PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

PEOPLE ALMOST MENTIONED IN WALDEN:

HARRIET MARTINEAU

1800

Jane Johnston (Schoolcraft) was born in this year as one of eight children of an Irish fur trader and an influential Chippewa or Ojibwa (alternate Englishings of the same tribal name) woman, daughter of tribal leader Waub Ojeeb (White Fisher). Jane would grow up in Sault Ste. Marie and returned there after being educated in Ireland. She would learn tribal lore from her mother and would speak Ojibwa fluently.
War Department agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft would board with the Johnston family when he arrived in 1822, assigned to gain tribal cooperation in new policies concerning control of the Great Lakes area established after the War of 1812. The Johnstons would assist him in researching Indian culture. Jane would help him compile a Chippewa vocabulary and would draw his interest toward tales and legends. They would marry in 1823. With her husband, beginning in 1826, Schoolcraft would publish THE LITERARY VOYAGER OR *MUZZENIEGUN* (printed document or book), a weekly magazine distributed in eastern cities as well as locally, with articles on Ojibwa culture, history, and biography. Her writings, including Christian devotional poems, tributes to her grandfather, and poems on the death of her son, would appear in the magazine under the pseudonyms Rosa and *Leelinau*. Jane Johnston Schoolcraft would become widely known as "The Northern Pocahontas" and would be sought out by traveling public intellectuals, among them British authors Harriet Martineau and Anna B. Jameson. She would die in 1841.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1802

June 12, Saturday: Harriet Martineau was born in England of a Huguenot family which had become Unitarian:

> On occasion of the Revelation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1688, a surgeon of the name of Martineau, and a family of the name of Pierre, crossed the Channel, and settled with other Huguenot refugees, in England. My ancestor married a young lady of the Pierre family, and settled in Norwich, where his descendants afforded a succession of surgeons up to my own day. My eminent uncle, Mr. Philip Meadows Martineau, and my eldest brother, who died before the age of thirty, were the last Norwich surgeons of the name. — My grandfather, who was one of the honorable series, died at the age of forty-two, of a fever caught among his poor patients. He left a large family, of whom my father was the youngest. When established as a Norwich manufacturer, my father married Elizabeth Rankin, the eldest daughter of a sugar-refiner at Newcastle upon Tyne. My father and mother had eight children, of whom I was the sixth: and I was born on the 12th of June, 1802.

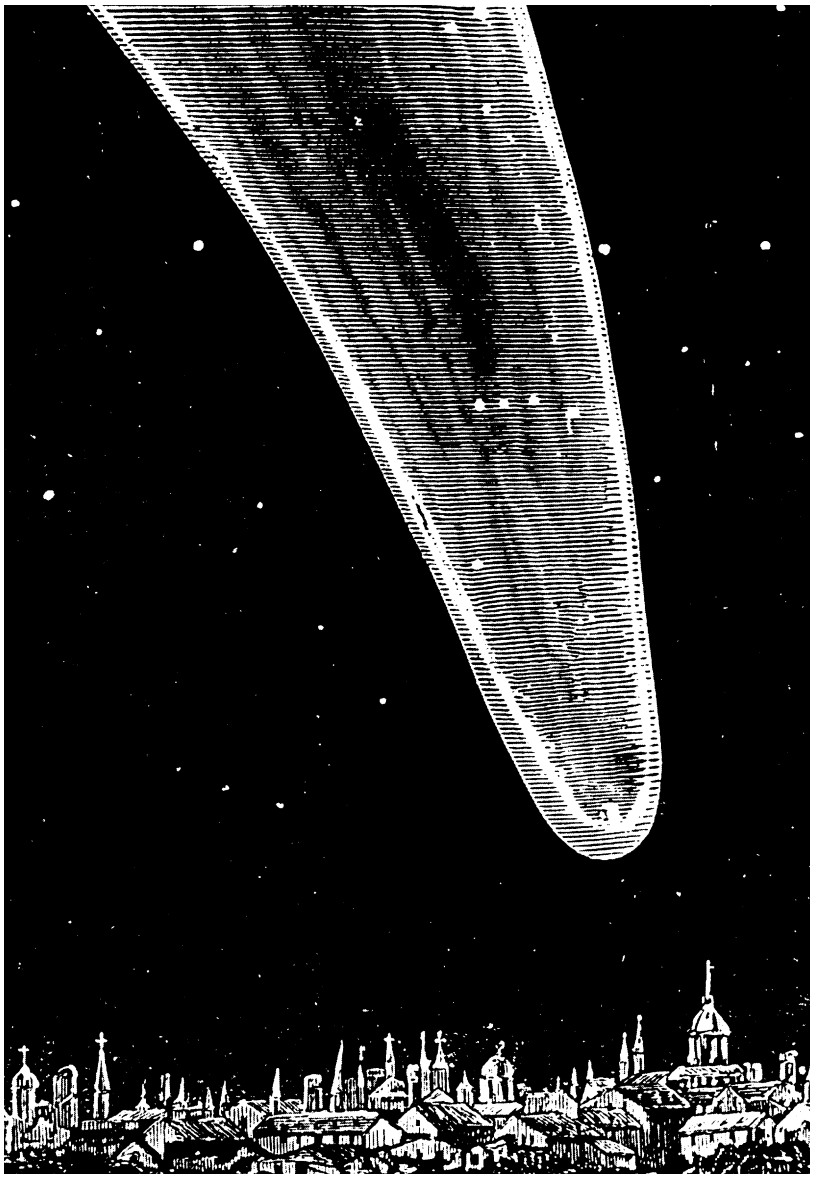
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1811

Professor Sylvestre François Lacroix's *INTRODUCTION À LA GÉOGRAPHIE MATHÉMATIQUE ET CRITIQUE, ET À LA GÉOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE* (Paris: J.G. Dentu, Imprimeur-Libraire, Rue du Pont de Lodi, n^{o} 3, près le Pont-Neuf).

A spectacular comet appeared, with a tail that would extend some 100,000,000 across the heavens, a greater distance than from the sun to the earth. This comet would remain visible for a year and a half and would be very bright for many weeks. Henry Bell's steamship *The Comet*, which would go into operation on the Clyde River of Scotland in the following year, would be named after this comet. Since, in this year, Portugal would produce a very good vintage of port, this vintage would be marketed for many years as "comet wine," the unusual size of the comet being pressed into service as an explanation for the unusual excellence of the vintage. The comet would appear on the bottle labels as a maiden with streaming hair holding burning brands in her

hands.



This, the "Great Comet of 1811," would be given a mention by Tolstòy in WAR AND PEACE:[1]

> *The radiant star which, after traveling in its orbit with inconceivable velocity through infinite space, seemed suddenly –like an arrow piercing the earth– to remain fast in one chosen spot in the black firmament, vigorously tossing up its tail.*

SKY EVENT

Nine-year-old Harriet Martineau would, to her mortification, be entirely unable to make out the comet in the night sky no matter how hard she tried:

> When the great comet of 1811 was attracting all eyes, my star-gazing was just as ineffectual. Night after night, the whole family of us went up to the long windows at the top of my father's warehouse; and the exclamations on all hands about the comet perfectly exasperated me,—because I could not see it! "Why, there it is!" "It is as big as a saucer." "It is as big as a cheese-plate." "Nonsense; you might as well pretend not to see the moon." Such were the mortifying comments on my grudging admission that I could not see the comet. And I never did see it. Such is the fact; and philosophers may make of it what they may,—remembering that I was then nine years old, and with remarkably good eyes.

1814

The 12-year-old Harriet Martineau was gradually becoming deaf:

> The first distinct recognition of my being deaf, more or less, was when I was at Mr. Perry's, — when I was about twelve years old. It was a very slight, scarcely-perceptible hardness of hearing at that time; and the recognition was merely this; — that in that great vaulted school-room before-mentioned, where there was a large space between the class and the master's desk or the fire, I was excused from taking places in class, and desired to sit always at the top, because it was somewhat nearer the master, whom I could not always hear further off. When Mr. Perry changed his abode, and we were in a smaller school-room, I again took places with the rest. I remember no other difficulty about hearing at that time. I certainly heard perfectly well at chapel, and all public speaking (I remember Wilberforce in our vast St. Andrew's Hall) and general conversation everywhere: but before I was sixteen, it had become very noticeable, very inconvenient, and excessively painful to myself. I did once think of writing down the whole dreary story of the loss of a main sense, like hearing; and I would not now shrink from inflicting the pain of it on others, and on myself, if any adequate benefit could be obtained by it. But, really, I do not

1. "GREAT COMET, (C/1811 F1=1811 I). Followed without optical aid from Apr. 1811 until Jan. of 1812, T=1811 September 12. Also known as Comet Flaugergues. During April faintly visible to the unaided eye low in the evening sky in Puppis. Brightened to roughly magnitude 5 before entering the twilight. Not seen again until the third week of August when still in conjunction with the Sun but well north of it in Leo Minor. Visible at both dusk and dawn as an object of perhaps 2-3 magnitude. Moved steadily to the northeast. In mid September, of magnitude 1-2, tail a dozen degrees long. In the beginning of October, visible throughout the night from mid northern latitudes as a spectacular object situated below the handle of the Big Dipper. Comet's head about 1st magnitude with a tail spanning up to 25 degrees. Later in October traversed Bootes and Hercules as an evening object, magnitude 1-2, tail over 20 degrees long. Early in December situated near the star Altair, magnitude 3-4 with a 5 degree tail. At the opening of January 1812, when approaching the evening twilight, visible as a 5th magnitude object in Aquarius."

see that there could. It is true, — the sufferers rarely receive the comfort of adequate, or even intelligent sympathy: but there is no saying that an elaborate account of the woe would create the sympathy, for practical purposes. Perhaps what I have said in the "Letter to the Deaf," which I published in 1834, will serve as well as anything I could say here to those who are able to sympathise at all; and I will therefore offer no elaborate description of the daily and hourly trials which attend the gradual exclusion from the world of sound.

Some suggestions and conclusions, however, it is right to offer. — I have never seen a deaf child's education welt managed at home, or at an ordinary school. It does not seem to be ever considered by parents and teachers how much more is learned by oral intercourse than in any other way; and, for want of this consideration, they find too late, and to their consternation, that the deaf pupil turns out deficient in sense, in manners, and in the knowledge of things so ordinary that they seem to be matters of instinct rather than of information. Too often, also, the deaf are sly and tricky, selfish and egotistical; and the dislike which attends them is the sin of the parent's ignorance visited upon the children. These worst cases are of those who are deaf from the outset, or from a very early age; and in as far as I was exempt from them, it was chiefly because my education was considerably advanced before my hearing began to go. In such a case as mine, the usual evil (far less serious) in that the sufferer is inquisitive, — will know everything that is said, and becomes a bore to all the world. From this I was saved (or it helped to save me) by a kind word from my eldest brother. (From how much would a few more such words have saved me?) He had dined in company with an elderly single lady, — a sort of provincial blue-stocking in her time, — who was growing deaf, rapidly, and so sorely against her will that she tried to ignore the fact to the last possible moment. At that dinner-party, this lady sat next her old acquaintance, William Taylor of Norwich, who never knew very well how to deal with ladies (except, to his honour be it spoken, his blind mother;) and Miss N — teased him to tell her all that every body said till he grew quite testy and rude. My brother told me, with tenderness in his voice, that he thought of me while blushing, as every body present did, for Miss N — ; and that he hoped that if ever I should grow as deaf as she, I should never be seen making myself so irksome and absurd. This helped me to a resolution which I made and never broke, — never to ask what was said. Amidst remonstrance, kind and testy, and every sort of provocation, I have adhered to this resolution, — confident in its soundness. I think now, as I have thought always, that it is impossible for the deaf to divine what is worth asking for and what is not; and that one's friends may always be trusted, if left unmolested, to tell one whatever is essential, or really worth hearing.

One important truth about the case of persons deficient in a sense I have never seen noticed; and I much doubt whether ever

occurs to any but the sufferers under that deficiency. We sufferers meet with abundance of compassion for our privations: but the privation is, (judging by my own experience) a very inferior evil to the fatigue imposed by the obstruction. In my case, to be sure, the deficiency of three senses out of five renders the instance a very strong one: but the merely blind or deaf must feel something of the laboriousness of life which I have found it most difficult to deal with. People in general have only to sit still in the midst of Nature, to be amused and diverted (in the strict sense of the word, — distracted, in the French sense) so as to find "change of work as good as rest:" but I have had, for the main part of my life, to go in search of impressions and influences, as the alternative from abstract or unrelieved thought, in an intellectual view, and from brooding, in a moral view. The fatigue belonging to either alternative may easily be conceived, when once suggested: and considerate persons will at once see what large allowance must in fairness be made for faults of temper, irritability or weakness of nerves, narrowness of mind, and imperfection of sympathy, in sufferers so worn with toil of body and mind as I, for one, have been. I have sustained, from this cause, fatigue which might spread over double my length of life; and in this I have met with no sympathy till I asked for it by an explanation of the ease. From this labour there is, it must be remembered, no holiday, except in sleep. Life is a long, hard, unrelieved working-day to us, who hear, or see, only by express effort, or have to make other senses serve the turn of that which is lost. When three out of five are deficient, the difficulty of cheerful living is great, and the terms of life are truly hard. — If I have made myself understood about this, I hope the explanation may secure sympathy for many who cannot be relieved from their burden, but may be cheered under it.

Another suggestion that I would make is that those who hear should not insist on managing the case of the deaf for them. As much sympathy as you please; but no overbearing interference in a case which you cannot possibly judge of. The fact is, — the family of a person who has a growing infirmity are reluctant to face the truth; and they are apt to inflict frightful pain on the sufferer to relieve their own weakness and uneasiness. I believe my family would have made almost any sacrifice to save me from my misfortune; but not the less did they aggravate it terribly by their way of treating it. First, and for long, they insisted that it was all my own fault, — that I was so absent, — -that I never cared to attend to any thing that was said, — that I ought to listen this way, or that, or the other; and even (while my heart was breaking) they told me that "none are so deaf as those that won't hear." When it became too bad for this, they blamed me for not doing what I was sorely tempted to do, — inquiring of them about every thing that was said, and not managing in their way, which would have made all right. This was hard discipline; but it was most useful to me in the end. It

showed me that I must take my case into my own hands; and with me, dependent as I was upon the opinion of others, this was redemption from probable destruction. Instead of drifting helplessly as hitherto, I gathered myself up for a gallant breasting of my destiny; and in time I reached the rocks where I could take a firm stand. I felt that here was an enterprise; and the spirit of enterprise was roused in me; animating me to sure success, with many sinkings and much lapse by the way. While about it, I took my temper in hand, — in this way. I was young enough for vows, — was, indeed, at the very age of vows; — and I made a vow of patience about this infirmity; — that I would smile in every moment of anguish from it; and that I would never lose temper at any consequences from it, — from losing public worship (then the greatest conceivable privation) to the spoiling of my cap-borders by the use of the trumpet I foresaw I must arrive at. With such a temper as mine was then, an infliction so worrying, so unintermitting, so mortifying, so isolating as loss of hearing must "kill or cure." In time, it acted with me as a cure, (in comparison with what my temper was in my youth:) but it took a long long time to effect the cure, and it was so far from being evident, or even at all perceptible when I was fifteen, that my parents were determined by medical advice to send me from home for a considerable time, in hope of improving my health, nerves and temper by a complete and prolonged change of scene and objects.

1823

The Unitarian journal Monthly Repository published an anonymous article "On Female Education." James Martineau, when he discovered that his sister was the author, urged her: "Now, dear, leave it to the other women to make skirts and darn stockings, and you devote yourself to this." When Harriet Martineau's father would attempt to arrange a marriage for her, with John Hugh Worthington, she would at first play along, and then she would back out.

At this time, — (I think it must have been in 1821,) was my first appearance in print. I had some early aspirations after authorship, — judging by an anecdote which hangs in my memory, though I believe I never thought about it, more or less, while undergoing that preparation which I have described in my account of my studies and translations. When I was assorting and tabulating scripture texts, in the way I described some way back, I one day told my mother, in a moment of confidence, that I hoped it might be printed, and make a book, and then I should be an authoress. My mother, pleased, I believe, with the aspiration, told my eldest sister; and she, in an unfortunate moment of contempt, twitted me with my conceit in fancying I could be an authoress; whereupon I instantly resolved "never to

tell any body any thing again." How this resolution was kept it is rather amusing now to consider, seeing that of all people in the world, I have perhaps the fewest reserves. The ambition seems to have disappeared from that time; and when I did attempt to write, it was at the suggestion of another, and against my own judgment and inclination. My brother James, then my idolized companion, discovered how wretched I was when he left me for his college, after the vacation; and he told me that I must not permit myself to be so miserable. He advised me to take refuge, on each occasion, in a new pursuit; and on that particular occasion, in an attempt at authorship. I said, as usual, that I would if he would: to which he answered that it would never do for him, a young student, to rush into print before the eyes of his tutors; but he desired me to write something that was in my head, and try my chance with it in the "Monthly Repository," — the poor little Unitarian periodical in which I have mentioned that Talfourd tried his young powers. What James desired, I always did, as of course; and after he had left me to my widowhood soon after six o'clock, one bright September morning, I was at my desk before seven, beginning a letter to the Editor of the "Monthly Repository," — that editor being the formidable prime minister of his sect, — Rev. Robert Aspland. I suppose I must tell what that first paper was, though I had much rather not; for I am so heartily ashamed of the whole business as never to have looked at the article since the first flutter of it went off. It was on Female Writers on Practical Divinity. I wrote away, in my abominable scrawl of those days, on foolscap paper, feeling mighty like a fool all the time. I told no one, and carried my expensive packet to the post-office myself, to pay the postage. I took the letter V for my signature, — I cannot at all remember why. The time was very near the end of the month: I had no definite expectation that I should ever hear any thing of my paper; and certainly did not suppose it could be in the forthcoming number. That number was sent in before service-time on a Sunday morning. My heart may have been beating when I laid hands on it; but it thumped prodigiously when I saw my article there, and, in the Notices to Correspondents, a request to bear more from V. of Norwich. There is certainly something entirely peculiar in the sensation of seeing one'sself in print for the first time: — the lines burn themselves in upon the brain in a way of which black ink is incapable, in any other mode. So I felt that day, when I went about with my secret. — I have said what my eldest brother was to us, — in what reverence we held him. He was just married, and he and his bride asked me to return from chapel with them to tea. After tea he said, "Come now, we have had plenty of talk; I will read you something;" and he held out his hand for the new "Repository." After glancing at it, he exclaimed, "They have got a new hand here. Listen." After a paragraph, he repeated, "Ah! this is a new hand; they have had nothing so good as this for a long while." (It would be impossible to convey to any who do not know the "Monthly

Repository" of that day, how very small a compliment this was.) I was silent, of course. At the end of the first column, he exclaimed about the style, looking at me in some wonder at my being as still as a mouse. Next (and well I remember his tone, and thrill to it still) his words were — "What a fine sentence that is! Why, do you not think so?" I mumbled out, sillily enough, that it did not seem any thing particular. "Then," said he, "you were not listening. I will read it again. There now!" As he still got nothing out of me, he turned round upon me, as we sat side by side on the sofa, with "Harriet, what is the matter with you? I never knew you so slow to praise any thing before." I replied, in utter confusion, — "I never could baffle any body. The truth is, that paper is mine." He made no reply; read on in silence, and spoke no more till I was on my feet to come away. He then laid his hand on my shoulder, and said gravely (calling me "dear" for the first time) "Now, dear, leave it to other women to make shirts and darn stockings; and do you devote yourself to this." I went home in a sort of dream, so that the squares of the pavement seemed to float before my eyes. That evening made me an authoress.

1826

The death of Harriet Martineau's father, who had been a textile manufacturer in Norwich, obliged her to attempt to support her mother and herself by needlework. She relocated to London and began to utilize the unusually extensive education that her parents had provided for her by writing on salary for William Fox, the editor of the Unitarian journal Monthly Repository, and then on commission for the Globe on topics such as machinery and labor. She would commit herself to what in that era was referred to as the wages-fund theory. She would defend the right of workers to unionize and to go on strike. She would write boldly in favor of the Poor Laws.

