Henry Thoreau stayed with this family during his visits to Lynn.

“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION, THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY
The recorded Quaker minister Mary Newhall, and friends Elizabeth Redman and Mary Rotch, were in the process of being disowned by the New Bedford Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, for espousal of “advanced doctrines.”

Read about this “New Light” controversy:

**THE “NEW LIGHTS”**

Read about the impact this controversy would have on Waldo Emerson (according to his own evaluation):

**FREDERICK B. TOLLES**

About 35 of these “New Lights” were being disowned in Lynn,¹ and almost that many in nearby Salem. Micah Ruggles and Lydia Dean were involved in this set of beliefs.

¹. Lynn (maybe it was yet called Lynnfield) was less than an hour’s travel from Boston. From Burrill’s Hill there you can see the golden dome of the Massachusetts State House.
Note that Thoreau and Emerson scholars, to date, have taken a simplistic attitude toward this history, presuming for one thing that in the Friendly struggle between Hicksites and Evangelicals, it was always the Hicksites who were disowned and the Evangelicals who stayed in possession of the Quaker logo when that is utterly inaccurate, and presuming, for another thing, that whenever there was a struggle with the Evangelicals in the Friends groups, those who were in opposition were Hicksites or Hicksite sympathizers when that is utterly simplistic. For instance, the “New Light” movement of Mary Newhall that began in about 1815 had not more sympathy for Hicksites than for Evangelicals, was affiliated with the “Irish Liberals,” and was a parallel within Quakerism of the group within the Congregational Church which had eventually split off as Unitarians. (The payoff for these simplistic attitudes is that the scholars get to pretend that the Hicksites were merely Unitarian-symps within Quaker groups, and thus dismiss the fundamental difference between the sort of “reformer” who goes for religious closure, like the Reverend Ralph Waldo Emerson or the Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge or Martin Luther, but merely for closure of a different stamp, and the sort of religious reformer, like Henry Thoreau or Elias Hicks or George Fox, who seeks to forestall any religious closure.) Mary Newhall, Elizabeth Redman, and Mary Rotch, reformers of the “closure-seeking” variety and deadly opponents of the Hicksites (of whom they had no comprehension, because they did not know what it was to seek “non-closure” in matters of the spirit) as well as of the Evangelicals (in opposition to whom they defined themselves), became Unitarians and became friends (small f) of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

To characterize their belief system, the historian has to explain that these “New Lights” opposed the Evangelicals within Quakerism who were tending to oversimplify the spiritual life by an escapism in which the old was automatically better than the new, the past better than the present, their model of religious doctrine being one of gradual deterioration with time, and has also to explain that what they had to offer in the place of these simplicitudes was merely an equal but opposite oversimplicitism according to which the new is automatically better than the old, because bright and new, and the future better than the present because after the present. Their simplistic model of religious doctrine was one of progressive revelation with time — a doctrine of evolutionary progress in religious attitudes similar to the sophomoronic attitude that a few deities are obviously better than a confused pagan mess of them, and one monotheistic deity obviously superior to a few (and no deity superior to one). What these people had to offer reduced to the message “Oh, that’s old-fashioned now,” if one allows that they did deliver this doctrine with some wit and subtlety.
Friend Elias was responsive to the tribulation of these disowned Friends, but his basic attitude had already been expressed in a letter to Martha Aldrich on May 29, 1801: neither memories of the past nor anticipations of the future should be allowed to distract us from the seriousness of our task of using “our own experience and judgment” in “living our daily experience in that injunction of our dear Lord.”

“Elias Hicks”

“The candle could not be often put out, unless it was also often lighted, which shows the mercy of God.”

Is it any wonder that this was the year in which Friend Elias had his first heart attack?

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

Jonathan and Hannah Breed Buffum of Lynn
February 10, First Day: Chief among the “New Lights” of New England was Friend Mary Newhall, who had accused the Quaker elders of a “dead formality” and had been informed by these elders that she was no longer welcome to speak in her New Bedford meeting. This group included a young cordwainer, Benjamin Shaw, who averred their intention to be to “pull the old order down, for they were a stiff, arbitrary set.” A committee of elders had met with him, he had rebuffed them, and he had been disowned. On this First Day, Benjamin Shaw sought to seat himself in the raised seats at the front of the Lynn, Massachusetts meetinghouse in which traditionally the ministers and elders of the meeting positioned themselves. After an unseemly scuffle he was ejected, and then the elders held him at the town’s poorhouse until late in the evening.

