*), [Nicotiana tabacum](#), could be transferred to [Solanum tuberosum](#) to help them resist the sort of blight which caused the catastrophe of the mid-19th Century. Well, gee, **too bad** we didn't figure this out as of 1845! The tobacco gene in question codes for osmotin, a molecule produced by many plants when under stress. These scientists not only found a way to implant this gene within the [potato](#) genetic materials, but also had been able to transfer it multiple times so as to multiply the production of that protein molecule. These large amounts of osmotin would enable genetically altered potatoes to resist late blight infections for an additional day or two (this blight organism being still endemic around the world), which, the researchers alleged, might well be all that is required to have a significant impact upon world nutrition — better living through genetic chemistry. Reassuringly, their press release indicated that although the health impact of starvation upon humans is **not unknown** (emphasis added), osmotin as a naturally occurring chemical has no **known** (emphasis added) health impact upon humans.



#### THE NIGHTSHADES (SOLANACEAE)

- — [Potato Solanum tuberosum](#)
- — [Tomato Lycopersicon esculentum](#)
- — chili peppers
- — eggplant
- — deadly nightshade
- — [Tobacco Nicotiana tabacum](#)
- — henbane
- — Jimson weed
- — petunia
- — plus some 2,000 other species grouped into 75 genera

**During this year the government of Ireland established a committee to fund events and works commemorating the Famine's 150th anniversary. In a recently republished "Transactions of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland" the Irish Government minister in charge of the National Commemoration of 150th Anniversary of the Great Famine had this to offer:**

On behalf of the Government, I wish to tender our thanks to the Society of Friends for their effort -past and present- in constructing a dignified Christian society in Ireland. We greatly value and cherish your presence here and we acknowledge with heartfelt gratitude your enormous contribution during the famine.... I note too how modern the Quakers were in their attitudes to poverty - seeing it as a structural problem, rather than blaming the poor for their own poverty. Such enlightened attitudes powered the moral imperative to feed the hungry and



clothe the naked which constitutes the Quakers glowing achievement in those bitter years.



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

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



Prepared: October 15, 2013

# ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



SIK'AR

PLANTS

Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place your requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.  
Arrgh.