In this year she also produced religious books such as DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES FOR THE USE OF YOUNG PERSONS and ADDRESSES FOR THE USE OF FAMILIES.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1827

The tourist Harriet Martineau took notice of the Great Stone Face of New Hampshire, but was not sufficiently impressed: “The sharp rock certainly resembles a human face; but what then? There is neither wonder nor beauty in it.” **Naughty** tourist!

Andrew Twombly Foss was ordained as a Baptist minister. He would serve congregations in Dover, New Hampshire, South Parsonsfield, Maine, Hopkinton and New Boston, New Hampshire, and Manchester, New Hampshire.

1831

Harriet Martineau’s FIVE YEARS OF YOUTH, OR SENSE AND SENTIMENT.

1832

Harriet Martineau’s ILLUSTRATIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY: NO. I. LIFE IN THE WILDS. A TALE. Boston: Bowles (by 1834 this would amount to 25 volumes).

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

Christmas Holiday: At a party in his home on the corner of Follen Street in Cambridge, Professor Charles Follen introduced his 2-year-old son, and New England in general, to the German tradition of the decorated Christmas fir tree. The small fir was set in a tub and its branches hung with small dolls, gilded eggshells, and paper cornucopias filled with candied fruit. The tree was illuminated with numerous candles. Follen was of course not the first German immigrant to set up a Christmas tree on this side of the water. Such decorations had been seen in Pennsylvania in the 1820s, and there are reports that Hessian soldiers fighting for the British during the Revolution set up Christmas trees in their encampments. But there is good evidence that Follen was the first person to bring the decorated tree to New England and, after he had set the example, the custom would spread. Harriet Martineau described the unveiling of the tree: “It really looked beautiful; the room seemed in a blaze, and the ornaments were so well hung on that no accident happened, except that one doll’s petticoat caught fire. There was a sponge tied to the end of a stick to put out any supernumerary blaze, and no harm ensued. I mounted the steps behind the tree to see the effect of opening the doors. It was delightful. The children poured in, but in a moment every voice was hushed. Their faces were upturned to the blaze, all eyes wide open, all lips parted, all steps arrested.”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1833

The British government advanced to Harriet Martineau the sum of £600 and opened its records to her so that she could create a series of stories depicting the corruptness of the system of poor relief. The moral of these just-so stories was to be that the deserving poor rapidly became, when helped in any way in their helplessness, hopelessly shiftless, hopelessly indolent, hopelessly depraved — they became transformed into the undeserving poor. What data served this cynical political agenda was to be utilized, what did not serve it was to be ignored. This would prepare the way, it was hoped, for a new Poor Law for 1834, one with a wise Malthusian agenda and flashes of Benthamite inspiration. The 1st of the 10 volumes of the author's POOR LAWS AND PAUPERS ILLUSTRATED appeared.

FAMINE

August 30, Friday: The 1st abbey of La Trappe in Normandy had been founded by Rotrou, count of Perche, in 1140. The community of monks there had experienced lapses, and in the 17th Century had come to be referred to as the "brigands of La Trappe," until in 1662 Bouthillier de la Rancé had established a rule of hard labor, total abstinence from wine, eggs, fish, and all seasonings in a diet consisting merely of bread and vegetables, and silence. During the French revolution some of the brotherhood had found refuge in Switzerland and the monastery at La Trappe had become dilapidated — however, on this day with great pomp a new church and monastery for the Trappists were there consecrated.

Waldo Emerson arrived in Liverpool from Manchester by train, and there met James Martineau, the brother of Harriet Martineau.

David Henry Thoreau arrived in Cambridge to study at Harvard College. While an undergraduate during the years 1833-1837, he would room initially with Charles Stearns Wheeler of Lincoln in an upstairs room, 20 Hollis Hall, that had (has) a fine view of the sunsets across the Common.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1834

With the completion of the 10 volumes of her POOR LAWS AND PAUPERS ILLUSTRATED and her 5 volume ILLUSTRATIONS OF TAXATION, the 25th and final volume of Harriet Martineau's ILLUSTRATIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY was published in Boston by the firm of Bowles. Her THE TENDENCY OF STRIKES AND STICKS TO PRODUCE LOW WAGES AND OF UNION BETWEEN MASTERS AND MEN TO ENSURE GOOD WAGES also was published in this year. The author was free to begin her tour of the USA (until 1836).

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

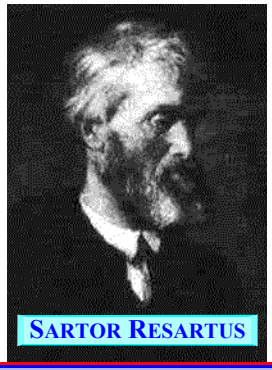
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1835

Harriet Martineau's tour of the United States of America (1834-1836) continued.

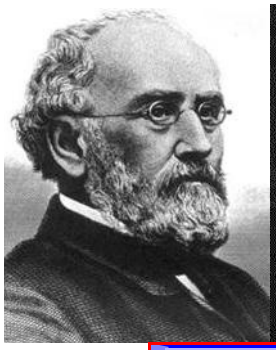
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

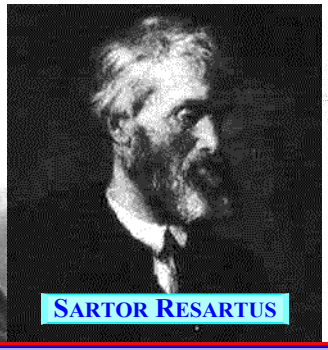
April: In West Cambridge, Miss Mary Moody Emerson, who, since she had been living in Concord, obviously had perused Waldo Emerson's copy of SARTOR RESARTUS, was discussing Thomas Carlyle with the Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge just as he was departing to take up his new ministry in Maine. Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, Harriet Martineau was being "[fed] with the SARTOR" by the Reverend William Henry Furness out of the copy he had just received from Emerson.

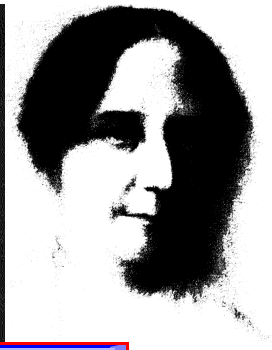


STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

May: While vacationing with Mrs. Sophia Dana Ripley and the Reverend George Ripley, Harriet Martineau "made the Sartor her constant companion."



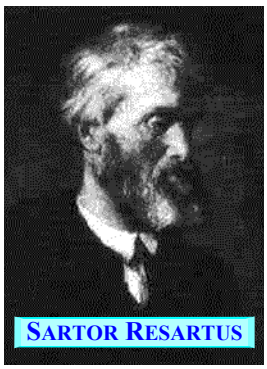




STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

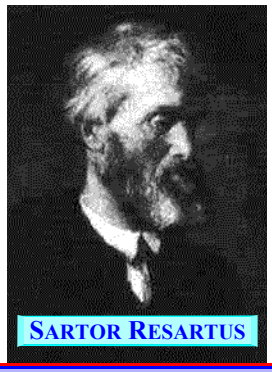
June: While visiting the Reverend James Freeman Clarke in Lexington, Kentucky Harriet Martineau confessed to him that what she was up to was:



"preparing the people for Carlyleism."

STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

August: While Harriet Martineau was visiting the Reverend James Freeman Clarke's cousin Margaret Fuller they had "some talk about Carlyleism."



STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

I don't know where would be the right point in the timeline in which to introduce this material, but at some point in time, Martineau and Fuller had some discussions about slavery. Paula Blanchard, in MARGARET FULLER – FROM TRANSCENDENTALISM TO REVOLUTION (Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1987), has commented on this:

> Miss Martineau was a necessitarian and a social reformer, with little esthetic feeling and no tolerance of the more speculative flights of philosophy and literature. Her chief interest in the United States was the abolition of slavery, and she made a determined effort to bring Margaret into the abolitionist party. But Margaret, like her father, belonged to the group which called itself "antislavery" rather than "abolitionist," and

which advocated the gradual phasing out of slavery.

> Nevertheless, their discussions sharpened Margaret's awareness of social issues, and in Miss Martineau and the women abolitionists of Boston she saw members of her sex assuming leadership, defying social convention, and facing down real physical danger in a totally new kind of role.

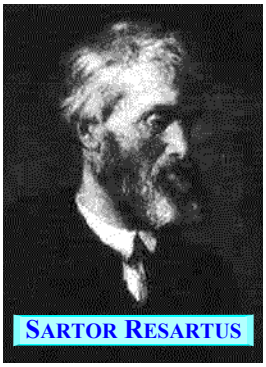
September 16, Wednesday: The New-York Sun admitted that its moon stories were a hoax. (Richard Adams Locke would confess his authorship. Harriet Martineau would report, in her RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL, that a missionary society of Springfield MA had resolved to send missionaries to convert and civilize these bat men of the moon.)

ASTRONOMY

Records of the "Institute of 1770":

> *"Whether the banishment of Napoleon to St. Helena was justifiable?"*

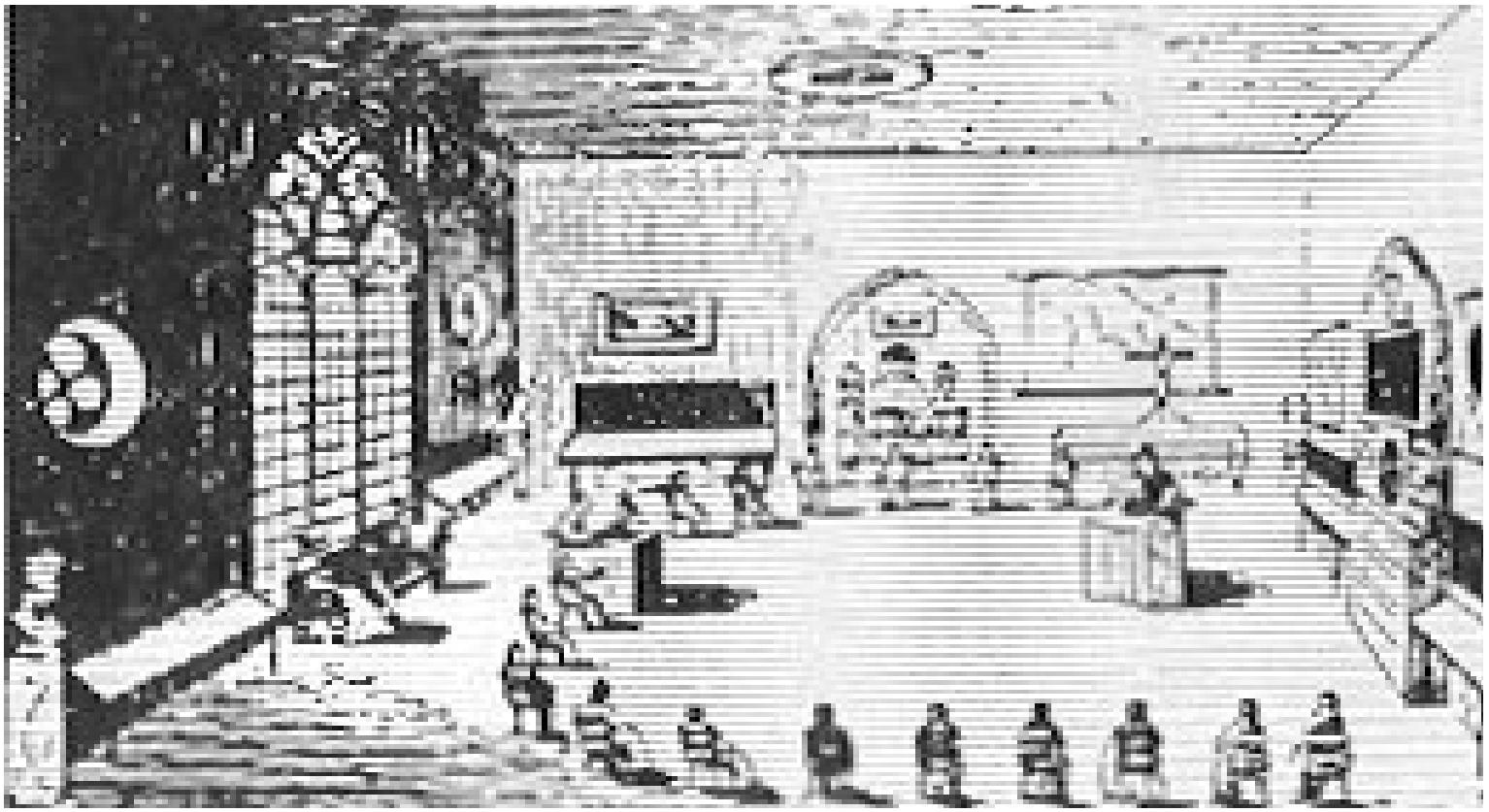
Fall: Harriet Martineau met with Waldo Emerson several times as he exercised himself in behalf of Thomas Carlyle.



SARTOR RESARTUS

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

Fall: The School of Human Culture of Bronson Alcott and Elizabeth Palmer Peabody opened for its 2d year. There were 40 pupils. They hired a drawing teacher, Francis Graeter, who drew this picture of the school:



Harriet Martineau visited the Temple School and observed the teaching. Richard Henry Dana, Sr. offered to teach English literature to the children. Everything seemed to be going very well. The Alcotts, counting upon an anticipated income of about $1,800.00 per school year before it was hatched, moved from their boarding house into a home at 26 Front Street, south of Boston Common, agreeing to a rent of $575.00 per year.

HARRIET MARTINEAU

HARRIET MARTINEAU

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1836

Harriet Martineau and her famous ear trumpet visited Concord as she completed her multi-year tour of the United States and prepared to sail for England.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

WALDEN: As with our colleges, as with a hundred "modern improvements"; there is an illusion about them; there is not always a positive advance. The devil goes on exacting compound interest to the last for his early share and numerous succeeding investments in them. Our inventions are wont to be pretty toys, which distract our attention from serious things. They are but improved means to an unimproved end, an end which it was already but too easy to arrive at; as railroads lead to Boston or New York. We are in great haste to construct a magnetic telegraph from Maine to Texas; but Maine and Texas, it may be, have nothing important to communicate. Either is in such a predicament as the man who was earnest to be introduced to a distinguished deaf woman, but when he was presented, and one end of her ear trumpet was put into his hand, had nothing to say. As if the main object were to talk fast and not to talk sensibly. We are eager to tunnel under the Atlantic and bring the old world some weeks nearer to the new; but perchance the first news that will leak through into the broad, flapping American ear will be that the Princess Adelaide has the whooping cough.

ADELAIDE
HARRIET MARTINEAU

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

August: Harriet Martineau had toured in the US since September 1834, investigating the condition of American morals and its effect on our institutions and comparing and contrasting "the existing state of society in America with the principles on which it is professedly founded; thus testing Institutions, Morals, and Manners by an indisputable, instead of an arbitrary standard," in the states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Washington, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, Michigan, and Illinois. At this point she was on her way back to the mother country to report what she had observed.

> It has been frequently mentioned to me that my being a woman was one disadvantage; and my being previously heard of, another. In this I do not agree. I am sure, I have seen much more of domestic life than could possibly have been exhibited to any gentleman travelling through the country. The nursery, the boudoir, the kitchen, are all excellent schools in which to learn the morals and manners of a people.

November: Thomas Carlyle and Jane Carlyle met Harriet Martineau, who would be able to introduce them, among others, to Charles Darwin.

> She pleased us beyond expectation. She is very intelligent-looking, really of pleasant countenance; was full of talk, tho' unhappily deaf almost as a post, so that you have to speak to her thro' an ear-trumpet.

HARRIET MARTINEAU

HARRIET MARTINEAU

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1837

Thomas Carlyle's THE LIFE OF FRIEDRICH SCHILLER. COMPREHENDING AN EXAMINATION OF HIS WORKS. ... FROM THE LONDON EDITION. (New York: George Dearborn & Co.). A copy of this would be in Henry Thoreau's personal library.

THE LIFE OF SCHILLER

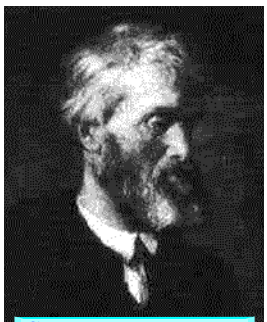
From this year into 1840 Carlyle would be offering four courses of lectures in London, on German Literature and on Heroes.

The argument for the almost magical growth of the Scottish author's reputation was first made by the

peripatetic English reformer, Harriet Martineau, in her controversial travelogue SOCIETY IN AMERICA:

> No living writer exercises so enviable a sway, so far as it goes, as Mr. Carlyle ... [whose] remarkable work SARTOR RESARTUS, issued piecemeal through Fraser's Magazine, has been republished in America and is exerting an influence proportioned to the genuineness of the admiration it has excited. Perhaps this is the first instance of the Americans having taken to their hearts an English work that came to them anonymous, unsanctioned by any recommendation and even absolutely neglected at home. It has regenerated the preaching of more than one of the clergy.

This English author's published account of the situation, above, is of course entirely disingenuous, is a deliberate act of mystification of her audience. She had herself already become part of the American movement for this book by Carlyle before she had returned to England.



SARTOR RESARTUS

In April 1835 she had been had been "[fed] with the SARTOR" by the Reverend William Henry Furness in Philadelphia out of the copy he had just received from Waldo Emerson in Boston. In May 1835 while vacationing with Mrs. Sophia Dana Ripley and the Reverend George Ripley she had "made the SARTOR her constant companion." In June 1835 while visiting the Reverend James Freeman Clarke in Lexington, Kentucky she had told him that what she was up to was "preparing the people for Carlyleism." In August 1835 while visiting the Reverend Clarke's cousin Margaret Fuller they had had "some talk about Carlyleism." During Fall 1835 she had met with Emerson himself several times as he exercised himself in behalf of Thomas Carlyle. She had visited several times with Sarah Alden Bradford Ripley in Waltham, and in October 1835 she had been staying with the Reverend William Ellery Channing in Newport, Rhode Island when Emerson had sent the Reverend Channing a copy of SARTOR RESARTUS.

April (?): Two months after the publication of Bronson Alcott's CONVERSATIONS, Harriet Martineau's book SOCIETY IN AMERICA appeared in America:

> "There is fear of vulgarity, fear of responsibility; and above all, fear of singularity."
>
> "There is a school in Boston (a large one, when I left the city,) conducted on this principle [the principle of Platonic idealism, that the spirit precedes the body rather than vice versa, that in general it is ideals or ideas that create their own manifestations in the realm of sense rather than vice versa]. The master presupposes his little pupils possessed of all truth in philosophy and morals, and that his business is to bring it out into expression, to help the outward life to conform to the inner light; and especially to learn of these enlightened babes, with all humility. Large exposures might be made of the mischief this gentleman is doing to his pupils by relaxing their bodies, pampering their imaginations, over-stimulating the consciences of some, and hardening those of others; and by his extraordinary management, offering them inducements to falsehood and

HARRIET MARTINEAU

HARRIET MARTINEAU

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

hypocrisy."

Many years later Abba Alcott would comment succinctly on the above paragraph:

> "Thus Harriet Martineau took the bread from the mouths of my family."

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

Harriet Martineau, reporting to her British readers about the state of America, complained of the moral cowardice of the conservative Unitarian leadership, with a handful of exceptions. The schism that divided Unitarians into a conservative institution versus a more radical opposition in the 1820s was epitomized in Emerson's resignation from the ministry in 1832 and his famous dissatisfaction with the doctrine's "corpse-cold" institutionalization. The Reverend Charles Follen, a German professor and political radical who arrived in Boston in 1825 and managed to impress both Boston's conservative-Unitarian establishment and its breakaway intellectuals with his firsthand familiarity with the new ideas and practices in his native land, was also one of Martineau's exceptions, as he was active in both in Unitarianism and in abolitionism. According to Edmund Spevack's CHARLES FOLLEN'S SEARCH FOR NATIONALITY AND FREEDOM (Harvard UP, 1997, pages 138ff, 284-85 notes 63 and 65), he became America's first Germanist, and apparently sat in on some early sessions of Hedge's transcendental "club." Here is the matter as expressed by Martineau in her Part IV, Chapter 3, "Administration of Religion."