Read about this “New Light” controversy:

Read about the impact this controversy would have on Waldo Emerson (according to his own evaluation):

When Carl Maria von Weber left Dresden for Vienna, he was sufficiently worried about his health to leave a farewell note for his wife in a sealed envelope — in case he did not return.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 10th of 2 M / In our Morng Meeting D Buffum was engaged in short but uncommonly lively pertinent & pithy testimony the Afflictions of this life which reached Several present
In the Afternoon we were Silent - In the eveng [---sin] Henry Gould & his Wife visited us –

February 14, 5th day (Thursday): It was Monthly Meeting day at the Lynn, Massachusetts meetinghouse of the Religious Society of Friends, with the committee from the Quarterly Meeting present. Friend Benjamin Shaw again, as he had done on the previous First Day worship, seated himself in one of the raised seats traditionally reserved for recognized ministers and elders. When two Friends attempted forcibly to pull him down he “braced himself against the railing and split the seat,” but nevertheless they managed to carry him away. Struggling, he was being “escorted” toward the meetinghouse door when Friend Caleb Alley interceded by raising his hands “in a fighting attitude,” and he was surrounded. At this point Caleb’s father, Friend John Alley, Jr., entered the building and attempted to make his way up into the ministers’ galley, yelling at the Quakers who stood in his way “Let me go by.” Friend Jonathan Buffum, a housepainter, seized advantage of this confusion and slipped up into the high seats, where he began to shout out a ministry: “You that profess to be Quakers, Christians, have shewn forth by your conduct the fruit of your hell-born principles this day…. You thirst for our blood; you want to feed upon us; this I call spiritual cannibalism.” The meeting for worship was terminated by the elders, the partition separating the men’s section from the women’s section was brought down, and in the men’s section a Monthly Meeting for Business was begun in which Jonathan Buffum and several other “New Lights” were disowned.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 14th of 2nd M / Our Meeting considering it was a moderate
Snow Storm, was pretty well attended by male & female & to me it was a comfortable lively Season - we sat in Silence.
This is Moy [Monthly] Meeting day at Lynn. There is a spirit of Ranterism among them & my mind has been much in sympathy with the faithful among them, especially as some of that spirit was to be taken under dealings at the Meeting this day & much trouble was anticipated. — May Truth Stand its ground & be established over the heads of all opposition. —

February 15, 6th day (Friday) morning: In Lynn, Quaker elder Isaac Basset was informed that Friend John Alley, Jr. was in his neighborhood of the town — and that Friend John had put on a sword. They met in the street and greeted each other with civility. Friend Isaac then advised Friend John to take off the sword and Friend John responded: “You have imposed upon us — it is now Victory or Death — I shall carry this sword to meeting, and if you meddle with or impose upon us, I shall run you thro’ as quick as a wink.”

February 17, 1st Day morning: Friend John Alley, Jr. appeared at the Quaker meetinghouse in Lynn still wearing his sword, and moved to seat himself in one of the high seats traditionally reserved for recognized ministers and elders. Friend Isaac Basset grabbed him about the waist pinning his arms to his side while several others cut the belt of the sword and pulled it away. He, Friend Jonathan Buffum, Friend Benjamin Shaw, and several other “New Lights” then managed to seat themselves in the high seats, some of them by clambering over the main benches in the meetinghouse. The elders of the meeting quickly brought that morning meeting for worship to a close.

At the afternoon meeting for worship, these “New Light” Quakers again seated themselves in the ministers’ section. Friend Isaac Basset invited them to come down and when they accused him of being disorderly, accused them of being the ones who were being disorderly. He gave a signal and three Friends seized Friend Benjamin Shaw, and carried him struggling from the building. Then Friend Jonathan Buffum was removed, and then Friend John Alley, Jr. The three were confined in a nearby house under guard and Friend Preserved Sprague, who had on other occasions behaved in a disruptive manner, was added to their number. There were shouts of “Mob! Mob!” and a deputy sheriff of the town appeared and read the riot act.

That evening a Salem sheriff would take custody of the four detained Quakers of Lynn.

Meanwhile on this day, in Concord, Massachusetts, it was 18 days subsequent to the death of Brister Freeman, and his grandson John Freeman for whom he had been providing, an 8-year-old whose father was long gone and whose mother had died a year and a half earlier, also succumbed — apparently of neglect.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 17th of 2nd M 1822 / In the forenoon Father Rodman was engaged in a short lively testimony. - Afternoon Silent - both meetings were rather small in consequence of the walking - both to me were seasons of but little life —
February 18, 2d day (Monday): The four disruptive Quakers from Lynn, Benjamin Shaw, John Alley, Junior, Jonathan Buffum, and Preserved Sprague, were arraigned in Salem court, declined to produce bail, and were returned to confinement.