> ...On one side is the oppressor, struggling to keep his power for the sake of his gold; and with him the mercenary, the faithlessly timid, the ambitious, and the weak. On the other side are the friends of the slave; and with them those who,

without possibility of recompense, are sacrificing their reputations, their fortunes, their quiet, and risking their lives, for the principle of freedom. What are the Unitarian clergy doing amidst this war which admits of neither peace nor truce, but which must end the subjugation of the principle of freedom, or of oppression?

I believe Mr. [Samuel] May had the honour of being the first Unitarian pastor who sided with the right. Whether he has sacrificed to his intrepidity one christian grace; whether he has lost one charm of his piety, gentleness, and charity, amidst the trials of insult which he has had to undergo, I dare appeal to his worst enemy. Instead of this, his devotion to a most difficult duty has called forth in him a force of character, a strength of reason, of which his best friends were before unaware. It filled me with awe for the weakness of men, in their noblest offices, to hear the insolent compassion with which some of his priestly brethren spoke of a man whom they have not light and courage enough to follow through the thickets and deserts of duty, and upon whom they therefore bestow their scornful pity from out of their shady bowers of complacency. —Dr. Follen came next: and there is nothing in his power that he has not done and sacrificed in identifying himself with the cause of emancipation. I heard him, in a perilous time, pray in church for the "miserable, degraded, insulted slave; in chains of iron, and chains of gold." This is not the place in which to exhibit what his sacrifices have really been. —Dr. Channing's later services are well known. I know of two more of the Unitarian clergy who have made an open and dangerous avowal of the right: and of one or two who have in private resisted wrong in the cause. But this is all. As a body they must, though disapproving slavery, be ranked as the enemies of the abolitionists. Some have pleaded to me that it is a distasteful subject. Some think it sufficient that they can see faults in individual abolitionists. Some say that their pulpits are the property of their people, who are not therefore to have their minds disturbed by what they hear thence. Some say that the question is no business of theirs. Some urge that they should be turned out of their pulpits before the next Sunday, if they touched upon Human Rights. Some think the subject not spiritual enough. The greater number excuse themselves on the ground of a doctrine which, I cannot but think, has grown out of the circumstances; that the duty of the clergy is to decide on how much truth the people can bear, and to administer it accordingly. —So, while society is going through the greatest of moral revolutions, casting out its most vicious anomaly, and bringing its Christianity into its politics and its social conduct, the clergy, even the Unitarian clergy, are some pitying and some ridiculing the apostles of the revolution; preaching spiritualism, learning, speculation; advocating third and fourth-rate objects of human exertion and amelioration, and leaving it to the laity to carry out the first and pressing moral

reform of the age. They are blind to their noble mission of enlightening and guiding the moral sentiment of society in its greatest crisis. They not only decline aiding the cause in weekdays by deed or pen, or spoken words; but they agree in private to avoid the subject of Human Rights in the pulpit till the crisis be past. No one asks them to harrow the feelings of their hearers by sermons on slavery: but they avoid offering those christian principles of faith and liberty with which slavery cannot co-exist.

SOCIETY IN AMERICA.

OBSERVATIONS MADE DURING A STAY

NEW YORK.
October 1834.
Appearance of Forest Cabins;
the Labors of Families who live in the Wilderness.

Among the most interesting personages in the United States, are the Solitaries; solitary families, not individuals. Europeans, who think it much to lodge in a country cottage for six weeks in the summer, can form little idea of the life of a solitary family in the wilds. I did not see the most sequestered, as I never happened to lose my way in the forests or on the prairies: but I witnessed some modes of life which realized all I had conceived of the romantic, or of the dismal.

One rainy October day, I saw a settler at work in the forest, on which he appeared to have just entered. His clearing looked, in comparison with the forest behind him, of about the size of a pincushion. He was standing, up to the knees in water, among the stubborn stumps, and charred stems of dead trees. He was notching logs with his axe, beside his small log-hut and stye. There was swamp behind, and swamp on each side; a pool of mud around each dead tree, which had been wont to drink the moisture. There was a semblance of a tumble-down fence: no orchard yet; no grave-yard; no poultry; none of the graces of fixed habitation had grown up. On looking back to catch a last view of the scene, I saw two little boys, about three and four years old, leading a horse home from the forest; one driving the animal behind with an armful of bush, and the other reaching up on tiptoe to keep his hold of the halter; and both looking as if they would be drowned in the swamp. If the mother was watching from the hut, she must have thought this strange dismal play for her little ones. The hardworking father must be toiling for his children; for the success of his after life can hardly atone to him for such a destitution of comfort as I saw him in the midst of. Many such scenes are passed on every road in the western parts of the States. They become cheering when the plough is seen, or a few sheep are straggling on the hill side, seeming lost in space.

One day, at Niagara, I had spent hours at the Falls, till, longing for the stillness of the forest, I wandered deep into its wild paths, meeting nothing but the belled heifer, grazing, and the slim, clean swine which live on the mast and roots they can find for themselves. I saw some motion in a thicket, a little way from the path, and went to see what it was. I found a little boy and girl, working away, by turns, with an axe, at the branches of a huge hickory, which had been lately felled. “Father” had felled the hickory the day before, and had sent the children to make faggots from the branches. They were heated and out of breath. I had heard of the toughness of hickory, and longed to know what the labour of wood-cutting really was. Here was an irresistible opportunity for an experiment. I made the children sit down on the fallen tree, and find out the use of my ear-trumpet, while I helped to make their faggot. When I had hewn through one stout branch, I was quite sufficiently warmed, and glad to sit down to hear the children’s story. Their father had been a weaver and a preacher in England. He had brought out his wife and six children. During the week, he worked at his land, finding some employment or another for all of his children who could walk alone; and going some distance on Sundays to preach. This last particular told volumes.

The weaver has not lost heart over his hard field-labour. His spirit must be strong and lively, to enable him to spend his seventh day thus, after plying the axe for six. The children did not seem to know whether they liked Manchester or the forest best; but they looked stout and rosy.

They, however, were within reach of church and habitation; buried, as they appeared, in the depths of the woods. I saw, in New Hampshire, a family who had always lived absolutely alone, except when an occasional traveller came to their door, during the summer months. The old man had run away with his wife, forty-six years before, and brought her to the Red Mountain, near the top of which she had lived ever since. It was well that she married

for love, for she saw no one but her husband and children, for many a long year after she jumped out of her window, in her father's house, to run away.

POLITICAL NON-EXISTENCE of WOMEN.
General Treatise on the Denial of Full Citizenship Rights to Women.

One of the fundamental principles announced in the Declaration of Independence is, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. How can the political condition of women be reconciled with this? Governments in the United States have power to tax women who hold property (to divorce them from their husbands; to fine, imprison, and execute them for certain offences. Whence do these governments derive their powers? They are not "just," as they are not derived from the consent of the women thus governed. Governments in the United States have power to enslave certain women (and also to punish other women for inhuman treatment of such slaves. Neither of these powers are "just;" not being derived from the consent of the governed. Governments decree to women in some States half their husbands' property; in others one-third. In some, a woman, on her marriage, is made to yield all her property to her husband; in others, to retain a portion, or the whole, in her own hands. Whence do governments derive the unjust power of thus disposing of property without the consent of the governed? The democratic principle condemns all this as wrong; and requires the equal political representation of all rational beings. Children, idiots, and criminals, during the season of sequestration, are the only fair exceptions. The case is so plain that I might close it here (but it is interesting to inquire how so obvious a decision has been so evaded as to leave to women no political rights whatever. The question has been asked, from time to time, in more countries than one, how obedience to the laws can be required of women, when no woman has, either actually or virtually, given any assent to any law. No plausible answer has, as far as I can discover, been offered for the good reason, that no plausible answer can be devised. The most principled democratic writers on government have on this subject sunk into fallacies, as disgraceful as any advocate of despotism has adduced. In fact, they have thus sunk from being, for the moment, advocates of despotism. Jefferson in America, and James Mill at home, subside, for the occasion, to the level of the author of the Emperor of Russia's Catechism for the young Poles. Jefferson says "Were our State a pure democracy, in which all the inhabitants should meet together to transact all their business, there would yet be excluded from their deliberations,

- "1. Infants, until arrived at years of discretion.
- "2. Women, who, to prevent depravation of morals, and ambiguity of issue, could not mix promiscuously in the public meetings of men.
- "3. Slaves, from whom the unfortunate state of things with us takes away the rights of will and of property."

If the slave disqualification, here assigned, were shifted up under the head of Women, their case would be nearer the truth than as it now stands. Woman's lack of will and of property, is more like the true cause of her exclusion from the representation, than that which is actually set down against her. As if there could be no means of conducting public affairs but by promiscuous meetings! As if there would be more danger in promiscuous meetings for political business than in such meetings for worship, for oratory, for music, for dramatic entertainments, for any of the thousand transactions of civilized life! The plea is not worth another word.
Mill says, with regard to representation, in his Essay on Government, One thing is pretty clear, that all those individuals, whose interests are involved in those of other individuals, may be struck off without inconvenience.... In this light, women may be regarded, the interest of almost all of whom is involved, either in that of their fathers or in that of their husbands."
The true democratic principle is, that no person's interests can be, or can be ascertained to be, identical with those of any other person. This allows the exclusion of none but incapables.
The word "almost," in Mr. Mill's second sentence, rescues women from the exclusion he proposes. As long as there are women who have neither husbands nor fathers, his proposition remains an absurdity.
The interests of women who have fathers and husbands can never be identical with theirs, while there is a necessity for laws to protect women against their husbands and fathers. This statement is not worth another word.

Some who desire that there should be an equality of property between men and women, oppose representation, on the ground that political duties would be incompatible with the other duties which women have to discharge. The reply to this is, that women are the best judges here. God has given time and power for the discharge of all duties, and, if he had not, it would be for women to decide which they would take, and which they would leave. But their guardians follow the ancient fashion of deciding what is best for their wards. The Emperor of Russia discovers when a cost of arms and title do not agree with a subject prince. The King of France early perceives that the air of Paris does not agree with a free-thinking foreigner. The English Tories feel the hardship that it would be to impose the franchise on every artizan, busy as he is in getting his bread. The Georgian planter perceives the hardship that freedom would be to his slaves. And the best friends of half the human race peremptorily decide for them as to their rights, their duties, their feelings, their powers. In all these cases, the persons thus cared for feel that the abstract decision rests with themselves; that, though they may be compelled to submit, they need not acquiesce.

It is pleaded that half of the human race does acquiesce in the decision of the other half, as to their rights and duties. And some instances, not only of submission, but of acquiescence, there are. Forty years ago, the women of New Jersey went to the pol1, and voted, at state elections. The general term, "inhabitants," stood unqualified as it will again, when the true democratic principle comes to be fully understood. A motion was made to correct the inadvertence; and it was done, as a matter of course without any appeal, as far as I could learn, from the persons about to be injured. Such acquiescence proves nothing but the degradation of the injured party. It inspires the same emotions of pity as the supplication of the freed slave who kneels to his master to restore him to slavery, that he may have his animal wants supplied, without being troubled with human rights and duties. Acquiescence like this is an argument which cuts the wrong way for those who use it.

But this acquiescence is only partial; and, to give any semblance of strength to the plea, the acquiescence must be complete. I, for one, do not acquiesce. I declare that whatever obedience I yield to the laws of the society in which I live is a matter between, not the community and myself, but my judgment and my will. Any punishment inflicted on me for the breach of the laws, I should regard as so much gratuitous injury, for to those laws I have never, actually or virtually, assented. I know that there are women in England who agree with me in this. I know that there are women in America who agree with me in this. The plea of acquiescence is invalidated by us.

It is pleaded that, by enjoying the protection of some laws, women give their assent to all. This needs but a brief answer. Any protection thus conferred is, under woman's circumstances, a boon best owed at the pleasure of those in whose power she is. A boon of any sort is no compensation for the privation of something else; nor can the enjoyment of it bind to the performance of anything to which it bears no relation.

Because I, by favour, may procure the imprisonment of the thief who robs my house, am I, unrepresented, therefore bound not to smuggle French ribbons? The obligation not to smuggle has a widely different derivation. I cannot enter upon the commonest order of pleas of all; or those which relate to the virtual influence of woman; her swaying the judgment and will of man through the heart and so forth. One might as well try to dissect the morning mist. I knew a gentleman in America who told me how much rather he had be a woman than the man he is; a professional man, a father, a citizen. He would give up all this for a woman's influence. I thought he was mated too soon. He should have married a lady, also of my acquaintance, who would not at all object to being a slave, if ever the blacks should have the upper hand; it is so right that the one race should be subservient to the other! Or rather, I thought it a pity that the one could not be a woman, and the other a slave so that an injured individual of each class might be exalted into their places, to fulfil and enjoy the duties and privileges which they despise, and, in despising, disgrace.

The truth is, that while there is much said about "the sphere of woman," two widely different notions are entertained of what is meant by the phrase. The narrow, and, to the ruling party, the more convenient notion is that sphere appointed by men, and bounded by their ideas of propriety; a notion from which any and every woman may fairly dissent. The broad and true conception is of the sphere appointed by God, and bounded by the powers which he has bestowed. This commands the assent of man and woman, and only the question of powers remains to be proved.

That woman has power to represent her own interests, no one can deny till she has been tried. The modes need not be discussed here: they must vary with circumstances. The fearful and absurd images which are perpetually called up to perplex the question, images of women on wool-sacks in England, and under canopies in America, have nothing to do with the matter. The principle being once established, the method will follow, easily, naturally, and under a remarkable transmutation of the ludicrous into the sublime. The kings of Europe would have laughed mightily, two centuries ago, at the idea of a commoner, without robes, crown, or sceptre, stepping into the throne of a strong nation. Yet who dared to laugh when Washington's super-royal voice greeted the New World from the presidential chair, and the old world stood still to catch the echo?

The principle of the equal rights of both halves of the human race is all we have to do with here. It is the true democratic principle which can never be seriously controverted, and only for a short time evaded. Governments can derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA.
April 1835.
Inadequacy of Education in the Western part of the country.

A gentleman's family, where there are children to be educated, cannot live for less than from seven hundred pounds to one thousand pounds per annum. The sons take land and buy slaves very early; and the daughters marry almost in childhood; so that education is less thought of, and sooner ended, than in almost any part of the world. The pioneers of civilisation, as the settlers in these new districts may be regarded, care for other things more than for education; or they would not come I heard in Montgomery of a wealthy old planter in the neighbourhood, who has amassed millions of dollars, while his children can scarcely write their names. Becoming aware of their deficiencies, as the place began to be peopled from the eastward, he sent a son of sixteen to school, and a younger one to college; but they proved "such gawks," that they were unable to learn, or even to remain in the society of others who were learning; and their old father has bought land in Missouri, whither he was about to take his children, to remove them from the contempt of their neighbors. They are doomed to the lowest office of social beings; to be the mechanical, unintelligent pioneers of man in the wilderness.

There is pedantry in those who read; prejudice in those who do not; coxcombry among the young gentlemen; bad manners among the young ladies; and an absence of all reference to the higher, the real objects of life. When to all this is added that tremendous curse, the possession of irresponsible power, over slaves, it is easy to see how character must become, in such regions, what it was described to me on the spot, "composed of the chivalric elements, badly formed.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA.
April 1835.
General Abilities of Slaves; Slave Quarters; Education of Slaves.

On this, and many other estates that we saw, the ladies make it their business to cut out all the clothes for the negroes. Many a fair pair of hands have I seen dyed with blue, and bearing the marks of the large scissors. The slave women cannot be taught, it is said, to cut out even their scanty and unshapely garments economically. Nothing can be more hideous than their working costume. There would be nothing to lose on the score of beauty, and probably much gained, if they could be permitted to clothe themselves. But it is universally said that they cannot learn. A few ladies keep a woman for this purpose, very naturally disliking the coarse employment.

We visited the negro quarter; a part of the estate which filled me with disgust, wherever I went. It is something between a haunt of monkeys and a dwelling-place of human beings. The natural good taste, so remarkable in free negroes, is here extinguished. Their small, dingy, untidy houses, their cribs, the children crouching round the fire, the animal deportment of the grown-up, the brutish chagrins and enjoyments of the old, were all loathsome. There was some relief in seeing the children playing in the sun, and sometimes fowls clucking and strutting round the houses; but otherwise, a walk through a lunatic asylum is far less painful than a visit to the slave quarter of an estate. The children are left, during working hours, in the charge of a woman; and they are bright, and brisk, and merry enough, for the season, however slow and stupid they may be destined to become.

My next visit was to a school, the Franklin Institute, in Montgomery, established by a gentleman who has bestowed unwearied pains on its organization, and to whose care it does great credit. On our approach, we saw five horses walking about the enclosure, and five saddles hung over the fence: a true sign that some of the pupils canoe from a distance. The school was hung with prints; there was a collection of shells; many books and maps; and some philosophical apparatus. The boys, and a few girls, were steadily employed over their books and mapping; and nothing could exceed the order and neatness of the place. If the event corresponds with the

appearance, the proprietor must be one of the most useful citizens the place has yet been honoured with.
I spent some days at a plantation a few miles from Montgomery, and heard there of an old lady who treats her slaves in a way very unusual, but quite safe, as far as appears. She gives them knowledge, which is against the law; but the law leaves her in peace and quiet. She also commits to them the entire management of the estate, requiring only that they should make her comfortable, and letting them take the rest. There is an obligation by law to keep an overseer; to obviate insurrection. How she manages about this, I omitted to inquire: but all goes on well; the cultivation of the estate is creditable, and all parties are contented. This is only a temporary ease and contentment. The old lady must die; and her slaves will either be sold to a new owner, whose temper will be an accident; or, if freed, must leave the State: but the story is satisfactory in as far as it gives evidence of the trust-worthiness of the negroes.

STOCKBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.
May 1835.
Hospitality and Domestic Duties of Daughters.

It was as a favour that the widow Jones took us in. She does not let lodgings. She opened her house to us, and made us a part of her family. Two of her daughters were at home, and a married son lived at hand. We had a parlour, with three windows, commanding different views of the valley: two good-sized chambers, conveniently furnished, and a large closet between; our board with the family, and every convenience that could be provided, and all for two dollars per week each, and half price for the child. She was advised to ask more, but she refused, as she did not wish to be "grasping."...
We all dined together at two. One of the daughters absented herself at breakfast, that she might arrange our rooms; but both were present at dinner, dressed, and ready for their afternoon's occupation of working and reading. One was fond of flowers, and had learned a great deal about them. She was skilful in drying them, and could direct us to the places in the woods and meadows where they grew. Some members of the family, more literary than the rest, were gone westward, but there was a taste for books among them all. I often saw a volume on the table of the widow's parlour, with her spectacles in it. She told me, one day, of her satisfaction in her children, that they were given to good pursuits, and all received church members.
All young people in these villages are more or less instructed. Schooling is considered a necessary of life. I happened to be looking over an old almanack one day, when I found, among the directions relating to the preparations for winter on a farm, the following: "Secure your cellars from frost. Fasten loose clapboards and shingles. Secure a good school-master." It seemed doubtful, at the first glance, whether some new farming utensil had not been thus whimsically named; as the brass plate which hooks upon the fender, or upper bar of the grate, is called "the footman;" but the context clearly showed that a man with learning in his head was the article required to be provided before the winter.
The only respect, as far as I know, in which we made our kind hostess uneasy, was in our neglect of Charley's book-studies. Charley's little head was full of knowledge of other kinds; but the widow's children had all known more of the produce of the press at his age than he; and she had a few anxious thoughts about him.

PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS.
Winter 1835.
Favorable Appraisal of Manners at the Pilgrim Ball.

The dinner being over, the gentlemen returned to their several abodes, to escort the ladies to the ball in Pilgrim Hall. I went, with a party of seven others, in a stage coach, every carriage, native and exotic, being in requisition to fill the ballroom, from which no one was excluded. It was the only in-door festival, except the President's levee, where I witnessed an absolutely general admission and its aspect and conduct were, in the highest degree, creditable to the intelligence and manners of the community. There were families from the islands in the bay, and other country residences, whence the inhabitants seldom emerge, except for this festival. The dress of some of the young ladies was peculiar, and their glee was very visible; but I saw absolutely no vulgarity. There was much beauty, and much elegance among the young ladies, and the manners of their parents were

unexceptionable. There was evidence in the dancing, of the "intensity" of which we had heard so much in the morning. The lads and lasses looked as if they meant never to tire; but this enjoyment of the exercise pleased me much more than the affectation of dancing, which is now fashionable in the large cities. I never expect to see a more joyous and unexceptionable piece of festivity than the Pilgrim ball of 1835.

MICHIGAN.
July 1836.
Problem of Theft During Emigration.

In the piazza, sat a party of emigrants, who interested us much. The wife had her eight children with her; the youngest, puny twins. She said she had brought them in a wagon four hundred miles; and if they could only live through the one hundred that remained before they reached her husband's lot of land, she hoped they might thrive, but she had been robbed, the day before, of her bundle of baby things. Some one had stolen it from the wagon. After a good meal, we saw the stage-passengers stowed into a lumber wagon, and we presently followed in our more comfortable vehicle.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.
October 1834.
Aristocratic Tendencies of the Young.

The children are such faithful reflectors of this spirit as to leave no doubt of its existence, even amidst the nicest operations of cant. Gentlemen may disguise their aristocratic aspirations under sighs for the depressed state of literature and science; supposing that wealth and leisure are the constituents of literature; and station the proximate cause of science; and committing the slight mistake of assuming that the natural aristocracy of England, her philosophers and poets, have been identical with, or originated by, her conventional aristocracy. The ladies may conceal their selfish pride of caste, even from themselves, under pretensions to superior delicacy and refinement. But the children use no such disguises. Out they come with what they learn at home. A school-girl told me what a delightful "set" she belonged to at her school: how comfortable they all were once, without any sets, till several grocers' daughters began to come in, as their fathers grew rich; and it became necessary for the higher girls to consider what they should do, and to form themselves into sets. She told me how the daughter of a lottery officekeeper came to the school; and no set would receive her; how unkindly she was treated, and how difficult it was for any individual to help her, because she had not spirit or temper enough to help herself. My informant went on to mention how anxious she and her set, of about sixty young people, were to visit exclusively among themselves, how "delightful" it would be to have no grocers daughters among them; but that it was found to be impossible... In Philadelphia, I was much in society. Some of my hospitable acquaintances lived in Chesnut Street, some in Arch Street, and many in other places. When I had been a few weeks in the city, found to my surprise that some of the ladies who were my admiration had not only never seen or heard of other beautiful young ladies whom I admired quite as much, but never would see or hear of them. I inquired again and again for a solution of this mystery. One person told me that a stranger could not see into the usages of their society. This was just what I was feeling to be true; but it gave me no satisfaction. Another said that the mutual ignorance was from the fathers of the Arch Street ladies having made their fortunes, while the Chesnut Street ladies owed theirs to their grandfathers. Another, who was amused with a new fashion of curtseying, just introduced, declared it was from the Arch Street ladies rising twice on their toes before curtseying, while the Chesnut Street ladies rose thrice. I was sure of only one thing in the matter, that it was a pity that the parties should lose the pleasure of admiring each other, for no better reasons than these: and none better were apparent.

NEW YORK CITY.
Toil of Husbands and Idleness of Wives.

In New York, some friends, wishing to impress me with a conviction of the enviable lives of American ladies, told me how the rich merchants take handsome houses in the upper part of the city, and furnish them splendidly for their wives: how these gentlemen rise early, snatch their breakfasts, hurry off two or three miles to their counting-houses, bustle about in the heat and dust, noise and traffic of Pearl Street all the long summer's day, and come home in the evening, almost too wearied to eat or speak; while their wives, for whose sake they have thus been toiling after riches, have had the whole day to water their flowers, read the last English novel, visit their acquaintance, and amuse themselves at the milliner's; paying, perhaps, 100 dollars for the newest Paris bonnet. The representation had a different effect from what was expected. It appeared to me that if the ladies prefer their husbands' society to that of morning visitors and milliners, they are quite as much to be pitied as their husbands, that such a way of consuming life is considered necessary or honourable. If they would prefer to wear bonnets costing a dollar a-piece, and having some enjoyment of domestic life, their fate is mournful; if they prefer hundred dollar bonnets to the enjoyment of domestic life, their lot is the most mournful of all. In either case, they and their husbands cannot but be restless and dissatisfied.

I was at a ball in New York, the splendour of which equalled that of any entertainment I ever witnessed. A few days after, the lady who gave the ball asked me whether I did not disapprove of the show and luxury of their society. I replied, that of whatever was done for mere show, I did disapprove; but that I liked luxury, and approved of it, as long as the pleasures of some did not encroach on the rights of others.

"But," said she, "our husbands have to pay for it all. They work very hard."

"I suppose it is their own choice to do so. I should make a different choice, perhaps; but if they prefer hard work and plenty of money to indulge their families with, to moderate work and less money, I do not see how you can expect me to blame them."

"Oh, but we all live beyond our incomes."

"In that case, your pleasures encroach on the rights of others, and I have no more to say."

If this be true, how should this class be otherwise than restless and dissatisfied?

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

Winter 1835.

Voices of Women in America;

Peculiarities of Language in America.

A great unknown pleasure remains to be experienced by the Americans in the well-modulated, gentle, healthy, cheerful voices of women. It is incredible that there should not, in all time to come, be any other alternative than that which now exists, between a whine and a twang. When the health of the American women improves, their voices will improve. In the meantime, they are unconscious how the effect of their remarkable and almost universal beauty is injured by their mode of speech...

I rarely, if ever, met with instances of this pedantry among the yeomanry or mechanic classes; or among the young. The most numerous and the worst pedants were middle-aged ladies. One instance struck me as being unlike anything that could happen in England. A literary and very meritorious village mantua-maker declared that it was very hard if her gowns did not fit the ladies of the neighbourhood. She had got the exact proportions of the Venus de Medici, to make them by: and what more could she do? Again, a sempstress was anxious that her employer should request me to write something about Mount Auburn: (the beautiful cemetery near Boston.) Upon her being questioned as to what kind of composition she had in her fancy, she said she would have Mount Auburn considered under three points of view: as it was on the day of creation, as it is now, as it will be on the day of resurrection. I liked the idea so well that I got her to write it for me, instead of my doing it for her.

As for the peculiarities of language of which so much has been made, I am a bad judge: but the fact is, I should have passed through the country almost without observing any, if my attention had not been previously directed to them. Next to the well-known use of the word "sick," instead of "ill," (in which they are undoubtedly right,) none struck me so much as the few following. They use the word "handsome" much more extensively than we do: saying that Webster made a handsome speech in the Senate: that a lady talks handsomely, (eloquently:) that a book sells handsomely. A gentleman asked me on the Catskill Mountain, whether I thought the sun handsomer there than at New York. When they speak of a fine woman, they refer to mental or moral, not at all to physical superiority. The effect was strange, after being told, here and there, that I was about to see a very fine woman, to meet in such cases almost the only plain women I saw in the country. Another curious circumstance is, that

this is almost the only connexion in which the word woman is used. This noble word, spirit-stirring as it passes over English ears, is in America banished, and "ladies" and "females" substituted: the one to English taste mawkish and vulgar; the other indistinctive and gross. So much for difference of taste. The effect is odd. After leaving the men's wards of the prison at Nashville, Tennessee, I asked the warden whether he would not let me see the women. "We have no ladies here, at present, madam. We have never had but two ladies, who were convicted for stealing a steak; but, as it appeared that they were deserted by their husbands, and in want, they were pardoned." A lecturer, discoursing on the characteristics of women, is said to have expressed himself thus. "Who were last at the cross? Ladies. Who were first at the sepulchre? Ladies."

ELBRIDGE, NEW YORK.

Fall 1834.
Hospitality in Villages;
Unhealthy Habit of Pampering Women;
Ostentatious Display of Cities contrasted with Simple Manners of Country;
Slaves Imitating the Manners of their Owners.

I had an early lesson in the art of distinguishing coldness from inhospitality. Our party of six was traversing the State of New York. We left Syracuse at dawn one morning, intending to breakfast at Skaneatles. By the time we reached Elbridge, however, having been delayed on the road, we were too hungry to think of going further without food. An impetuous young Carolinian, who was of the party, got out first, and returned to say we had better proceed; for the house and the people looked so cold, we should never be able to achieve a comfortable meal. Caring less, however, for comfort than for any sort of meal, we persisted in stopping. The first room we were shown into was wet, and had no fire; and we were already shivering with cold. I could discern that the family were clearing out of the next room. It was offered to us, and logs were piled upon the fire. Two of the young women, in cotton gowns and braided and bowed hair, followed their mother into the cooking apartment, sailing about with quiet movements and solemn faces. Two more staid in the room; and, after putting up their hair before the glass in our presence, began to arrange the table, knitting between times. One or another was almost all the while sitting with us, knitting, and replying with grave simplicity to our conversation. Presently, one of the best breakfasts we had in America was ready: a pie-dish full of buttered toast; hot biscuits and coffee; beef-steak, applesauce, hot potatoes, cheese, butter, and two large dishes of eggs. We were attentively waited upon by the four knitting young ladies and their knitting mother, and kindly dismissed with a charge of only two dollars and a quarter for the whole party. "Did you ever see such girls?" cried the young Carolinian, just landed from Europe: "stepping about like four captive princesses!" We all called out that we would not hear a word against the young ladies. They had treated us with all kindness; and no one could tell whether their reserve was any greater than their situation and circumstances require.

So much more has naturally been observed by travellers of American manners in stages and steam-boats than in private-houses, that all has been said, over and over again, that the subject deserves. I need only testify that I do not think the Americans eat faster than other people, on the whole. The celerity at hotel-tables is remarkable but so it is in stage-coach travellers in England, who are allowed ten minutes or a quarter of an hour for dining. In private houses, I was never aware of being hurried. The cheerful, unintermitting civility of all gentlemen travellers, throughout the country, is very striking to a stranger. The degree of consideration shown to women is, in my opinion, greater than is rational, or good for either party; but the manners of an American stagecoach might afford a valuable lesson and example to many classes of Europeans who have a high opinion of their own civilisation. I do not think it rational or fair that every gentleman, whether old or young, sick or well, weary or untired, should, as a matter of course, yield up the best places in the stage to any lady passenger. I do not think it rational or fair that five gentlemen should ride on the top of the coach, (where there is no accommodation for holding on, and no resting-place for the feet,) for some hours of a July day in Virginia, that a young lady, who was slightly delicate, might have room to lay up her feet, and change her posture as she pleased. It is obvious that, if she was not strong enough to travel on common terms in the stage, her family should have travelled in an extra; or staid behind; or done anything rather than allow five persons to risk their health, and sacrifice their comfort, for the sake of one. Whatever may be the good moral effects of such self-renunciation on the tempers of the gentlemen, the custom is very injurious to ladies. Their travelling manners are anything but amiable. While on a Journey, women who appear well enough in their homes, present all the characteristics of spoiled

children. Screaming and trembling at the apprehension of danger are not uncommon: but there is something far worse in the cool selfishness with which they accept the best of everything, at any sacrifice to others, and usually, in the south and west, without a word or look of acknowledgment. They are as like spoiled children when the gentlemen are not present to be sacrificed to them in the inn parlour, while waiting for meals or the stage, and in the cabin of a steam-boat. I never saw any manner so repulsive as that of many American ladies on board steam-boats. They look as if they supposed you mean to injure them, till you show to the contrary. The suspicious side-glance, or the full stare; the cold, immovable observation; the bristling self-defence the moment you come near; the cool pushing to get the best places, everything said and done without the least trace of trust or cheerfulness, these are the disagreeable consequences of the ladies being petted and humoured as they are. The New England ladies, who are compelled by their superior numbers to depend less upon the care of others, are far happier and pleasanter companions in a journey than those of the rest of the country. This shows the evil to be altogether superinduced: and I always found that if I could keep down my spirit, and show that I meant no harm, the apathy began to melt, the pretty ladies forgot their self-defence, and appeared somewhat like what I conclude they are at home, when managing their affairs, in the midst of familiar circumstances. If these ladies would but inquire of themselves what it is that they are afraid of, and whether there is any reason why people should be less cheerful, less obliging, and less agreeable, when casually brought into the society of fifty people, whose comfort depends mainly on their mutual good offices, than among half-a-dozen neighbours at home, they might remove an unpleasant feature of the national manners, and add another to the many charms of their country.

Much might be said of village manners in America: but Miss Sedgwick's pictures of them in her two best works, "Home," and "The Rich Poor Man, and the Poor Rich Man," are so true and so beautiful, and so sure of being well-known where they have not already reached, that no more is necessary than to mention them as some of the best and sweetest pictures of manners in existence. To the English reader they are full as interesting as to Americans, from the purity and fidelity of the democratic spirit which they breathe throughout. The woman who so appreciates the blessing of living in such a society as she describes, deserves the honour of being the first to commend it to the affections of humanity.

The manners of the wealthy classes depend, of course, upon the character of their objects and interests: but they are not, on the whole, so agreeable as those of their less opulent neighbours. The restless ostentation of such as live for grandeur and show is vulgar; as I have said, the only vulgarity to be seen in the country. Nothing can exceed the display of it at watering-places. At Rockaway, on Long Island, I saw in one large room, while the company was waiting, for dinner, a number of groups which would have made a good year's income for a clever caricaturist. If any lady, with an eye and a pencil adequate to the occasion, would sketch the phenomena of affectation that might be seen in one day in the piazza and drawing-room at Rockaway, she might be a useful censor of manners. But the task would be too full of sorrow and shame for any one with the true republican spirit. for my own part, I felt bewildered in such company. It was as if I had been set down on a kind of debatable land between the wholly imaginary society of the so called fashionable novels of late years, and the broad sketches of citizen-life given by Madame D'Arblay. It was like nothing real. When I saw the young ladies tricked out in the most expensive finery, flirting over the backgammon-board, tripping affectedly across the room, languishing with a seventy-dollar cambric handkerchief, starting up in ecstasy at the entrance of a baby; the mothers as busy with affectations of another kind; and the brothers sidling hither and thither, now with assiduity, and now with nonchalance; and no one imparting the refreshment of a natural countenance, movement, or tone, I almost doubted whether I was awake. The village scenes that I had witnessed rose up in strong contrast; the mirthful wedding, the wagon-drives, the offerings of wildflowers to the stranger; the unintermitting, simple courtesy of each to all; and it was scarcely credible that these contrasting scenes could both be existing in the same republic... The Americans possess an advantage in regard to the teaching of manners which they do not appreciate. They have before their eyes, in the manners of the coloured race, a perpetual caricature of their own follies; a mirror of conventionalism from which they can never escape. The negros are the most imitative set of people living. While they are in a degraded condition, with little principle, little knowledge, little independence, they copy the most successfully those things in their superiors which involve the least principle, knowledge, and independence; viz. their conventionalisms. They carry their mimicry far beyond any which is seen among the menials of the rich in Europe. The black footmen of the United States have tiptoe graces, stiff cravats, and eye-catching flourishes, like the footmen in London: but the imitation extends into more important matters. As the slaves of the south assume their masters' names and military titles, they assume their methods of conducting the courtesies and gaieties of life. I have in my possession a note of invitation to a ball, written on pink paper with gilt edges. When the lady invited came to her mistress for the ticket which was necessary to authorise her being out after nine at night, she was dressed in satin with muslin

over it, satin shoes, and white kid gloves: but, the satin was faded, the muslin torn: the shoes were tied upon the extremities of her splay feet and the white gloves dropping in tatters from her dark fingers. She was a caricature, instead of a fine lady. A friend of mine walked a mile or two in the dusk behind two black men and a woman whom they were courting. He told me that nothing could be more admirable than the coyness of the lady, and the compliments of the gallant and his friend. It could not be very amusing to those who reflect that holy and constant love, free preference, and all that makes marriage a blessing instead of a curse, were here out of the question: but the resemblance in the mode of courtship to that adopted by whites, when meditating marriage of a not dissimilar virtue, a marriage of barter, could not be overlooked.

Even in their ultimate, funereal courtesies, the coloured race imitate the whites. An epitaph on a negro baby at Savannah begins, "Sweet blighted lily!" They have few customs which are absolutely peculiar. One of these is refusing to eat before whites. When we went long expeditions, carrying luncheon, or procuring it by the road-side, the slaves always retired with their share behind trees or large stones, or other hiding-places.

WOMAN.
General Treatise on the Education, Morals, Religion, and Overprotection of Women.

IF a test of civilisation be sought, none can be so sure as the condition of that half of society over which the other half has power, — from the exercise of the right of the strongest. Tried by this test, the American civilisation appears to be of a lower order than might have been expected from some other symptoms of its social state. The Americans have, in the treatment of women, fallen below, not only their own democratic principles, but the practice of some parts of the Old World.

The unconsciousness of both parties as to the injuries suffered by women at the hands of those who hold the power is a sufficient proof of the low degree of civilisation in this important particular at which they rest. While woman's intellect is confined, her morals crusted, her health ruined, her weaknesses encouraged, and her strength punished, she is told that her lot is cast in the paradise of women: and there is no country in the world where there is so much boasting of the "chivalrous" treatment she enjoys. That is to say, she has the best place in stage-coaches: when there are not chairs enough for everybody, the gentlemen stand: she hears oratorical flourishes on public occasions about wives and home, and apostrophes to woman: her husband's hair stands on end at the idea of her working, and he toils to Indulge her with money: she has liberty to get her brain turned by religious excitements, that her attention may be diverted from morals, politics, and philosophy; and, especially, her morals are guarded by the strictest observance of propriety in her presence. In short, indulgence is given her as a substitute for justice. Her case differs from that of the slave, as to the principle, just so far as this; that the indulgence is large and universal, instead of petty and capricious. In both cases, justice is denied on no better plea than the right of the strongest. In both cases, the acquiescence of the many, and the burning discontent of the few, of the oppressed testify, the one to the actual degradation of the class, and the other to its fitness for the enjoyment of human rights.

The intellect of woman is confined. I met with immediate proof of this. Within ten days of my landing, I encountered three outrageous pedants, among the ladies; and in my progress through the country I met with a greater variety and extent of female pedantry than the experience of a lifetime in Europe would afford. I could fill the remainder of my volume with sketches: but I forbear, through respect even for this very pedantry. Where intellect has a fair chance, there is no pedantry, among men or women. It is the result of an intellect which cannot be wholly passive, but must demonstrate some force, and does so through the medium of narrow morals. Pedantry indicates the first struggle of intellect with its restraints; and it is therefore a hopeful symptom.