In the records of Boston: “Be it enacted, etc., as follows: ... Sophia Lapham, widow, may take the name of Sophia Dunbar, and that her son, Charles Howard Lapham, a minor, may take the name of Charles Howard Dunbar.”

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

2. Such a renouncing of a father’s name is such an unusual event as to raise the suspicions of a historian. Perhaps the father—who was being said to have deceased but for whom no actual record of date or manner of death has ever been produced—was still alive. Note also the interesting fact that this name being chosen, “Charles Howard Dunbar,” was not even a unique one, as there was already a Charles Howard Dunbar, a different person, who had been born in 1811 in West Bridgewater and would marry there in 1836.
March 16, Saturday: In the sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin of the Pillar, in her villa at Castenaso near Bologna, the coloratura Isabella Colbran got married with the opera composer Gioachino Rossini (the couple were on their way from Naples to Vienna).

Friends Benjamin Shaw, John Alley, Junior, Jonathan Buffum, and Preserved Sprague were tried in Ipswich on charges of disturbing the peace by having disrupted Quaker worship at the Lynn meetinghouse, and moderate fines were exacted, with Judge Samuel Howe threatening the defendants that any repetition of such conduct would inevitably result in much harsher penalties before the law (Friend Benjamin Shaw, whom they allowed might be showing signs of mental instability, was given the benefit of the doubt and found not guilty):

TRIAL OF BENJAMIN SHAW, JOHN ALLEY, JUNIOR, JONATHAN BUFFUM AND PRESERVED SPRAGUE: FOR RIOTS AND DISTURBANCE OF PUBLIC WORSHIP IN THE SOCIETY OF QUAKERS, AT LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, HELD AT IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS, MARCH 16TH, 1822 (Cushing & Appleton, 1822).

LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.
March 18, Monday: The Preparative Meeting recommended to the New Bedford Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends that Friend Mary Newhall be disowned (eventually the bodies of the local New Lights would be allowed to be buried in the meeting’s cemetery, although surrounded by a fence to distinguish these ones as disowned).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould commented about the lonely state of the sole remaining Jew of Newport, Rhode Island, Moses Lopez:

2nd day 18 of 3 M / Last night at half past 11 OClock JACOB LOPEZ died - he & his Brother Moses were the only Jews to have lived in Newport for a number of Years & no men have stood fairer as Moral honest men – They are old acquaintances of mine, they have often visited me in my shop & passed many hours in pleasant converstaion, & poor MOSES will now feel himself as he really is quite alone, & destitute of associates of his own religious views – I visited him this morning & found him in affliction

WHAT I’M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF

(Thoreau would make notes on this reading in his Indian Notebook #6 and in his Fact Book.)

A Spiritualist convention began in New-York’s Masonic Temple. Jonathan Buffum of Lynn, Massachusetts would serve as this convention’s chairman, Mr. Haywood of Milford, Alfred Bingham of New-York, and the Reverend Mr. Loveland of Charlestown would be their Vice Presidents, and Messrs. C.H. White and S.C. Hewitt would serve as their Secretaries. A newspaper reporter was present and taking notes, and would soon file a report full of mockery and diatribe.
Marietta Alboni would be appearing on this evening and the following one, in *Cenerentola* at the Broadway Theater. Soon she would be appearing in Donizetti’s *Daughter of the Regiment* and then in Bellini’s *Sonnambula* and *Norma* (all this would be witnessed by Walt Whitman).
Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: This was Nathaniel Hawthorne’s 50th birthday.

Rowland Hussey Macy (1822-1919) had gotten started in retail in 1851 with a dry goods store in downtown Haverhill. Macy’s policy from the very first was “His goods are bought for cash, and will be sold for the same, at a small advance.” On this date Macy’s 1st parade marched down the main drag of the little New England village. It was too hot and only about a hundred people viewed his celebration. In 1858 Macy would sell this store and, with the financial backing of Caleb Dustin Hunking of Haverhill, relocate the retail business to easier pickings in New-York. (So, have you heard of the New York Macy’s department store? –Have you shopped there?)

When the mayor of Wilmington, Delaware jailed City Council member Joshua S. Valentine for setting off firecrackers, he was mobbed by a group of indignant citizens.

Henry Thoreau went at “8 A.M. –To Framingham.”

At this abolitionist picnic celebrating our nation’s birthday and the Declaration of Independence, attended by some 600, a man the Standard described as “a sort of literary recluse,” name of Henry David Thoreau, declared for dissolution of the federal union.

Sojourner Truth was another of the speakers, although we do not know whether she spoke before or after Thoreau (the newspaper reporter who was present failed entirely to notice that Sojourner took part), nor
whether he sat on the platform beside her. Stephen Symonds Foster and Abby Kelley Foster were present.

(Abby probably brought her daughter Alla to the picnic, for it was always a family affair, with swings for the children, boating on a nearby pond, and a convenient refreshment stand since the day would be quite hot,
and confined her remarks to an appeal for funds), and Lucy Stone, as were Wendell Phillips, Charles Lenox.
When the meeting in the shady amphitheater was called to order at 10:45AM by Charles Jackson Francis, the first order of business had to be election of officials for the day. Garrison became the event’s president and Francis Jackson of Boston, William Whiting of Concord, Effingham L. Capron of Worcester, Dora M. Taft of Framingham, Charles Lenox Remond of Salem, John Pierpont of Medford, Charles F. Hovey of Gloucester, Jonathan Buffum of Lynn, Asa Cutler of Connecticut, and Andrew T. Foss of New Hampshire its vice presidents. The Reverend Samuel J. May, Jr., of Leicester, William H. Fish of Milford, and R.F. Wallcut of Boston became its secretaries. Abby Kelley Foster, Ebenezer D. Draper, Lewis Ford, Mrs. Olds of Ohio, Lucy Stone, and Nathaniel B. Spooner would constitute its Finance Committee. Garrison then read from Scripture, the assembly sang an Anti-Slavery hymn, and Dr. Henry O. Stone issued the Welcome.

3. There was an active agent of the Underground railroad on that platform, we may note, and it was not the gregarious Truth but the “sort of literary recluse” Thoreau. That is, please allow me to state the following in regard to the existence of eyewitness testimony, that the Thoreau home in Concord was in the period prior to the Civil War a waystation on the Underground Railway: we might reappraise Thoreau’s relationship with Sojourner Truth, of whom it has been asserted by Ebony Magazine that she was a “Leader of the Underground Railroad Movement” (February 1987), by asking whether there is any comparable eyewitness testimony, that Truth ever was involved in that risky and illegal activity? Her biographer refers to her as a “loose cannon,” not the sort of close-mouthed person who could be relied upon as a participant in a quite secret and quite illegal and quite dangerous endeavor, and considers also that no such evidence has ever been produced. The Thoreaus, in contrast, not only were never regarded as loose in this manner, but were, we know, regarded as utterly reliable — and in the case of the Thoreau family home the evidence for total involvement exists and is quite conclusive.
I will quote a couple of paragraphs about the course of the meeting from the Foster biography, *AHEAD OF HER TIME*:

*Heading the finance committee, Abby made her usual appeal for funds, Stephen called on the friends of liberty to resist the Fugitive Slave Law, "each one with such weapons as he thought right and proper," and Wendell Phillips, Sojourner Truth, and Lucy Stone held the audience in thrall with their "soul-eloquence." After an hour’s break for refreshments Henry Thoreau castigated Massachusetts for being in the service of the Slaveholders and demanded that the state leave the Union. "I have lived for the last month—and I think that every man in Massachusetts capable of the sentiment of patriotism must have had a similar experience— with the sense of having suffered a vast and indefinite loss. I did not know what ailed me. At last it occurred to me that what I had lost was a country."

Thoreau’s speech is still reprinted, but William Lloyd Garrison provided the most dramatic moment of that balmy July day. Placing a lighted candle on the lectern, he picked up a copy of the Fugitive Slave Law and touched it to the flame. As it burned, he intoned a familiar phrase: "And let all the people say Amen." As the shouts of "Amen" echoed, he burned the U.S. commissioner’s decision in the Burns case. Then he held a copy of the United States Constitution to the candle, proclaiming, “So perish all compromises with tyranny.” As it burned to ashes, he repeated, “And let all the people say Amen.” While the audience responded with a tremendous shout of "Amen," he stood before them with arms extended, as if in blessing. No one who was present ever forgot the scene; it was the high point of unity among the Garrisonian abolitionists.*

This biography of Abby Kelley, with its suggestion that Thoreau’s speech, which it condenses to three sentences, must have been significant because it is “still reprinted,” overlooks the fact that Thoreau had not been granted an opportunity to read his entire lecture. A contemporary comment on the speech was more accurate:

*Henry Thoreau, of Concord, read portions of a racy and ably written address, the whole of which will be published in the Liberator.*

That is, Thoreau delivered a 4th-of-July oration at Framingham MA on *“SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS”*, criticizing the governor and the chief justice of Massachusetts who were in the audience. –But, he was not
allowed the opportunity to read his entire essay.