The intellect of woman is confined by an unjustifiable restriction of both methods of education, by express teaching, and by the discipline of circumstance. The former, though prior in the chronology of each individual, is a direct consequence of the latter, as regards the whole of the sex. As women have none of the objects in life for which an enlarged education is considered requisite, the education is not given. Female education in America is much what it is in England. There is a profession of some things being taught which are supposed necessary because everybody learns them. They serve to fill up time, to occupy attention harmlessly, to improve conversation, and to make women something like companions to their husbands, and able to teach their children somewhat. But what is given is, for the most part, passively received; and what is obtained is, chiefly, by means of the memory. There is rarely or never a careful ordering of influences for the promotion of clear intellectual activity. Such activity, when it exceeds that which is necessary to make the work of the teacher easy, is feared

and repressed. This is natural enough, as long as women are excluded from the objects for which men are trained. While there are natural rights which women may not use, just claims which are not to be listened to, large objects which may not be approached, even in imagination, intellectual activity is dangerous: or, as the phrase is, unfit Accordingly, marriage is the only object left open to woman. Philosophy she may pursue only fancifully, and under pain of ridicule: science only as a pastime, and under a similar penalty. Art is declared to be left open: but the necessary learning, and, yet more, the indispensable experience of reality, are denied to her. Literature is also said to be permitted: but under what penalties and restrictions? I need only refer to the last three pages of the review of Miss Sedgwick's last novel in the North American Review, to support all that can be said of the insolence to which the intellect of women is exposed in America. I am aware that many blush for that article, and disclaim all sympathy with it: but the bare fact that any man in the country could write it' that any editor could sanction it, that such an intolerable scoff should be allowed to find its way to the light, is a sufficient proof of the degradation of the sex. Nothing is thus left for women but marriage. Yes; Religion, is the reply. Religion is a temper, not a pursuit. It is the moral atmosphere in which human beings are to live and move. Men do not live to breathe: they breathe to live. A German lady of extraordinary powers and endowments, remarked to me with amazement on all the knowledge of the American women being based on theology. She observed that in her own country theology had its turn with other sciences, as a pursuit: but nowhere, but with the American women, had she known it make the foundation of all other knowledge. Even while thus complaining, this lady stated the case too favourably. American women have not the requisites for the study of theology. The difference between theology and religion, the science and the temper, is yet scarcely known among them. It is religion which they pursue as an occupation; and hence its small results upon the conduct, as well as upon the intellect. We are driven back upon marriage as the only appointed object in life: and upon the conviction that the sum and substance of female education in America, as in England, is training women to consider marriage as the sole object in life, and to pretend that they do not think so.

The morals of women are crushed. If there be any human power and business and privilege which is absolutely universal, it is the discovery and adoption of the principle and laws of duty. As every individual, whether man or woman, has a reason and a conscience, this is a work which each is thereby authorised to do for him or herself. But it is not only virtually prohibited to beings who, like the American women, have scarcely any objects in life proposed to them; but the whole apparatus of opinion is brought to bear offensively upon individuals among women who exercise freedom of mind in deciding upon what duty is, and the methods by which it is to be pursued. There is nothing extraordinary to the disinterested observer in women being so grieved at the case of slaves, slave wives and mothers, as well as spirit broken men, as to wish to do what they could for their relief: there is nothing but what is natural in their being ashamed of the cowardice of such white slaves of the north as are deterred by intimidation from using their rights of speech and of the press, in behalf of the suffering race, and in their resolving not to do likewise: there is nothing but what is justifiable in their using their moral freedom, each for herself, in neglect of the threats of punishment: yet there were no bounds to the efforts made to crush the actions of women who thus used their human powers in the abolition question, and the convictions of those who looked on, and who might possibly be warmed into free action by the beauty of what they saw. It will be remembered that they were women who asserted the right of meeting and of discussion, on the day when Garrison was mobbed in Boston. Bills were posted about the city on this occasion, denouncing these women as casting off the refinement and delicacy of their sex: the newspapers, which laud the exertions of ladies in all other charities for the prosecution of which they are wont to meet and speak, teemed with the most disgusting reproaches and insinuations: and the pamphlets which related to the question all presumed to censure the act of duty which the women had performed in deciding upon their duty for themselves. One lady, of high talents and character, whose books were very popular before she did a deed greater than that of writing any book, in acting upon an unusual conviction of duty, and becoming an abolitionist, has been almost excommunicated since. A family of ladies, whose talents and conscientiousness had placed them high in the estimation of society as teachers, have lost all their pupils since they declared their anti-slavery opinions. The reproach in all the many similar cases that I know is, not that the ladies hold anti-slavery opinions, but that they act upon them. The incessant outcry about the retiring modesty of the sex proves the opinion of the censors to be, that fidelity to conscience is inconsistent with retiring modesty. If it be so, let the modesty succumb. It can be only a false modesty which can be thus endangered. No doubt, there were people in Rome who were scandalised at the unseemly boldness of Christian women who stood in the amphitheatre to be torn in pieces for their religion. No doubt there were many gentlemen in the British army who thought it unsuitable to the retiring delicacy of the sex that the wives and daughters of the revolutionary heroes should be revolutionary heroines. nut the event has a marvellous efficacy in modifying the ultimate sentence. The bold Christian women, the brave American wives and daughters of half a century ago are honoured, while the intrepid moralists of the present

day, worthy of their grand mothers, are made the confessors and martyrs of their age.
I could cite many conversations and incidents to show how the morals of women are crushed: but I can make room for only one. Let it be the following. A lady, who is considered unusually clearheaded and sound-hearted where trying questions are not concerned, one day praised very highly Dr. Channing's work on Slavery. "But," said she, "do not you think it a pity that so much is said on slavery just now?"
"No. I think it necessary and natural."
"But people who hold Dr. Channing's belief about a future life, cannot well make out the case of the slaves to be so very bad an one. If the present life is but a moment in comparison with the eternity to come, can it matter so very much how it is spent?"
"How does it strike you about your own children? Would it reconcile you to their being made slaves, that they could be so only for three-score years and ten?"
"O no. But yet it seems as if life would so soon be over."
"And what do you think of their condition at the end of it? How much will the purposes of human life have been fulfilled?"
"The slaves will not be punished, you know, for the state they may be in; for it will be no fault of their own. Their masters will have the responsibility; not they."
"Place the responsibility where you will. Speaking according to your own belief, do you think it of no consequence whether a human being enters upon a future life utterly ignorant and sensualised, or in the likeness of Dr. Channing, as you described him just now?"
"Of great consequence, certainly. But then it is no business of ours; of us women, at all events."
"I thought you considered yourself a Christian."
"So I do. You will say that Christians should help sufferers, whoever and wherever they may be. But not women, in all cases, surely."
"Where, in your Christianity, do you find the distinction made?"
She could only reply that she thought women should confine themselves to doing what could be done at home. I asked her what her Christian charity would bid her do, if she saw a great boy beating a little one in the street.
"O, I parted two such the other day in the street. It would have been very wrong to have passed them by."
"Well: if there are a thousand strung men in the south beating ten thousand weak slaves, and you can possibly help to stop the beating by a declaration of your opinion upon it, does not your Christian duty oblige you to make such a declaration, whether you are man or woman? What in the world has your womanhood to do with it?"
How fearfully the morals of woman are crushed, appears from the prevalent persuasion that there are virtues which are peculiarly masculine, and others which are peculiarly feminine. It is amazing that a society which makes a most emphatic profession of its Christianity, should almost universally entertain such a fallacy: and not see that, in the case they suppose, instead of the character of Christ being the meeting point of all virtues, there would have been a separate gospel for women, and a second company of agents for its diffusion. Is it not only that masculine and feminine employments are supposed to be properly different. No one in the world, I believe, questions this. But it is actually supposed that what are called the hardy virtues are more appropriate to men, and the gentler to women. As all virtues nourish each other, and can no otherwise be nourished, the consequence of the admitted fallacy is that men are, after all, not nearly so brave as they ought to be; nor women so gentle. But what is the manly character till it be gentle? The very word magnanimity cannot be thought of in relation to it till it becomes mild, Christ-like. Again, what can a woman be, or do, without bravery? Has she not to struggle with the toils and difficulties which follow upon the mere possession of a mind? Must she not face physical and moral pain, physical and moral danger? Is there a day of her life in which there are not conflicts wherein no one can help her perilous work to be done, in which she can have neither sympathy nor aid? Let her lean upon man as much as he will, how much is it that he can do for her? from how much can he protect her? From a few physical perils, and from a very few social evils. This is all. Over the moral world he has no control, except on his own account; and it is the moral life of human beings which is all in all. He can neither secure any woman from pain and grief, nor rescue her from the strife of emotions, nor prevent the film of life from cracking under her feet with every step she treads, nor hide from her the abyss which is beneath, nor save her from sinking into it at last alone. While it is so, while woman is human, men should beware how they deprive her of any of the strength which is all needed for the strife and burden of humanity. Let them beware how they put her off her watch and defence, by promises which they cannot fulfil; promises of a guardianship which can arise only from within; of support which can be derived only from the freest moral action, from the self-reliance which can be generated by no other means.
But, it may be asked, how does society get on, what does it do? for it acts on the supposition of there being

masculine and feminine virtues, upon the fallacy just exposed.
It does so; and the consequences are what might be looked for. Men are ungentle, tyrannical. They abuse the right of the strongest, however they may veil the abuse with indulgence. They want the magnanimity to discern woman's human rights; and they crush her morals rather than allow them. Women are, as might be anticipated, weak, ignorant and subservient, in as far as they exchange self-reliance for reliance on anything out of themselves. Those who will not submit to such a suspension of their moral functions, (for the work of self-perfection remains to be done, sooner or later,) have to suffer for their allegiance to duty. They have all the need of bravery that the few heroic men who assert the highest rights of women have of gentleness, to guard them from the encroachment to which power, custom, and education, incessantly conduce.
Such brave women and such just men there are in the United States, scattered among the multitude, whose false apprehension of rights leads to an erroneous failure of duties. There are enough of such to commend the true understanding and practice to the simplest minds and most faithful hearts of the community, under whose testimony the right principle will spread and flourish. If it were not for the external prosperity of the country, the injured half of its society would probably obtain justice sooner than in any country of Europe. But the prosperity of America is a circumstance unfavourable to its women. It will be long before they are put to the proof as to what they are capable of thinking and doing: a proof to which hundreds, perhaps thousands of Englishwomen have been put by adversity, and the result of which is a remarkable improvement in their social condition, even within the space of ten years. Persecution for opinion, punishment for all manifestations of intellectual and moral strength, are still as common as women who have opinions and who manifest strength: but some things are easy, and many are possible of achievement, to women of ordinary powers, which it would have required genius to accomplish but a few years ago.

MARRIAGE.
General Treatise on Money and Property Rights of Wives;
Divorce Laws;
Comparison of European and American Marriages;
Morals Less Pure than Supposed.

If there is any country on earth where the course of true love may be expected to run smooth, it is America It is a country where all can marry early, where there need be no anxiety about a worldly provision, and where the troubles arising from conventional considerations of rank and connexion ought to be entirely absent. It is difficult for a stranger to imagine beforehand why all should not love and marry naturally and freely, to the prevention of vice out of the marriage state, and of the common causes of unhappiness within it. The anticipations of the stranger are not, however, fulfilled: and they never can be while the one sex overbears the other. Marriage is in America more nearly universal, more safe, more tranquil, more fortunate than in England: but it is still subject to the troubles which arise from the inequality of the parties in mind and in occupation. It is more nearly universal, from the entire prosperity of the country: it is safer, from the greater freedom of divorce, and consequent discouragement of swindling, and other vicious marriages: it is more tranquil and fortunate from the marriage vows being made absolutely reciprocal; from the arrangements about property being generally far more favorable to the wife than in England; and from her not being made, as in England, to all intents and purposes the property of her husband. The outward requisites to happiness are nearly complete, and the institution is purified from the grossest of the scandals which degrade it in the Old World: but it is still the imperfect institution which it must remain while women continue to be ill-educated, passive, and subservient: or well educated, vigorous, and free only upon sufferance.
The institution presents a different aspect in the various parts of the country. I have spoken of the early marriages of silly children in the south and west, where, owing to the disproportion of numbers, every woman is married before she well knows how serious a matter human life is. She has an advantage which very few women elsewhere are allowed: she has her own property to manage. It would be a rare sight elsewhere to see a woman of twenty-one in her second widowhood, managing her own farm or plantation; and managing it well, because it had been in her own hands during her marriage. In Louisiana, and also in Missouri, (and probably in other States,) a woman not only has half her husband's property by right at his death, but may always be considered as possessed of half his gains during his life; having at all times power to bequeath that amount. The husband interferes much less with his wife's property in the south, even through her voluntary relinquishment of it, than

is at all usual where the cases of women having property during their marriage are rare. In the southern newspapers, advertisements may at any time be seen, running thus: "Mrs. A, wife of Mr. A, will dispose of &c. &c." When Madame Lalaurie was mobbed in New Orleans, no one meddled with her husband or his possessions; as he was no more responsible for her management of her human property than anybody else. On the whole, the practice seems to be that the weakest and most ignorant women give up their property to their husbands; the husbands of such women being precisely the men most disposed to accept it: and that the strongest-minded and most conscientious women keep their property, and use their rights; the husbands of such women being precisely those who would refuse to deprive their wives of their social duties and privileges.

If this condition of the marriage law should strike any English persons as a peculiarity, it is well that they should know that it is the English law which is peculiar, and not that of Louisiana. The English alone vary from the old Saxon law, that a wife shall possess half, or a large part, of her husband's earnings or makings. It is so in Spanish, French, and Italian law; and probably in German, as the others are derived thence. Massachusetts has copied the faults of the English law, in this particular; and I never met with any lawyer, or other citizen with whom I conversed on the subject, who was not ashamed of the barbarism of the law under which a woman's property goes into her husband's hands with herself. A liberalminded lawyer of Boston told me that his advice to testators always is to leave the largest possible amount to the widow, subject to the condition of her leaving it to the children: but that it is with shame that he reflects that any woman should owe that to his professional advice which the law should have secured to her as a right. I heard a frequent expression of indignation that the wife, the friend and helper of many years, should be portioned off with a legacy, like a salaried domestic, instead of having her husband's affairs come legally, as they would naturally, into her hands. In Rhode Island, a widow is entitled to one-third of her husband's property: and, on the sale of any estate of his during his life, she is examined, in the absence of the husband, as to her will with regard to her own proportion of it. There is some of the apparatus of female independence in the country. It will be most interesting to observe to what uses it is put, whenever the restraints of education and opinion to which women are subject, shall be so far relaxed as to leave them morally free.

I have mentioned that divorce is more easily obtained in the United States than in England. In no country, I believe, are the marriage laws so iniquitous as in England, and the conjugal relation, in consequence, so impaired. Whatever maybe thought of the principles which are to enter into laws of divorce, whether it be held that pleas for divorce should be one, (as narrow interpreters of the New Testament would have it;) or two, (as the law of England habit;) or several, (as the Continental and United States' laws in many instances allow,) nobody, I believe, defends the arrangement by which, in England, divorce is obtainable only by the very rich. The barbarism of granting that as a privilege to the extremely wealthy, to which money bears no relation whatever, and in which all married persons whatever have an equal interest, needs no exposure beyond the mere statement of the fact. It will be seen at a glance how such an arrangement tends to vitiate marriage: how it offers impunity to adventurers, and encouragement to every kind of mercenary marriages: how absolute is its oppression of the injured party: and how, by vitiating marriage, it originates and aggravates licentiousness to an incalculable extent. To England alone belongs the disgrace of such a method of legislation. I believe that, while there is little to be said for the legislation of any part of the world on this head, it is nowhere so vicious as in England.

Of the American States, I believe New York approaches nearest to England in its laws of divorce. It is less rigid, in as far as that more is comprehended under the term "cruelty." The husband is supposed to be liable to cruelty from the wife, as well as the wife from the husband. There is no practical distinction made between rich and poor by the process being rendered expensive: and the cause is more easily resumable after a reconciliation of the parties. In Massachusetts, the term "cruelty" is made so comprehensive, and the mode of sustaining the plea is so considerately devised, that divorces are obtainable with peculiar ease. The natural consequence follows: such a thing is never heard — A long-established and very eminent lawyer of Boston told me that he had known of only one in all his experience. Thus it is wherever the law is relaxed, and, caeteris paribus, in proportion to its relaxation: for the obvious reason, that the protection offered by law to the injured party causes marriages to be entered into with fewer risks, and the conjugal relation carried on with more equality. Retribution is known to impend over violations of conjugal duty. When I was in North Carolina, the wife of a gamester there obtained a divorce without the slightest difficulty. When she had brought evidence of the danger to herself and her children, danger pecuniary and moral, from her husband's gambling habits, the bill passed both Houses without a dissenting voice.

It is clear that the sole business which legislation has with marriage is with the arrangement of property; to guard the reciprocal rights of the children of the marriage and the community. There is no further pretence for the interference of the law, in any way. An advance towards the recognition of the true principle of legislative

interference in marriage has been made in England, in the new law, in which the agreement of marriage is made a civil contract, leaving the religious obligation to the conscience and taste of the parties. It will be probably next perceived that if the civil obligation is fulfilled, if the children of the marriage are legally and satisfactorily provided for by the parties, without the assistance of the legislature, the legislature has, in principle, nothing more to do with the matter. This principle has been acted upon in the marriage arrangements of Zurich, with the best effects upon the morals of the conjugal relation. The parties there are married by a form; and have liberty to divorce themselves without any appeal to law, on showing that they have legally provided for the children of the marriage. There was some previous alarm about the effect upon morals of the removal of such important legal restrictions: but the event justified the confidence of those who proceeded on the conviction that the laws of human affection, when not tampered with, are more sacred and binding than those of any legislature that ever sat in council. There was some levity at first, chiefly on the part of those who were suffering under the old system: but the morals of the society soon became, and have since remained, peculiarly pure.

It is assumed in America, particularly in New England, that the morals of society there are peculiarly pure. I am grieved to doubt the fact: but I do doubt it. Nothing like a comparison between one country and another in different circumstances can be instituted: nor would any one desire to enter upon such a comparison. The bottomless vice, the all-pervading corruption of European society cannot, by possibility, be yet paralleled in America: but neither is it true that any outward prosperity, any arrangement of circumstances, can keep a society pure while there is corruption in its social methods, and among its principles of individual action. Even in America, where every young man may, if he chooses, marry at twenty-one, and appropriate all the best comforts of domestic life,— even here there is vice. Men do not choose to marry early, because they have learned to think other things of more importance than the best comforts of domestic life. A gentleman of Massachusetts, who knows life and the value of most things in it, spoke to me with deep concern of the alteration in manners which is going on: of the increase of bachelors, and of mercenary marriages; and of the fearful consequences. It is too soon for America to be following the old world in its ways. In the old world, the necessity of thinking of a maintenance before thinking of a wife has led to requiring a certain style of living before taking a wife; and then, alas! to taking a wife for the sake of securing a certain style of living. That this species of corruption is already spreading in the new world is beyond a doubt; in the cities, where the people who live for wealth and for opinion congregate.

I was struck with the great number of New England women whom I saw married to men old enough to be their fathers. One instance which perplexed me exceedingly, on my entrance into the country, was explained very little to my satisfaction. The girl had been engaged to a young man whom she was attached to: her mother broke off the engagement, and married her to a rich old man. This story was a real shock to me; so persuaded had I been that in America, at least, one might escape from the disgusting spectacle of mercenary marriages. But I saw only too many instances afterwards. The practice was ascribed to the often-mentioned fact of the young men migrating westwards in large numbers, leaving those who should be their wives to marry widowers of double their age. The Auld Robin Gray story is a frequently enacted tragedy here: and one of the worst symptoms that struck me was, that there was usually a demand upon my sympathy in such cases. I have no sympathy for those who, under any pressure of circumstances, sacrifice their heart's-love for legal prostitution; and no environment of beauty or sentiment can deprive the fact of its coarseness: and least of all could I sympathise with women who set the example of marrying for an establishment in a new country, where, if anywhere, the conjugal relation should be found in its purity.