The whole military force of the State is at the service of a Mr. Suttle, a slaveholder from Virginia, to enable him to catch a man whom he calls his property; but not a soldier is offered to save a citizen of Massachusetts from being kidnapped! Is this what all these soldiers, all this training has been for these seventy-nine years past? Have they been trained merely to rob Mexico, and carry back fugitive slaves to their masters? These very nights, I heard the sound of a drum in our streets. There were men training still; and for what? I could with an effort pardon the cockerels of Concord for crowing still, for they, perchance, had not been beaten that morning; but I could not excuse this rub-a-dub of the "trainers." The slave was carried back by exactly such as these, i.e., by the soldier, of whom the best you can say in this connection is that he is a fool made conspicuous by a painted coat.

Note that on paper, at least, if not verbally as well, he made a reference to martyrdom by hanging: “I would side with the light, and let the dark earth roll from under me, calling my mother and my brother to follow.” Here is another account of the actual speech, as opposed to what was printed later, from one who was there in
the audience standing before that platform draped in mourning black:

He began with the simple words, “You have my sympathy; it is all I have to give you, but you may find it important to you.” It was impossible to associate egotism with Thoreau; we all felt that the time and trouble he had taken at that crisis to proclaim his sympathy with the “Disunionists” was indeed important. He was there a representative of Concord, of science and letters, which could not quietly pursue their tasks while slavery was trampling down the rights of mankind. Alluding to the Boston commissioner who had surrendered Anthony Burns, Edward G. Loring, Thoreau said, “The fugitive’s case was already decided by God, — not Edward G. God, but simple God.” This was said with such serene unconsciousness of anything shocking in it that we were but mildly startled.

At the end of the morning meeting Thoreau was on the platform while Garrison, the featured speaker, burned the federal Constitution on a pewter plate as a “covenant with death” because it countenanced the return of runaway slaves to their owners — Margaret Fuller’s grandfather Timothy Fuller Sr., who had refused to consent to that document when it was originally promulgated because of its ridiculous mincing about slavery, would have been proud of him! Thoreau’s inflammatory oratory was less inflammatory than addresses made on that occasion by Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Charles Lenox Remond, for their speeches drew comments but Thoreau’s did not.

On our nation’s birthday the platform had been draped in black crepe as a symbol of mourning, as at a state funeral, and carried the insignia of the State of Virginia, which stood as the destination of Anthony Burns, and this insignia of the State of Virginia was decorated with — with, in magnificent irony, ribbons of triumph! Above the platform flew the flags of Kansas and Nebraska, emblematic of the detested new Kansas/Nebraska Act. As the background of all this, the flag of the United States of America was hung, but it was upside down, the symbol of distress, and it also was bordered in black, the symbol of death.

I think no great public calamity, not the death of Daniel Webster, not the death of Charles Sumner, not the loss of great battles during the War, brought such a sense of gloom over the whole State as the surrender of Anthony Burns.
Garrison placed a lighted candle on the lectern, and touched a corner of the Fugitive Slave Law to the flame. As it burned, he orated “And let all the people say Amen” and the crowd shouted “Amen!” Then he touched a corner of the US commissioner’s decision in the Burns case to the candle flame. Then he touched a corner of a copy of the federal Constitution to the candle flame, and orated “So perish all compromises with tyranny.” As the paper was reduced to ashes, he orated “And let all the people say Amen” and stood with his arms extended as if in blessing.

Moncure Daniel Conway’s comment, later, about the moment when Garrison set the match to the constitution, and the few scattered boos and hisses were drowned out by the thunderous “Amen” of the crowd, was:

That day I distinctly recognized that the antislavery cause was a religion.

In the afternoon Moncure Daniel Conway spoke, as a Virginian aristocrat, a child of position and privilege. Look at me! It was his 1st antislavery attempt at identity politics grandstanding. Leaning on the concept, he insisted that the force of public opinion in his home state was so insane and so hotheaded that every white man with a conscience, “or even the first throbings of a conscience,” was a slave to this general proslavery public posture. He offered that to resist this Southern certitude, each Northerner would need to “abolish slavery in his
(So, you see, the white man has been self-enslaved: the problem is not so much that slavery harms the black man as that slavery harms the white man, shudder.)

Then Wendell Phillips spoke.

We know that Sojourner Truth spoke from that mourning-draped platform after a white man from Virginia had described his being thrown in jail there on account of his antislavery convictions, because in her speech she commented on this: how helpful it was for white people to obtain some experience of oppression. She warned that “God would yet execute his judgments upon the white people for their oppression and cruelty.” She asked why it was that white people hated black people so. She said that the white people owed the colored race a debt so huge that they would never be able to pay it back — but would have to repent so as to have this debt forgiven them. Nell Painter has characterized this message as “severe and anguished,” and has commented that despite the cheers and applause, “Her audiences preferred not to grapple with all she had to say.” Her humor must have been such, Painter infers, as to allow her white listeners to exempt themselves from this very general denunciation:

They did not hear wrath against whites, but against the advocates of slavery. It is understandable, no doubt, that Truth’s audiences, who wanted so much to love this old black woman who had been a slave, found it difficult to fathom the depths of her bitterness.