The unavoidable consequence of such a mode of marrying is, that the sanctity of marriage is impaired, and that vice succeeds. Any one must see at a glance that if men and women marry those whom they do not love, they must love those whom they do not marry. There are sad tales in country villages, here and there, which attest this; and yet more in towns, in a rank of society where such things are seldom or never heard of in England. I rather think that married life is immeasurably purer in America than in England: but that there is not otherwise much superiority to boast of. I can only say, that I unavoidably knew of more cases of lapse in highly respectable families in one State than ever came to my knowledge at home; and that they were got over with a disgrace far more temporary and superficial than they could have been visited with in England. I am aware that in Europe the victims are chosen, with deliberate selfishness, from classes which cannot make known their perils and their injuries; while in America, happily, no such class exists. I am aware that this destroys all possibility of a comparison: but the fact remains, that the morals of American society are less pure than they assume to be. If the common boast be meant to apply to the rural population, at least let it not be made, either in pious gratitude, or patriotic conceit, by the aristocratic city classes, who, by introducing the practice of mercenary marriages, have rendered themselves responsible for whatever dreadful consequences may ensue.

The ultimate and very strong impression on the mind of a stranger, pondering the morals of society in America,

is that human nature is much the same everywhere, whatever may be its environment of riches or poverty; and that it is justice to the human nature, and not improvement in fortunes, which must be looked to as the promise of a better time. Laws and customs may be creative of vice; and should be therefore perpetually under process of observation and correction: but laws and customs cannot be creative of virtue: they may encouraged and help to preserve it; but they cannot originate it. In the present case, the course to be pursued is to exalt the aims, and strengthen the self-discipline of the whole of society, by each one being as good as he can make himself, and relying on his own efforts after self-perfection rather than on any fortunate arrangements of outward social circumstances. Women, especially, should be allowed the use and benefit of whatever native strength their Maker has seen fit to give them. It is essential to the virtue of society that they should be allowed the freest moral action, unfettered by ignorance, and unintimidated by authority: for it is unquestioned and unquestionable that if women were not weak, men could not be wicked: that if women were bravely pure, there must be an end to the dastardly tyranny of licentiousness.

OCCUPATION.
General Treatise on Duties of Wives;
Unhealthy Habit of Young Married Couples Residing in Boarding Houses;
Domestic Servants;
Charity and Religious Work;
Manufacturing Professions;
Governesses.

The greater number of American women have home and its affairs, wherewith to occupy themselves. Wifely and motherly occupation may be called the sole business of woman there. If she has not that, she has nothing. The only alternative, as I have said, is making an occupation of either religion or dissipation; neither of which is fit to be so used: the one being a state of mind, the other altogether a negation when not taken in alternation with business.

It must happen that where all women have only one serious object, many of them will be unfit for that object. In the United States, as elsewhere, there are women no more fit to be wives and mothers than to be statesmen and generals; no more fit for any responsibility whatever, than for the maximum of responsibility. There is no need to describe such: they may be seen everywhere. I allude to them only for the purpose of mentioning that many of this class shirk some of their labours and cares, by taking refuge in boarding-houses. It is a circumstance very unfavourable to the character of some American women, that boardinghouse life has been rendered compulsory by the scarcity of labour, the difficulty of obtaining domestic service. The more I saw of boarding-house life, the worse I thought of it; though I saw none but the best. Indeed, the degrees of merit in such establishments weigh little in the consideration of the evil of their existence at all. In the best it is something to be secure of respectable company, of a good table, a well-mannered and courteous hostess, and comfort in the private apartments: but the mischiefs of the system throw all these objects into the back-ground.

To begin with young children. There can be no sufficient command of proper food for them; nor any security that they will eat it naturally at the table where fifty persons may be sitting, a dozen obsequious blacks waiting, and an array of tempting dishes within sight. The child is in imminent danger of being too shy and frightened to eat at all, or of becoming greedy to eat too much. Next, it is melancholy to see girls of twelve years old either slinking down beside their parents, and blushing painfully as often as any one of fifty strangers looks towards them; or boldly staring at all that is going on, and serving themselves, like little women of the world. After tea, it is a common practice to hand the young ladies to the piano, to play and sing to a party, composed chiefly of gentlemen, and brought together on no principle of selection except mere respectability. Next comes the mischief to the young married ladies, the most numerous class of women found in boarding-houses. The uncertainty about domestic service is so great, and the economy of boarding-house life so tempting to people who have not provided themselves with house and furniture, that it is not to be wondered at that many young married people use the accommodation provided. But no sensible husband, who could beforehand become acquainted with the liabilities incurred, would willingly expose his domestic peace to the fearful risk. I saw enough when I saw the elegantly dressed ladies repair to the windows of the common drawing-room, on their husbands' departure to the counting-house, after breakfast. There the ladies sit for hours, doing nothing but gossiping with one another, with any gentlemen of the house who may happen to have no business, and with

visitors. It is true that the sober-minded among the ladies can and do withdraw to their own apartments for the morning: but they complain that they cannot settle to regular employments as they could in a house of their own. Either they are not going to stay long; or they have not room for their books, or they are broken in upon by their acquaintances in the house. The common testimony is, that little can be done in boarding-houses: and if the more sober-minded find it so, the fate of the thoughtless, who have no real business to do, may be easily anticipated. They find a dear friend or two among the boarders, to whom they confide their husbands' secrets. A woman who would do this once would do it twice, or as often as she changes her boarding-house, and finds a new dear friend in each. I have been assured that there is no end to the difficulties in which gentlemen have been involved, both as to their commercial and domestic affairs, by the indiscretion of their thoughtless young wives, amidst the idleness and levities of boardinghouse life. As for the gentlemen, they are much to be pitied. Public meals, a noisy house, confinement to one or two private rooms, with the absence of all gratifications of their own peculiar convenience and taste, are but a poor solace to the man of business, after the toils and cares of the day. When to these are added the snares to which their wives are exposed, it may be imagined that men of sense and refinement would rather bear with any domestic inconvenience from the uncertainty and bad quality of help, than give up housekeeping. They would content themselves, if need were, with a bread and cheese dinner, light their own fire, and let their wives dust the furniture a few times in the year, rather than give up privacy, with its securities. I rather think that the gentlemen generally think and feel thus; and that when they break up housekeeping and go to boarding-houses, it is out of indulgence to the wishes of their wives; who, if they were as wise as they should be, would wish it seldomer and less than they do.

The study of the economy of domestic service was a continual amusement to me. What I saw would fill a volume. Many families are, and have for years been, as well off for domestics as any family in England; and I must say that among the loudest complainers there were many who, from fault of either judgment or temper, deserved whatever difficulty they met with. This is remarkably the case with English ladies settled in America. They carry with them habits of command, and expectations of obedience; and when these are found utterly to fail, they grow afraid of their servants. Even when they have learned the theory that domestic service is a matter of contract, an exchange of service for recompense, the authority of the employer extending no further than to require the performance of the service promised, when the ladies have learned to assent in words to this, they are still apt to be annoyed at things which in no way concern them. If one domestic chooses to wait at table with no cap over her scanty chevelure, and in spectacles, if another goes to church on Sunday morning, dressed exactly like her mistress, the lady is in no way answerable for the bad taste of her domestics. But English residents often cannot learn to acquiesce in these things; nor in the servants doing their work in their own way; nor in their dividing their time as they please between their mistress's work and their own. The consequence is, that they soon find it impossible to get American help at all, and they are consigned to the tender mercies of the low Irish; and every one knows what kind of servants they commonly are. Some few of them are the best domestics in America: those who know how to value a respectable home, a steady sufficient income, the honour of being trusted, and the security of valuable friends for life: but too many of them are unsettled, reckless, slovenly; some dishonest, and some intemperate.

The most fortunate housekeepers I found to be those who acted the most strenuously on principles of justice and kindness. Such housekeepers are careful, in the first place, that no part of the mutual duty shall pass unexplained; no opening be left for future dispute that can be avoided. The candidate is not only informed precisely what the work is, and shown the accommodations of the house, but consulted with about cases where the convenience of the two parties may clash. For instance, the employer stipulates to be informed some hours before, when her domestic intends to go out; and that such going out shall never take place when there is company. In return, she yields all she can to the wishes of her domestic about re creation, receiving the visits of her family, &c. Where a complete mutual understanding is arrived at, there is the best chance of the terms of the contract being faithfully adhered to, and liberally construed, on both sides: and I have seen instances of the parties having lived together in friendship and contentment for five, seven, eleven, and fourteen years. Others, again, I have seen who, without fault of their own, have changed their servants three times in a fortnight. Some, too, I have observed who will certainly never be comfortably settled, unless they can be taught the first principles of democracy.

Many ladies, in the country especially, take little girls to train; having them bound to a certain term of service. In such a case, the girl is taken at about eleven years old, and bound to remain till she is eighteen. Her mistress engages to clothe her; to give her Sunday-schooling, and a certain amount of weekday schooling in the year; and to present her at the end of the term (except in case of bad behaviour) with fifty dollars, or a cow, or some equivalent. Under a good mistress, this is an excellent bargain for the girl; but mistresses complain that as soon as the girls become really serviceable, by the time they are fourteen or fifteen, they begin to grow restless,

having usually abundance of kind friends to tell them what good wages they might get if they were free. In several abodes in which I resided for a longer or shorter time, the routine of the house was as easy and agreeable as any Englishman's; elsewhere, the accounts of domestic difficulties were both edifying and amusing. At first, I heard but little of such things; there being a prevalent idea in America that English ladies concern themselves very little about household affairs. This injurious misapprehension the ladies of England owe, with many others, to the fashionable novels which deluge the country from New York to beyond the Mississippi. Though the Americans repeat and believe that these books are false pictures of manners, they cannot be wholly upon their guard against impressions derived from them. Too many of them involuntarily image to themselves the ladies of England as like the duchesses and countesses of those low books: and can scarcely believe that the wives of merchants, manufacturers, and shopkeepers, and of the greater number of professional men, buy their own provision, keep household accounts, look to the making and mending, the baking, making of preserves, &c., and sometimes cook, with their own hands, any dish of which their husbands may be fond. When it was found, from my revelations, that English and American ladies have, after all, much the same sort of things to do, the real state of household economy was laid open to me.

All American ladies should know how to clear-starch and iron: how to keep plate and glass: how to cook dainties: and, if they understand the making, of bread and soup likewise, so much the better. The gentlemen usually charge themselves with the business of marketing; which is very fair. A lady, highly accomplished and very literary, told me that she had lately been left entirely without help, in a country village where there was little hope of being speedily able to procure any. She and her daughter made the bread, for six weeks, and entirely kept the house, which might vie with any nobleman's for true luxury; perfect sufficiency and neatness. She mentioned one good result from the necessity: that she should never again put up with bad bread. She could now testify that bread might always be good, notwithstanding changes of weather, and all the excuses commonly given. I heard an anecdote from this lady which struck me. She was in the habit of employing, when she wanted extra help, a poor woman of colour, to do kitchen-work. The domestics had always appeared on perfectly good terms with this woman till, one day, when there was to be an evening party, the upper domestic declined waiting on the company; giving as a reason that she was offended at being required to sit down to table with the coloured woman. Her mistress gently rebuked her pride, saying "If you are above waiting on my company, my family are not. You will see my daughter carry the tea tray, and my niece the cake." The girl repented, and besought to be allowed to wait; but her assistance was declined; at which she cried heartily. The next day, she was very humble, and her mistress reasoned with her, quite successfully. The lady made one concession in silence. She had the coloured woman come after dinner, instead of before.

A country lady travelled thirty miles to a town where she thought she might intercept some Irish, coming down from Canada into the States, and supply herself with domestics from among them. She engaged to send them thirty miles to confession, twice a year, if they would live with her. Another country lady told me that her family suffered from want of water, because the man objected to bring it. The maids fetched it; and even the children, in their little cans. The man was sturdy on the point, and she could not dismiss him for such a reason, he was such a laughable servant; though he could not drive, from having only one eye, and always got drunk when his work was done. The same lady had her house pretty well kept, by dint of superintending everything herself: but, when she wanted her rooms papered, she thought she might leave that kind of work to the artist who undertook it. When it was done, she was summoned to look at it, and called upon to admire the way in which the man had "made every crease show." He had spent his ingenuity in contriving that the pattern should not join in any two strips.

The mother of a young bride of my acquaintance flattered herself that she had graced her daughter's new house, during the wedding journey, with two exemplary domestics. The day previous to the bride's return, before the women had seen either master or mistress, they gave notice that they were going away directly, in consequence of the receipt of some family news which had changed their plans. They were prevailed upon to stay for a week, when they persisted in going, though no successors had been obtained, and their young mistress was to receive her company the next day. That made the matter desperate was that the bride knew nothing of housekeeping. She made them cook as much provision, to be eaten cold, as would possibly keep; and when they had closed the door behind them, sat down and cried for a whole hour. How she got out of her troubles, I forget: but she was in excellent spirits when she told me the story.

Many anecdotes are current about the manners of the young people who come down from the retired parts of the country to domestic service in Boston. A simple country girl obeyed her instructions exactly about putting the dimmer upon the table, and then summoning the family. But they delayed a few minutes, from some cause; and when they entered the dining-room, found the domestic seated and eating. She had helped herself from a fowl, thinking that "the folk were so long a-coming, the things would get cold." A young man from Vermont

was hired by a family who were in extreme want of a footman. He was a most friendly personage, as willing as he was free and easy; but he knew nothing of life out of a small farm-house. An evening or two after his arrival, there was a large party at the house. His mistress strove to impress upon him that all he had to do at tea-time was to follow, with the sugar and cream, the waiter who carried the tea; to see that every one had cream and sugar; and to hold his tongue. He did his part with an earnest face, stepping industriously from guest to guest. When he had made the circuit, and reached the door, a doubt struck him whether a group in the furthest part of the room had had the benefit of his attentions. He raised himself on his toes with, "I'll ask;" and shouted over the heads of the company, "I say, how are ye off for sweetenin' in that ere corner?"

These extreme cases sound ridiculously and uncomfortably enough: but it must be remembered that they are extreme cases. For my own part, I had rather suffer any inconvenience from having to work occasionally in chambers and kitchen, and from having little hospitable designs frustrated, than witness the subservience in which the menial class is held in Europe. In England, servants have been so long accustomed to this subservience; it is so completely the established custom for the mistress to regulate their manners, their clothes, their intercourse with their friends, and many other things which they ought to manage for themselves, that it has become difficult to treat them any better. Mistresses who abstain from such regulation find that they are spoiling their servants; and heads of families who would make friends of their domestics find them little fitted to reciprocate the duty. In America it is otherwise: and may it ever be so! All but those who care for their selfish gratification more than for the welfare of those about them will be glad to have intelligent and disinterested friends in the domestics whom they may be able to attach, though there may be difficulty at first in retaining them; and some eccentricities of manner and dress may remain to be borne with.

One of the pleasures of travelling through a democratic country is the seeing no liveries. No such badge of menial service is to be met with throughout the States, except in the houses of the foreign ambassadors at Washington. Of how much higher a character American domestic service is than any which would endure to be distinguished by a badge, the following instance will show. I spent an evening at the house of the president of Harvard University. The party was waited on at tea by a domestic of the president's, who is also Major of the Horse. On cavalry days, when guests are invited to dine with the regiment, the major, in his regimentals, takes the head of the table, and has the president on his right hand. He plays the host as freely as if no other relation existed between them. The toasts being all transacted, he goes home, doffs his regimentals, and waits on the president's guests at tea.

As for the occupations with which American ladies fill up their leisure; what has been already said will show that there is no great weight or diversity of occupation. Many are largely engaged in charities, doing, good or harm according to the enlightenment of mind which is carried to the work. In New England, a vast deal of time is spent in attending preachings, and ether religious meetings: and in paying visits, for religious purposes, to the poor and sorrowful. The same results follow from this practice that may be witnessed wherever it is much pursued. In as far as sympathy is kept up, and acquaintanceship between different classes in society is occasioned, the practice is good. In as far as it unsettles the minds of the visitors, encourages a false craving for religious excitement, tempts to spiritual interference on the one hand, and cant on the other, and humours or oppresses those who need such offices least, while it alienates those who want them most, the practice is bad. I am disposed to think that much good is done, and much harm: and that, whenever women have a greater charge of indispensable business on their hands, so as to do good and reciprocate religious sympathy by laying hold of opportunities, instead of by making occupation, more than the present good will be done, without any of the harm.

All American ladies are more or less literary: and some are so to excellent purpose: to the saving of their minds from vacuity. Readers are plentiful: thinkers are rare. Minds are of a very passive character: and it follows that languages are much cultivated. If ever a woman was pointed out to me as distinguished for information, I might be sure beforehand that she was a linguist. I met with a great number of ladies who read Latin; some Greek; some Hebrew; some German. With the exception of the last, the learning did not seem to be of much use to them, except as a harmless exercise. I met with more intellectual activity, more general power, among many ladies who gave little time to books, than among those who are distinguished as being literary. I did not meet with a good artist among all the ladies in the States. I never had the pleasure of seeing a good drawing, except in one instance; or, except in two, of hearing good music. The entire failure of all attempts to draw is still a mystery to me. The attempts are incessant; but the results are below criticism. Natural philosophy is not pursued to any extent by women. There is some pretension to mental and moral philosophy; but the less that is said on that head the better.

This is a sad account of things. It may tempt some to ask 'what then are the American women?' They are better educated by Providence than by men. The lot of humanity is theirs: they have labour, probation, joy, and sorrow.

They are good wives; and, under the teaching of nature, good mothers. They have, within the range of their activity, good sense, good temper, and good manners. Their beauty is very remarkable; and, I think, their wit no less. Their charity is overflowing, if it were but more enlightened: and it may be supposed that they could not exist without religion. It appears to superabound; but it is not usually of a healthy character. It may seem harsh to say this: but is it not the fact that religion emanates from the nature, from the moral state of the individual? Is it not therefore true that unless the nature be completely exercised, the moral state harmonised, the religion cannot be healthy?

One consequence, mournful and injurious, of the "chivalrous" taste and temper of a country with regard to its women is that it is difficult, where it is not impossible, for women to earn their bread. Where it is a boast that women do not labour, the encouragement and rewards of labour are not provided. It is so in America. In some parts, there are now so many women dependent on their own exertions for a maintenance, that the evil will give way before the force of circumstances. In the meantime, the lot of poor women is sad. Before the opening of the factories, there were but three resources; teaching, needle-work, and keeping hoarding-houses or hotels. Now, there are the mills; and women are employed in printing-offices; as compositors, as well as folders and stitchers.

I dare not trust myself to do more than touch on this topic. There would be little use in dwelling upon it; for the mischief lies in the system by which women are depressed, so as to have the greater number of objects of pursuit placed beyond their reach, more than in any minor arrangements which might be rectified by an exposure of particular evils. I would only ask of philanthropists of all countries to inquire of physicians what is the state of health of sempstresses; and to judge thence whether it is not inconsistent with common humanity that women should depend for bread upon such employment. Let them inquire what is the recompense of this kind of labour, and then wonder if they can that the pleasures of the licentious are chiefly supplied from that class. Let them reverence the strength of such as keep their virtue, when the toil which they know is slowly and surely destroying them will barely afford them bread, while the wages of sin are luxury and idleness. During the present interval between the feudal age and the coming time, when life and its occupations will be freely thrown open to women as to men, the condition of the female working classes is such that if its sufferings were but made known, emotions of horror and shame would tremble through the whole of society.