4. We may note how different this was from the Reverend Theodore Parker’s “kill the Negro in us.”
Americans at large often held the abolitionists responsible for the war. They argued that the abolitionists’ long agitation, strident as it often was, had antagonized the South into secession, thus beginning the war, and that the abolitionists’ insistence that the war should not end until all slavery had been abolished kept the war going. In 1863 the widely read New York Herald made the charge devastatingly personal. It specified that by being responsible for the war, each abolitionist had in effect already killed one man and permanently disabled four others. … While William Lloyd Garrison preferred voluntary emancipation, during the war he came to look with tolerance on the abolition of slavery by military necessity, saying that from seeming evil good may come. Similarly, the Garrisonian-Quaker editor, Oliver Johnson, while also preferring voluntary emancipation, pointed out that no reform ever triumphed except through mixed motives. But the Garrisonian lecturer Pillsbury was contemptuous of such attitudes. Freeing the slaves by military necessity would be of no benefit to the slave, he said in 1862, and the next year when the Emancipation Proclamation was already being put into effect, he said that freeing the slaves by military necessity could not create permanent peace. Parker Pillsbury won considerable support for his view from abolitionist meetings and from abolitionist leaders as well. Veteran Liberator writer Edwin Percy Whipple insisted that “true welfare” could come to the American people “only through a willing promotion of justice and freedom.” Henry C. Wright repeatedly said that only ideas, not bullets, could permanently settle the question of slavery. The recent Garrisonian convert, the young orator Ezra Heywood, pointed out that a government that could abolish slavery as a military necessity had no antislavery principles and could therefore re-establish slavery if circumstances required it. The Virginia aristocrat-turned-abolitionist, Moncure Daniel Conway, had misgivings that if emancipation did not come before it became a fierce necessity, it would not reflect true benevolence and hence could not produce true peace. The Philadelphia wool merchant, Quaker Alfred H. Love, asked, “Can so sublime a virtue as … freedom … be the offspring of so corrupt a parentage as war?” The long-time abolitionist Abby Kelley Foster—the speak-inner and Underground Railroader—predicted flatly, if the slave is freed only out of consideration for the safety of the Union, “the hate of the colored race will still continue, and the poison of that wickedness will destroy us as a nation.” Amid the searing impact of the war—the burning fields, the mangled bodies, the blood-splattered hills and fields—a few abolitionists had not forgotten their fundamental belief that to achieve humanitarian reform, particularly if it was to be thorough and permanent reform, the methods used to achieve it must be consistent with the nature of the reform. … What abolitionists often chose to brush aside was that after the war most blacks would still be living in the South, among the same Confederates whom they were now trying to kill.
January 13, Wednesday: Henry Thoreau lectured at Lynn, visiting Nahant and Danvers. At Lynn he lectured in the parlor of John and Mercy Buffum Alley, disowned Hicksite Quakers who were the parents of the Mary Buffum Mansfield who had heard Thoreau speak during silent worship at Eagleswood on October 26, 1856, (am I sure this was not November 1??), and had written down what he said. 

5. [What relation was this Mercy Buffum Alley to the James N. Buffum, successful carpenter of Lynn MA, who had been Frederick Douglass’s traveling companion in steerage aboard the Cambria to Ireland in 1845?]
6. It appears that Charles Chauncy Shackford and John B. Alley were responsible for Thoreau’s being invited to lecture in Lynn at the end of 1857.
On his way Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, the Collections of the New York Historical Society volume for 1857, in which is to be found, on pages 9-136, Henry C. Murphy’s translation “Voyages from Holland to America, A.D., 1632 to 1644” of David Pietersz. de Vries’s Korte Historiael ende Journaels Aenteeyckeninge van Verscheyden Voyagiens in de Vier Deelen des Wereldts — Ronde, als Europa, Africa, Asia, ende Amerika gedaen, door D. David Pietersz. De Vries, Artilleru-Meester vande Ed: M: Heeren Gecommitteerde Raden van Staten van West-Vrieslandt ende ’t Noorder-quartier waerin verhaelt werd wat Batalijes by te water gedaen herft: yder Landschap zijn Gedierte, Gevogelt, wat soorte van Vissen ende wat wilde menschen Nakr ’t leven geconterfaeyt,
In this same volume, on pages 163-229, is to be found John Gilmary Shea’s translation “The Jogues Papers” of an account by Père Isaac Jogues, and on pages 309-322, Shea’s translation “Narrative of a Voyage made for the Abnaquois Missions...” of an account by Père Gabriel Druillettes. (Thoreau would copy from these two translations into his Indian Notebook #11.)
Having already perused the JESUIT RELATION volumes for the years 1633-1643, and the volumes numbered 11 through 26, he checked out the volumes for 1662-1663 and for 1663-1664.\footnote{Thoreau presumably read each and every volume of the JESUIT RELATIONS that was available in the stacks at the Harvard Library. We know due to extensive extracts in his Indian Notebooks #7 and #8 that between 1852 and 1857 he did withdraw or consult all the volumes for the years between 1633 and 1672. Thoreau took notes in particular in regard to the reports by Father Jean de Brébeuf, Father Jacques Buteux, Father Claude Dablon, Father Jérôme Lallemang, Father Paul Le Jeune, Father François Le Mercier, Father Julien Perrault, Father Jean de Quens, Father Paul Ragueneau, and Father Barthélemy Vimont.}

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January 13, Wednesday: Go to Lynn to lecture, via Cambridge.
4:30 P.M.—At Jonathan Buffum’s, Lynn. Lecture in John B. Alley’s parlor. Mr. J. Buffum describes to me ancient wolf-traps, made probably by the early settlers in Lynn, perhaps after an Indian model; one some two miles from the shore near Saugus, another more northerly; holes say seven feet deep, about as long, and some three feet wide, stoned up very smoothly, and perhaps converging a little, so that the wolf could not get out. Tradition says that a wolf and a squaw were one morning found in the same hole, staring at each other.

Cramoisy, Sebastian (ed.). \textit{Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France in l'année 1636: envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France, par le P. Paul Le Jeune de la même Compagnie, supérieur de la résidence de Kébec.} A Paris: Chez Sébastien Cramoisy..., 1637
January 14, Thursday: In an effort to cool the atmosphere between himself and the Wesendoncks over the ménage a trois, Richard Wagner left Zürich for Paris.

Felice Orsini, an Italian patriot and follower of Giuseppe Mazzini, led a small band in throwing several bombs at the carriage carrying Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie to the Paris Opéra. Two people were killed. The Empress and about 150 others were injured. Orsini would be captured and executed. As the Emperor reached his box at the Opéra, the audience, aware of the attempt on his life, nevertheless remained mute.

Giuseppe Verdi arrived in Naples with an opera about killing a king.

Francisco Javier Istúriz y Montero replaced Francisco Armero y Fernández Peñaranda, marqués de Nervión as Prime Minister of Spain.

January 14, Thursday [1858]: Mr. Buffum says that in 1817 or 1819 he saw the sea-serpent at Swampscott, and so did several hundred others. He was to be seen off and on for some time. There were many people on the beach the first time, in carriages partly in the water, and the serpent came so near that they, thinking that he might come ashore, involuntarily turned their horses to the shore as with a general consent, and this movement caused him to shear off also. The road from Boston was lined with people directly, coming to see the monster. Prince came with his spy-glass, saw, and printed his account of him. Buffum says he has seen him twenty times, once alone, from the rocks at Little Nahant, when he passed along close to the shore just beneath the surface, and within fifty or sixty feet of him, so that he could have touched him with a very long pole, if he had dared to. Buffum is about sixty, and it should be said, as affecting the value of his evidence, that he is a firm believer in Spiritualism.

This forenoon I rode to Nahant with Mr. Buffum. All the country bare. A fine warm day; neither snow nor ice, unless you search narrowly for them. On the way we pass Mr. Alonzo Lewis's cottage. On the top of each of his stone posts is fastened a very perfectly egg-shaped pebble of sienite from Kettle Cove, fifteen to eighteen inches long and of proportionate diameter. I never saw any of that size so perfect. There are some fifteen of them about his house, and on one flatter, circular one he has made a dial, by which I learned the hour (9:30 A. M.). Says he was surveying once at Kettle Cove, where they form a beach a third of a mile long and two to ten feet deep, and he brought home as many as his horse could draw. His house is clapboarded with hemlock bark; now some twenty years old. He says that he built it himself.

Called at the shop where lately Samuel Jillson, now of Feltonville, set up birds,—for he is a taxidermist and very skillful; kills his own birds and with blow-guns, which he makes and sells, some seven feet long, of glass, using a clay ball. Is said to be a dead shot at six rods!