For women who shrink from the lot of the needle women, almost equally dreadful, from the fashionable milliner down to the humble stocking-darner, for those who shrink through pride, or fear of sickness, poverty, or temptation, there is little resource but pretension to teach. What office is there which involves more responsibility, which requires more qualifications, and which ought, therefore, to be more honourable, than that of teaching? What work is there for which a decided bent, not to say a genius, is more requisite? Yet are governesses furnished, in America as elsewhere, from among those who teach because they want bread; and who certainly would not teach for any other reason. Teaching and training children is, to a few, a very few, a delightful employment, notwithstanding all its toils and cares. except to these few it is irksome; and, when accompanied with poverty and mortification, intolerable. Let philanthropists inquire into the proportion of governesses among the inmates of lunatic asylums. The answer to this question will be found to involve a world of rebuke and instruction. What can be the condition of the sex when such an occupation is overcrowded with candidates, qualified and unqualified? What is to be hoped from the generation of children confided to the cares of a class, conscientious perhaps by and most, but reluctant, harassed, and depressed? The most accomplished governesses in the United States may obtain 600 dollars a-year in the families of southern planters; provided they will promise to teach everything. In the north they are paid less; and in neither case, is there a possibility of making provision for sickness and old age. Ladies who fully deserve the confidence of society may realise an independence in a few years by school-keeping in the north: but, on the whole, the scanty reward of female labour in America remains the reproach to the country which its philanthropists have for some years proclaimed it to be. I hope they will persevere in their proclamation, though special methods of charity will not avail to cure the evil. It lies deep; it lies in the subordination of the sex: and upon this the exposures and remonstrances of philanthropists may ultimately succeed in fixing the attention of society; particularly of women. The progression or emancipation of any class usually, if not always, takes place through the efforts of individuals of that class: and so it must be here. All women should inform themselves of the condition of their sex, and of their own position. It must necessarily follow that the noblest of them will, sooner or later, put forth a moral power which shall prostrate cant, and burst asunder the bonds, (silken to some, but cold iron to others,) of feudal prejudices and usages. In the meantime, is it to be understood that the principles of the Declaration of Independence bear no relation to half of the human race? If so, what is the ground of the limitation? If not so, how is the restricted and dependent state of women to be reconciled with the proclamation that "all are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?"

HEALTH.
General Treatise on Hygiene, Climate, Exercise, Posture, Complexion, Diet, Anxiety, and Intemperance.

Some popular American writers have lately laid hold of this subject, to the great advantage of the society in which they live. Dr. Combe's "Principles of Physiology "has gone through several editions; and I know that the demand of society for fresh air and soap and water has considerably in. creased in consequence. But much remains to be done. In private houses, baths are a rarity. In steam-boats, the accommodations for washing are limited in the extreme; and in all but first-rate hotels, the philosophy of personal cleanliness is certainly not understood. The Creoles of Louisiana are the most satisfactory hosts and hostesses in this respect, except a few particularly thoughtful people elsewhere In the house of a Creole, a guest finds a large pan or tub of fresh cold water, with soap and towels, placed in a corner of his room, morning and night. In such a climate as that of New Orleans, there is no safety nor comfort in anything short of a complete ablution, twice a day. On board steam-boats which have not separate state-rooms, there are no means of preserving sufficient cleanliness and health. How the ladies of the cabin call expect to enjoy any degree of vigour and cheerfulness during a voyage of four or five days, during which they wash merely their faces and hands, I cannot imagine. It is to be hoped that the majority will soon demand that there should be a range of washing-closets in all steam-boats whose voyages are longer than twenty-four hours.

The common excuse for the deficient activity and lack of fresh air is the climate. But this excuse will not avail while there are ladies who do preserve their health by walking and riding, and thoroughly ventilating their houses. Any one who knows Stockbridge, and the feats which are there performed by a troop of rosy, graceful girls, and active women, will reject all pleas about the difficulty of getting air and exercise. It is one of the misfortunes of a new country that its cities have environs which are little tempting for walking. It must be acknowledged that it requires some resolution to go out to walk in places no more tempting than Pennsylvania Avenue, at Washington; Broadway, New York; or the trim streets of Philadelphia; or even the pretty Common at Boston. But the way to have good country walks provided is to wish for them. When the whole female society of America shall be as fond of exercise, as highly-principled with regard to it, as the Stockbridge ladies, the facilities will be furnished. In the meantime, there are pretty walks within reach of the whole population except that of three or four large cities. Boston is particularly unfortunate in occupying a promontory, from which it is usually necessary to pass very long bridges to the mainland: a passage too bleak to be attempted in windy weather, and too exposed to be endurable in a hot sun, without necessity. But those who have carriages can easily get transported beyond this inconvenience; and for those who have not, there is the Common and the Neck.

Those who wish for health, and know how to seek it, contrive to walk in summer very early in the morning; like residents in India. The mornings of the sultry months are perfectly delicious; and there is no excuse for neglect of exercise while they last. The autumn weather of the northern States is the best of the year, when the hues and airs of paradise seem shed abroad. The greater number of days in the winter admit of exercise. The winds are too cutting to be encountered; but the days of calm clear frost might be much better employed in walking than in sleighing. No eulogiums on the sleigh will ever reconcile me to it. I dislike the motion, and, after a short time, the jingle of the bells. But the danger is the prime consideration. Young ladies who dry up their whole frames in the heat of fires of anthracite coal, never breathing the outward air but in going to church, and in stepping in and out of the carriage in going to parties, will once in a time go on a sleighing expedition; sitting motionless in the open air, with hot bricks to their feet, and their faces in danger of being frost-bitten. If there be pleasure in such frolics, it is too dearly bought by the peril. If the troops of girls who would mourn over the abolition of sleighing would but try how they like the luxury of daily active exercise in fresh air, they would find the exchange well worth making, on the score of pleasure alone.

The ladies plead that they have much exercise within doors, about their household occupations. Except making beds, rubbing tables, and romping with children, I know of no household occupations which involve much exercise. The weariness which some of them occasion, is of a kind which would be relieved by walking. And all this does not imply fresh air, of which no one can get enough without going out into it, except in some country residences. It made me sorrowful to see children shut up during the winter in houses, heated by anthracite coal up to the temperature of 85 degrees; and to see how pallid and dried the poor little things looked, long before there was a prospect of their speedy release from their imprisonment. Some, who were let out on fine days, were pretty sure to catch cold. Those only seemed heartily to thrive who were kept in rooms moderately heated, and vigorously exercised in the open air, on all but windy and other unmanageable days. The burning of anthracite coal affected me unpleasantly, except where an evaporation of water was going on in

the room. I suspect that some of the maladies of the country may be more or less owing to its use.
One proof of the badness of the system of non-exercising, is found in the fact that the distortion of the spine is even more common among women in America than in Europe. Physicians who have turned their attention to this symptom, declare that the difficulty is to find in boarding-schools a spine that is perfectly straight: and when the period of growth is completed, a large majority of cases remains where the weakness is not entirely got over. The posture-making of the United States is renowned. Of course there is a cause for a propensity so general. The languor induced by the climate is that assigned. The ladies not being able to use the same freedom as the gentlemen, get rid of their languor as they may; but not as they best may. Instead of sitting still all through the hot weather, and all through the cold weather, they had better exercise their limbs during some portion of the day, and lie down during the most sultry hours; and in the winter, avail themselves of every opportunity for active employment. If they would do this, it is not to be conceived that the next generation would be distinguished as the present is for its spare forms and pallid complexions.
The apathy on the subject of health was to me no otherwise to be accounted for than by supposing that the feeling of vigorous health is almost unknown. Invalids are remarkably uncomplaining and unalarmed; and their friends talk of their having "a weak breast," and "delicate lungs," with little more seriousness than the English use in speaking of a common cold. The numbers of clergymen who had to leave their flocks, professors their chairs, young men and women their country, in pursuit of health, made me melancholy sometimes when the friends and neighbours took it calmly as the commonest of events. As I am pretty confident that a remedy might be found in more judicious management, this acquiescence strikes me as being by far too Mahomedan in its character. The extremest case that I met with was in a lady, who declared, with complacency, that she could not walk a mile. She owned her belief that the inactivity of the American women shortened their lives by some years; but thought this did not matter, as they were not aware of it at the time.
I should like to see a well-principled reform in diet tried, with a view to the improvement of the general health. I should like to see hot bread and cakes banished; a diminution in the quantity of pickles and preserves, and also in the quantity of meat eaten. I should like to see the effect of making the diet of children more simple. Almost any change would be worth trying for so great an object. What is to become of the next, and again of the succeeding generation, if the average of health cannot be raised, it is fearful to think of. The only prevalence of vigorous health that I witnessed in the country, was in the elevated parts of the Alleghany range; in the State of Michigan; and perhaps I might add, among the ladies of Charleston, who pass three quarters of the year in the open air of their piazzas.
All these means of improving health, though probably necessary, will not avail without some others. There must be less anxiety of mind among men, and less vacuity among women. With a brain fully but equably exercised, and composed nerves, the above-mentioned methods would probably enable the Americans to defy the changes of their climate: but not without this justice to the brain and nerves. It is rather remarkable that this anxiety prevails most in the parts of the country which make the most conspicuous profession of religion. Religious faith and hope should naturally promote health and equanimity by teaching the spirit to repose on immovable principles, and unintermitting laws: by disburdening the mind of worldly cares, and giving rest to the weary and heavy laden. If it does not thus calm and lighten the mind, it fails of its effect. If it disturbs the mental and bodily frame, its operation is perverted. It would be well if this were looked to. The more moderate religionists point to the graves of the young who have fallen victims to Revivals. Let them look at home to see if no spiritual competition, no asceticism interferes with the equable workings of the frame, by which its powers are kept in vigorous and joyous action, without excess.
There is no doubt of this wear and tear from anxiety being the chief cause of the excessive use of tobacco in the United States. Its charm to men, who have not the elasticity of health and good animal spirits to oppose to toil and trouble, may be imagined. It is to be hoped that the enjoyment of the natural and perfect stimulant will soon supersede the use of the artificial and pernicious one.
The vacuity of mind of many women is, I conclude, the cause of a vice which it is painful to allude to; but which cannot honestly be passed over, in the consideration of the morals and the health of American women. It is no secret on the spot, that the habit of intemperance is not infrequent among women of station and education in the most enlightened parts of the country. I witnessed some instances, and heard of more. It does not seem to me to be regarded with all the dismay which such a symptom ought to excite. To the stranger, a novelty so horrible, a spectacle so fearful, suggests wide and deep subjects of investigation. If women, in a region professing religion. more strenuously than any other, living in the deepest external peace, surrounded by prosperity, and outwardly honoured more conspicuously than in any other country, can ever so far cast off self restraint, shame, domestic affection, and the deep prejudices of education, as to plunge into the living hell of intemperance, there must be something fearfully wrong in their position. An intemperate man has strong temptation to plead: he began with

conviviality, and only arrives at solitary intemperance as the ultimate degradation. A woman indulges in the vice in solitude and secrecy, as long as secrecy is possible. She knows that there is no excuse, no solace, no hope. There is nothing before her but despair. It is impossible to suppose otherwise than that there has been despair throughout: the despair which waits upon vacuity. I believe that the practice has, in some few cases, arisen from physicians prescribing cordials to growing girls at school, and from the difficulty found in desisting from the use of agreeable stimulants. In other cases, the vice is hereditary. In others, no explanation remains, but that which appears to me quite sufficient, vacuity of mind. Lest my mention of this very remarkable fact should lead to the supposition of the practice being more common than it is, I think it right to state, that I happened to know of seven or eight cases in the higher classes of society of one city. The number of cases is a fact of comparatively small importance. That one exists, is a grief which the whole of society should take to heart, and ponder with the entire strength of its understanding.

CHILDREN.
General Treatise on Education and Discipline of the Young.

NOTHING less than an entire work would be required for the discussion of the subject of education in any country. I can only indicate here two or three peculiarities which strike the stranger in the discipline of American children; of those whose lot is cast in the northern States; for it needs no further showing, that those who are reared among slaves have not the ordinary chances of wisdom and peace.

The Americans, particularly those of New England, look with a just complacency on the apparatus of education furnished to their entire population. There are schools provided for the training of every individual, from the earliest age; colleges to receive the elite of the schools; and lyceums, and other such institutions, for the subsequent instruction of working men. The provision of schools is so adequate, that any citizen who sees a child at play during school-hours, may ask “why are you not at school?” and, unless a good reason be given, may take him to the school-house of the district. Some, who do not penetrate to the principle of this, exclaim upon the tyranny practised upon the parents. The principle is, that, in a democracy, where life and society are equally open to all, and where all have agreed to require of each other a certain amount of intellectual and moral competency, the means being provides, it becomes the duty of all to see that the means are used. Their use is an indispensable condition of the privileges of citizenship. No control is exercised as to how and where the child shall be educated. It rests with the parent to send him to a public or private school, or have him taught at home: but in case of his being found in a neglected state as to education, it is in the power of any citizen to bring him to the advantage provided for him by society.

The instruction furnished is not good enough for the youth of such a country, with such a responsibility and such a destiny awaiting them as the working out the first democratic organisation that the world has witnessed in practice. The information provided is both meagre and superficial. There is not even any systematic instruction given on political morals: an enormous deficiency in a republic. But it must be remembered how young the society is; how far it has already gone beyond most other countries; and how great is the certainty that the majority, always ultimately in the right, will gradually exalt the character of the instruction which it has been already wise enough to provide. It must be remembered too, how much farther the same kind and degree of instruction goes in a democracy than elsewhere. The alphabet itself is of little or no value to a slave, while it is an inestimable treasure to a conscious young republican. One needs but go from a charity school in an English county to a free-school in Massachusetts, to see how different the bare acquisition of reading and writing is to children who, if they look forward at all, do it languidly, and into a life of mechanical labour merely, and to young citizens who are aware that they have their share of the work of self-government to achieve. Elderly gentlemen in the country may smile, and foreigners of all ages may scoff at the self confidence and complacency of young men who have just exercised the suffrage for the first time: but the being secure of the dignity, the certainty of being fully and efficaciously represented, the probability of sooner or later filling some responsible political office, are a stimulus which goes far to supply the deficiencies of the instruction imparted. It is much to be wished that this stimulus were as strong and as virtuous in one or two colleges whose inmates are on the very verge of the exercise of their political rights, as in some of even the primary schools. The aristocratic atmosphere of Harvard University, for instance, would be much purified by a few breezes of such democratic inspiration as issue from the school-houses of some of the country districts.

Some persons plead that there is less occasion for school instruction in the principles of politics, than for an improved teaching of some other things; because children are instructed in politics every day of their lives by

what they hear at home, and wherever they go. But they hear all too little of principles. What they hear is argumentation about particular men, and immediate measures. The more sure they are of learning details elsewhere, the more necessary it is that they should here he exercised in those principles by which the details are to be judged and made available as knowledge. They come to school with their heads crammed with prejudices, and their memories with words, which it should be part of the work of school to reduce to truth and clearness, by substituting principles for the one, and annexing ideas to the other.

A Sunday-school teacher asked a child, "Who killed Abel?" "General Jackson." Another inquired of a scholar, "In what state were mankind left after the fall?" "In the State of Vermont."

The early republican consciousness of which I have spoken, and the fact of the more important place which the children occupy in a society whose numbers are small in proportion to its resources, are the two circumstances which occasion that freedom of manners in children of which so much complaint has been made by observers, and on which so much remonstrance has been wasted; I say "wasted," because remonstrance is of no avail against a necessary fact. Till the United States cease to be republican, and their vast area is fully peopled, the children there will continue as free and easy and as important as they are. For my own part, I delight in the American children; in those who are not overlaid with religious instruction. There are instances, as there are everywhere, of spoiled, pert, and selfish children. Parents' hearts are pierced there, as elsewhere. But the independence and fearlessness of children were a perpetual charm in my eyes. To go no deeper, it is a constant amusement to see how the speculations of young minds issue, when they take their own way of thinking, and naturally say all they think. Some admirable specimens of active little minds were laid open to me at a juvenile ball at Baltimore. I could not have got at so much in a year in England. If I had at home gone in among eighty or a hundred little people, between the ages of eight and sixteen, I should have extracted little more than "Yes, ma'am," and "No, ma'am." At Baltimore, a dozen boys and girls at a time crowded round me, questioning, discussing, speculating, revealing in a way which enchanted me. In private houses, the comments slipped in at table by the children were often the most memorable, and generally the most amusing part of the conversation. Their aspirations all come out. Some of these are very striking as indicating the relative value of things in the children's minds. One affectionate little sister, of less than four years old, stimulated her brother William, (five,) by telling him that if he would be very very good, he might in time be called William Webster; and then he might get on to be as good as Jesus Christ. Three children were talking over the birth-day of the second, (ten) and how they should like to keep it. They settled that they should like of all things to have Miss Sedgwick, and Mr. Bryant, and myself, to spend the day with them. They did not venture to invite us, and had no intention of our knowing their wish.

In conversing with a truly wise parent, one day, I remarked on the change of relation which takes place when the superior children of ordinary parents become guides and protectors to those who have kept their childhood restrained under a rigid rule. We talked over the difficulties of the transition here, (by far the hardest part of filial duty,) and speculated on what the case would be after death, supposing the parties to recognise each other in a new life of progression. My friend observed that the only thing to be done is to avoid to the utmost the exercise of authority, and to make children friends from the very beginning. He and many others have done this with gladdening success. They do not lay aside their democratic principles in this relation, more than in others, because they happen to have almost unlimited power in their own hands. They watch and guard: they remove stumbling-blocks: they manifest approbation and disapprobation: they express wishes, but, at the same time, study the wishes of their little people: they leave as much as possible to natural retribution: they impose no opinions, and quarrel with none: in short, they exercise the tenderest friendship without presuming upon it. What is the consequence? I had the pleasure of hearing this friend say, "There is nothing in the world so easy as managing children. You may make them anything you please." In my own mind I added, "with such hearts and minds to bring to the work as the parents of your children have." One reason of the pleasure with which I regarded the freedom of American children was that I took it as a sign that the most tremendous suffering perhaps of human life is probably lessened, if not obviated, there: the misery of concealed doubts and fears, and heavy solitary troubles, the misery which makes the early years of a shy child a fearful purgatory. Yet purgatory is not the word: for this misery purges no sins, while it originates many. I have a strong suspicion that the faults of temper so prevalent where parental authority is strong, and where children are made as insignificant as they can be made, and the excellence of temper in America, are attributable to the different management of childhood in the one article of freedom. There is no doubt that many children are irrecoverably depressed and unnerved for want of being convinced that anybody cares for them. They nourish doubts, they harbour fears and suspicions, and carry within them prejudices and errors, for want of its occurring to them to ask questions; and though they may outgrow these defects and errors, they never recover from them. Unexplained and inexplicable obstacles are thrown in the way of their filial duty, obstacles which not even the strongest conscientiousness can

overcome with grace: the vigour of the spirit is prostrated, or perverted into wilfulness: the calmness of self-respect is forfeited, and so is the repose of a loving faith in others. In short, the temper is ruined, and the life is spoiled; and all from the parents not having made friends of their children from the beginning. No one will suppose that I mean to represent this mistake as general anywhere. But I am confident it is very common at home: and that it cannot, in the nature of things, ever become common in America. I saw one or two melancholy instances of it: and a few rare cases where parents attempted unjustifiably to rule the proceedings of their grown up sons and daughters; not by express command, but by pleas which, from a parent, are more irresistible than even commands. But these were remarkable, and remarked upon, as exceptions. I saw two extreme contrasting cases, in near neighbourhood, of girls brought up, the one in the spirit of love, the other in that of fear. Those two girls are the best teachers of moral philosophy that ever fell in my way. In point of birth, organisation, means of education, they were about equal. Both were made to be beautiful and intelligent. The one is pallid, indolent (with the reputation of learning,) tasteless, timid, and triste, manifesting nothing but occasionally an intense selfishness, and a prudery beyond belief. The education of this girl has been the study of her anxious parents from the day of her birth: but they have omitted to let her know and feel that anybody loved her. The other, the darling of a large family, meeting love from all eyes, and hearing tenderness in every voice, is beautiful as a Hebe, and so free and joyous that her presence is like sunshine in a rainy day. She knows that she is beautiful and accomplished; but she is, as far as eye can see, absolutely devoid of vanity. She has been apprised, over and over again, that people think her a genius: she silently contradicts this, and settles with herself that she can acquire anything, but originate nothing. She studies with her whole being, as if she were coming out next year in a learned profession. She dances at balls as if nothing lay beyond the ball-room. She flits hither and thither, in rain or sunshine, walking, riding, or driving, on little errands of kindness; and bears the smallest interests of her friends in mind in the heights of her mirth and the depths of her studies. At dull evening parties, she can sit under the lamp, (little knowing how beautiful she looks) quietly amusing herself with prints, and not wanting notice: and she can speak out what she thinks and feels to a circle of admirers, as simply and earnestly as she would to her own mother. I have seen people shake their heads, and fear lest she should be spoiled; but my own conviction is that this young creature is unspoilable. She has had all the praise and admiration she can have: no watchfulness of parents can keep them from her. She does not want praise and admiration. She has other interests and other desires: and my belief is, that if she were left alone to-morrow, the last of her family, she would be as safe, busy, and, in due time, happy, as she is now under their tender guardianship. She is the most complete example I ever witnessed of a being growing up in the light and warmth and perfect freedom of love; and she has left me very little toleration for authority, in education more than in anything else.