Warm and fall-like as it is, saw many snow buntings at the entrance to the beach. Saw many black ducks (so Lewis said; may they not have been velvet ducks, i. e. coot?) on the sea. Heard of a flock of geese (!) (may they not have been brant, or some other species?), etc.; ice[?] divers. On the south side of Little Nahant a large mass of fine pudding-stone. Nahant is said to have been well-wooded, and furnished timber for the wharves of Boston, i. e. to build them. Now a few willows and balm-of-Gileads are the only trees, if you except two or three small cedars. They say others will not grow on account of wind. The rocks are porphyry, with dykes of dark greenstone in it, and, at the extremity of Nahant, argillaceous slate, very distinctly stratified, with fossil corallines in it (?), looking like shells. Egg Rock, it seems, has a fertile garden on the top.

P.M.–Rode with J. Buffum, Parker Pillsbury, and Mr. Mudge, a lawyer and geologist of Lynn, into the northwest part of Lynn, to the Danvers line. After a mile or two, we passed beyond the line of the porphyry into the sienite. The sienite is more rounded. Saw some furrows in sienite. On a ledge of sienite in the woods, the rocky woods near Danvers line, saw many boulders of sienite, part of the same flocch of which Ship Rock (so called) in Danvers is one. One fifteen feet long, ten wide, and five or six deep rested on four somewhat rounded (at least water-worn) stones, eighteen inches in diameter or more, so that you could crawl under it, on the top of a cliff, and projected about eight feet over it,—just as it was dropped by an iceberg. A fine broad-backed ledge of sienite just beyond, north or northwest, from which we saw Wachusett, Watatic, Monadnock, and the Peterboro Hills. Also saw where one Boyse (if that is the spelling), a miller in old times, got out millstones in a primitive way, so said an old man who was chopping there. He pried or cracked off a piece of the crust of the ledge, lying horizontal, some sixteen or eighteen inches thick, then made a fire on it about its edges, and, pouring on water,
cracked or softened it, so that he could break off the edges and make it round with his sledge. Then he picked a hole through the middle and hammered it as smooth as he could, and it was done. But this old man said that he had heard old folks say that the stones were so rough in old times that they made a noise like thunder as they revolved, and much grit was mixed with the meal.

Returning down a gully, I thought I would look for a new plant and found at once what I suppose to be Genista tinctoria, dyers’-green-weed,—the stem is quite green, with a few pods and leaves left. It is said to have become naturalized on the hills of Essex County. Close by was a mass of sienite some seven or eight feet high, with a cedar some two inches thick springing from a mere crack in its top.

Visited Jordan’s or the Lynn Quarry (of sienite) on our return, more southerly. The stone cracks very squarely and into very large masses. In one place was a dyke of dark greenstone, of which, joined to the sienite, I brought off two specimens, q. v. The more yellowish and rotten surface stone, lying above the hard and gray, is called the sap by the quarrymen.

From these rocks and wooded hills three or four miles inland in the northwest edge of Lynn, we had an extensive view of the ocean from Cape Ann to Scituate, and realized how the aborigines, when hunting, berrying, might perchance have looked out thus on the early navigators sailing along the coast,—thousands of them,—when they little suspected it,—how patent to the inhabitants their visit must have been. A vessel could hardly have passed within half a dozen miles of the shore, even,—at one place only, in pleasant weather,—without being seen by hundreds of savages.

Mudge gave me Saugus jasper, graywacke, amygdaloid (greenstone with nodules of feldspar), asbestos, hornstone (?); Buffum some porphyry, epidote, argillaceous slate from end of Nahant.

Mr. Buffum tells me that they never eat the seaclams without first taking out “the worm,” as it is called, about as large as the small end of a pipe-stem. He supposes it is the penis.
The “sea serpent” of August 18, 1817 was again reported off Cape Ann. So the question becomes — what magnificent child was being born in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in this year AD1871?°

8. Later in his life, in 1858, Henry Thoreau had recorded some eye-witness testimony of this phenomenal apparition, although he carefully qualified the source of the testimony as being a person who was also a believer in Spiritualism:

January 14, 1858: Mr. Buffum says that in 1817 or 1819 he saw the sea-serpent at Swampscott, and so did several hundred others. He was to be seen off and on for some time. There were many people on the beach the first time, in carriages partly in the water, and the serpent came so near that they, thinking that he might come ashore, involuntarily turned their horses to the shore as with a general consent, and this movement caused him to shear off also. The road from Boston was lined with people directly, coming to see the monster. Prince came with his spy-glass, saw, and printed his account of him. Buffum says he has seen him twenty times, once alone, from the rocks at Little Nahant, when he passed along close to the shore just beneath the surface, and within fifty or sixty feet of him, so that he could have touched him with a very long pole, if he had dared to. Buffum is about sixty, and it should be said, as affecting the value of his evidence, that he is a firm believer in Spiritualism.
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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: September 1, 2014
This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.
Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology—but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary "writerly" process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.