RELIGION.
General Treatise on the Unhealthy Preoccupation of Women with Religion; Abuses of the Clergy.

The way in which religion is made an occupation by women, testifies not only to the vacuity which must exist when such a mistake is fallen into, but to the vigour with which the religious sentiment would probably be carried into the great objects and occupations of life, if such were permitted. I was perpetually struck with this when I saw women braving hurricane, frost, and snow, to flit from preaching to preaching; and laying out the whole day among visits for prayer and religious excitement, among the poor and the sick. I was struck with this when I saw them labouring at their New Testament, reading superstitiously a daily portion of that which was already too familiar to the ear to leave any genuine and lasting impression, thus read. Extraordinary instances met my knowledge of both clergymen and ladies making the grossest mistakes about conspicuous facts of the gospel history, while reading it in daily portions for ever. It is not surprising that such a method of perusal should obviate all real knowledge of the book: but it is astonishing that those who feel it to be so should not change their methods, and begin at length to learn that which they have all their lives been vainly trusting that they knew.

The wife of a member of Congress, a conscientious and religious woman, judges of persons by one rule, whether they are “pious.” I could never learn how she applied this; nor what she comprehended under her phrase. She told me that she wished her husband to leave Congress. He was no longer a young man, and it was time he was thinking of saving his soul. She could not, after long conversation on this subject, realise the idea that religion is not an affair of occupation and circumstance, but of principle and temper; and that, as there is no more important duty than that of a member of Congress, there is no situation in which a man can attain a higher

religious elevation, if the spirit be in him.

[A] great mischief from the isolation of the clergy is that, while it deprives them of the highest kind of influence which is the prerogative of manhood, it gives them a lower kind: Can influence as strong as it is pernicious to others, and dangerous to themselves; Can influence confined to the weak members of society; women and superstitious men. By such they are called "faithful guardians." Guardians of what? A healthy person may guard a sick one: a sane man may guard a lunatic: a grown person may guard a child: and, for social purposes, an appointed watch may guard a criminal. But how can any man guard his equal in spiritual matters, the most absolutely individual of all? How can any man come between another's soul and the infinite to which it tends? If it is said that they are guardians of truth, and not of conscience, they may be asked for their warrant. God has given his truth for all. Each is to lay hold of what he can receive of it; and he sins if he devolves upon another the guardianship of what is given him for himself. As to the fitness of the clergy to be guardians, it is enough to mention what I know: that there is infidelity within the walls of their churches of which they do not dream; and profligacy among their flocks of which they will be the last to hear. Even in matters which are esteemed their peculiar business, the state of faith and morals, they are more in the dark than any other persons in society. Some of the most religious and moral persons in the community are among those who never enter their churches; while among the company who sit at the feet of the pastor while he refines upon abstractions, and builds a moral structure upon imperfect principles, or upon metaphysical impossibilities, there are some in whom the very capacity of steadfast belief has been cruelly destroyed; some who hide loose morals under a strict profession of religion; and some if possible more lost still, who have arrived at making their religion co-exist with their profligacy. Is there not here something like the blind leading the blind?

Over those who consider the clergy "faithful guardians," their influence, as far as it is professional, is bad; as far as it is that of friendship or acquaintanceship, it is according to the characters of the men. I am disposed to think ill of the effects of the practice of parochial visiting, except in cases of poor and afflicted persons, who have little other resource of human sympathy. I cannot enlarge upon the disagreeable subject of the devotion of the ladies to the clergy. I believe there is no liberal minded minister who does not see, and too sensibly feel, the evil of women being driven back upon religion as a resource against vacuity; and of there being a professional class to administer it. Some of the most sensible and religious elderly women I know in America speak, with a strength which evinces strong conviction, of the mischief to their sex of ministers entering the profession young and poor, and with a great enthusiasm for parochial visiting. There is no very wide difference between the auricular confession of the catholic church, and the spiritual confidence reposed in ministers the most devoted to visiting their flocks. Enough may be seen in the religious periodicals of America about the help women give to young ministers by the needle, by raising subscriptions, and by more toilsome labours than they should be allowed to undergo in such a cause. If young men cannot earn with their own hands the means of finishing their education, and providing themselves with food and clothing, without the help of women, they may safely conclude that their vocation is to get their bread first; whether or not it may be to preach afterwards. But this kind of dependence is wholly unnecessary. There is more provision made for the clergy than there are clergy to use it.

A young clergyman came home, one day, and complained to me that some of his parochial visiting afflicted him much. He had been visiting and exhorting a mother who had lost her infant; a sorrow which he always found he could not reach. The mourner had sat still, and heard all he had to say: but his impression was that he had not met any of her feelings; that he had done nothing but harm. How should it be otherwise? What should he know of the grief of a mother for her infant? He was sent for, as a kind of charmer, to charm away the heart's pain. Such pain is not sent to be charmed away. It could be made more endurable only by sympathy, of all outward aids: and sympathy, of necessity, he had none; but only a timid pain with which to aggravate her's. It was natural that he should do nothing but harm.

My final impression is, that religion is best administered in America by the personal character of the most virtuous members of society, out of the theological profession: and next, by the acts and preachings of the members of that profession who are the most secular in their habits of mind and life. The exclusively clerical are the worst enemies of Christianity, except the vicious.

APPENDIX:
RECOLLECTIONS OF A SOUTHERN MATRON.
Education, Slaves, Duties of a Wife on the Plantation.

After the departure of our Connecticut teacher, Mr. Bates, papa resolved to carry on our education himself. We were to rise by daylight, that he might pursue his accustomed ride over the fields after breakfast. New writing-books were taken out and ruled, fresh quills laid by their side, our task carefully committed to memory, and we sat with a mixture of docility and curiosity, to know how he would manage as a teacher. The first three days our lessons being on trodden ground, and ourselves under the impulse of novelty, we were very amiable, he very paternal; on the fourth, John was turned out of the room, Richard was pronounced a mule, and I went sobbing to mamma as if my heart would break, while papa said he might be compelled to ditch rice fields, but he never would undertake to teach children again.

A slight constraint was thrown over the family for a day or two, but it soon wore off, and he returned to his good-nature. For three weeks we were as wild as fawns, until mamma's attention was attracted by my sun-burnt complexion, and my brothers' torn clothes.

This will never answer," said she to papa. "Look at Cornelia's face! It is as brown as a chinquapin. Richard has ruined his new suit, and John has cut his leg with the carpenter's tools. I have half a mind to keep school for them myself."

Papa gave a slight whistle, which seemed rather to stimulate than check her resolution.

"Cornelia," said she, "go directly to your brothers, and prepare your books for to-morrow. I will teach you."

The picture about to be presented is not overwrought. I am confident of the sympathy of many a mother, whose finger has been kept on a word in the dictionary so long a time, that her pupils, forgetting her vocation, have lounged through the first interruptions and finished with a frolic.

One would suppose that the retirement of a plantation was the most appropriate spot for a mother and her children to give and receive instruction. Not so, for instead of a limited household, her dependents are increased to a number which would constitute a village. She is obliged to listen to cases of grievance, is a nurse to the sick, distributes the half-yearly clothing; indeed, the mere giving out of thread and needles is something of a charge on so large a scale. A planter's lady may seem indolent, because there are so many under her who perform trivial services, but the very circumstance of keeping so many menials in order is an arduous one, and the keys of her establishment are a care of which a northern housekeeper knows nothing, and include a very extensive class of duties. Many fair and even aristocratic girls, if we may use this phrase in our republican country, who grace a ball-room, or loll in a liveried carriage, may be seen with these steel talismans, presiding over store-houses, and measuring with the accuracy and conscientiousness of a shopman, the daily allowance of the family; or cutting homespun suits, for days together, for the young and old slaves under their charge; while matrons, who would ring a bell for their pocket-handkerchief to be brought to them, will act the part of a surgeon or physician, with a promptitude and skill, which would excite astonishment in a stranger. Very frequently, slaves, like children, will only take medicine from their superiors, and in this case the planter's wife or daughter is admirably fitted to aid them.

There are few establishments where all care and responsibility devolves on the master, and even then the superintendence of a large domestic circle, and the rites of hospitality, demand so large a portion of the mistress's time, as leaves her but little opportunity for systematic teaching in her family. In this case she is wise to seek an efficient tutor, still appropriating those opportunities which perpetually arise under the same roof, to improve their moral and religious culture, and cultivate those sympathies which exalt these precious beings from children to friends.

The young, conscientious, ardent mother must be taught this by experience. She has a jealousy at first of any instruction that shall come between their dawning minds and her own, and is only taught by the constantly thwarted recitation, that in this country, at least, good housekeeping and good teaching cannot be combined.

But to return to my narrative. The morning after mamma's order, we assembled at ten o'clock. There was a little trepidation in her manner, but we loved her too well to annoy her by noticing it. Her education had been confined to mere rudiments, and her good sense led her only to conduct our reading, writing, and spelling.

We stood in a line.

"Spell irrigate," said she. Just then the coachman entered, and bowing, said, "Maussa send me for de key for get four quart o'corn for him bay horse."

The key was given.

"Spell imitate," said mamma.

"We did not spell irrigate," we all exclaimed.

"Oh, no," said she, "irrigate."

By the time the two words were well through, Chloe, the most refined of our coloured circle, appeared.

"Will mistress please to medjure out some calomel for Syphax, who is feverish and restless?"

During mamma's visit to the doctors shop, as the medicine-closet was called, we turned the inkstand over on

her mahogany table, and wiped it up with our pocket-handkerchiefs. It required some time to cleanse and arrange ourselves; and just as we were seated and had advanced a little way on our orthographical journey, maum Phillis entered with her usual drawl, "Little maussa want for nurse, mam."

While this operation was going on, we gathered round mamma to play be-peep with the baby, until even she forgot our lessons At length the little pet was dismissed with the white drops still resting on his red lips, and our line was formed again.

Mamma's next interruption, after successfully issuing a few words, was to settle a quarrel between La Fayette and Venus, two little blackies, who were going through their daily drill, in learning to rub the furniture, which with brushing flies at meals constitutes the first instruction for house servants. These important and classical personages rubbed about a stroke to the minute on each side of the cellaret, rolling up their eyes and making grimaces at each other. At this crisis they had laid claim to the same rubbing-cloth; mamma stopped the dispute by ordering my seamstress Flora, who was sewing for me, to apply the weight of her thimble, that long-known weapon of offence, as well as implement of industry, to their organ of firmness.

"Spell accentuate," said mamma, whose finger had slipped from the column.

"No, no, that is not the place," we exclaimed, rectifying the mistake.

"Spell irritate," said she, with admirable coolness, and John fairly succeeded just as the overseer's son, a sallow little boy with yellow hair, and blue homespun dress, came in with his hat on, and kicking up one foot for manners, said, "Fayther says as how he wants master Richard's horse to help tote some tetters to t'other field."

This pretty piece of alliteration was complied with, after some remonstrance from brother Dick, and we finished our column. At this crisis, before we were fairly seated at writing, mamma was summoned to the hall to one of the field hands, who had received an injury in the uncle from a hoe. Papa and the overseer being at a distance, she was obliged to superintend the wound. We all followed her, La Fayette and Venus bringing up the rear. She inspected the sufferer's great foot, covered with blood and perspiration, superintended a bath, prepared a healing application, and bound it on with her own delicate hands, first quietly tying a black apron over her white dress. Here was no shrinking, no hiding of the eyes, and while extracting some extraneous substance from the wound, her manner was as resolute as it was gentle and consoling. This episode gave Richard an opportunity to unload his pockets of groundnuts, and treat us therewith. We were again seated at our writing-books, and were going on swimmingly with Avoid evil company," when a little crow-minder, hoarse from his late occupation, came in with a basket of eggs, and said,

"Mammy Phillis send Missis some egg for bay, matam; she ain't so bery well, and ax for some 'baccer."

It took a little time to pay for the eggs and send to the store-room for the Virginia-weed, of which opportunity we availed ourselves to draw figures on our slates: mamma reproved us, and we were resuming our duties, when the cook's son approached and said,

"Missis, Daddy Ajax say he been broke de axe, and ax me for ax you for Len him de new axe."

This made us shout out with laughter, and the business was scarcely settled, when the dinner-horn sounded. That evening a carriage full of friends arrived from the city to pass a week with us, and thus ended mamma's experiment in teaching.

Our summers were usually passed at Springland, a pine-settlement, where about twenty families resorted at that season of the year. We were fortunate to find a French lady already engaged in teaching, from whom I took lessons on the piano-forte and guitar. The summer passed swiftly away. Papa was delighted with my facility in French, in which my brothers were also engaged, and we were happy to retain Madame d'Anville in our own family, on our return to Roseland.

In the middle of November a stranger was announced to papa, and a young man of very prepossessing appearance entered with a letter. It proved to be from our teacher, Mr. Bates. The contents were as follows:

> *"Respected Sir. I now sit down to write to you, to inform you that I am well, as also are Sir and Madam, my sister Nancy, and all the rest of our folks except aunt Patty, who is but poorly, having attacks of the rheumatiz, and shortness of breath. I should add, that Mrs. Prudence Bates, (who after the regular publishment on the church-doors for three Sundays, was united to me in the holy bands of wedlock, by our minister Mr. Ezekiel Duncan,) is in a good state of health, at this present, though her uncle, by her father's side, has been sick of jaundice, a complaint that has been off and*

on with him for a considerable spell.

"The bearer of this epistle is Parson Duncan's son, by name Mr. Charles Duncan, a very likely young man, but poorly in health, and Dr. Hincks says, going down to Charleston may set him up. I have the candour to say, that I think him, on some accounts, a more proper teacher than your humble servant, having served his time at a regular college education.

"I have writ a much longer letter than I thought on, but somehow it makes me chirpy to think of Roseland, though the young folks were obstreperous.

"Give my love nevertheless to them, and Miss Wilton, and all the little ones, as also I would not forget Daddy Jacque, whom I consider, notwithstanding his colour, as a very respectable person. I cannot say as much for Jim, who was an eternal thorn in my side, by reason of his quickness at mischief, and his slowness at waiting upon me; and I take this opportunity of testifying, that I believe if he had been in New England, he would have had his deserts before this; but you Southern folks do put up with an unaccountable sight from niggers, and I hope Jim will not be allowed his full tether, if so be Mr. Charles should take my situation in your family. I often tell our folks how I used to catch up a thing and do it rather than wait for half-a-dozen on 'em to take their own time. If I lived to the age of Methusalem, I never could git that composed, quiet kind of way you Southern folks have of waiting on the niggers. I only wish they could see aunt Patty move when the rbeumatiz is off, if she isn't spry, I don't know.

"Excuse all errors,

"Yours to serve,

"JOSEPH BATES."

I detected a gentle, half-comical smile on Mr. Duncan's mouth as he raised his splendid eyes to papa, while delivering Mr. Bates' letter; but he soon walked to the window, and asked me some questions about the Cherokee-rose hedge, and other objects in view, which were novelties to him. I felt instantly that he was a gentleman, by the atmosphere of refinement which was thrown over him, and I saw that papa sympathised with me, as with graceful courtesy he welcomed him to Roseland — Southern Rose-Bud.

APPENDIX D: EDUCATION.

The following is such information as I have been able to obtain respecting the public Educational provision in the United States, [in the year 1830].

THE FREE STATES IN 1830.

MAINE. By a law of the State, every town, however large or small, is required to raise annually, for the support of schools, a sum equal at least to forty cents for each person in the town, and to distribute this sum among the several schools or districts, in proportion to the number of scholars in each. The expenditure of the sum is left principally to the direction of the town, and its committee or agents, appointed for that purpose. In the year 1825, the legislature required a report from each town in the State, respecting the situation of the schools.

—United States Almanack

At that time, the number of school districts in ten counties was . 2,499

The number of Children between 4 and 21 was 137,931

The number who usually attend schools 101,325

Amount required by law to be expended annually ..... 119,334 dollars.

Amount raised from taxes 132,263

Amount from the income of permanent funds 5,614

Total annual expenditure 137,878

The number of incorporated academies in the State was 31; 4 of which were for girls: the amount of funds varying from 2,000 to 22,000 dollars a-year.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. "From the year 1808 to 1818, there were raised in New Hampshire 70,000 dollars annually by law, for the support of common schools. This amount was raised by a separate tax, levied throughout the State, in the ratio of taxation for the State Tax. Since 1818, the yearly amount of the sum raised has been 90,000 dollars. This is the amount required by law, but a few towns raise more than they are required. The legislature assumes no control over the immediate appropriation, but leaves this to each town."

The State had also, in 1830, an annual income of 9,000 dollars, and a literary fund of 64,000 dollars, raised by a tax of a half per cent. on the capital of the banks; both to be, from that time, annually divided among the towns, in the ratio of taxation.

Some of the towns had separate school funds.

The white population of New Hampshire at this time was 268,721

The coloured population 607

VERMONT. An act was passed in 1827 to provide for the support of common schools. About 100,000 dollars was raised in 1830. A fund was also accumulating, which was to be applied whenever its income would support a common free-school in every district of the State, for two months in the year.

There were about 20 incorporated academies in the State, where young men were fitted for college. The number of students was supposed to average 40 at each.

MASSACHUSETTS. "By the returns from 131 towns, presented to the legislature, it appears that the amount annually paid in these towns for public schools, is 177,206 dollars.

The number of scholars receiving instruction 70,599

The number of pupils attending private schools in those towns ... 12,393

At an expense of ..... 170,349 dollars.

"The number of persons in those towns, between the ages of 14 and 21, unable to read and write, is 58

"In the town of Hancock, in Berkshire county, there are only 3 persons between 14 and 21 who cannot read and write; and they are mutes."

— American Annual Register

RHODE ISLAND. "In January, 1828, the legislature appropriated 10,000 dollars annually for the Support of public schools, to be divided among the several towns, in proportion to the population, with authority for each town to raise, by annual tax, double the amount received from the Treasury, as its proportion of the 10,000 dollars.

"There has been as yet no report of the number of school establishments under the act, but it is thought that they may safely be put down at 60, as all the towns have availed themselves of its provisions. The whole number of schools in the State now probably exceeds 650."

— American Almanack

The white population in 1830 93,621

The coloured 3,578

CONNECTICUT. The revenue derived from the school fund amounted to 80,243 dollars. The State is divided into 208 school societies, which contained in the aggregate 84,899 children, between the ages of 4 and 16.

NEW YORK. The number of school districts was 8,609

Number of children between 5 and 15 449,113

Number of children taught in the schools 468,205

This estimate does not include the scholars instructed in the two great cities, New York and Albany.

Amount paid to the districts ..... 232,343 dollars.

Of this, there came out of the Treasury 100,000

Raised by tax upon the towns 119,209

From a local fund 13,133

Voluntary tax by the towns 19,209

PENNSYLVANIA. This State was in the rear. Not above 9,000 children were educated at the public charge, of about 16,000 dollars.

The white population in 1830 1,309,900

The coloured 38,333

NEW JERSEY. A fund of 222,000 dollars being realised, a system of Common School education was about to be put in action; an appropriation of 20,000 dollars per annum being ordered to be distributed among the towns for that purpose.

OHIO. In Cincinnati, the first anniversary of free schools was kept in 1830. Three thousand pupils belonged to the free-schools of Cincinnati. The amount of the school-tax was about 10,000 dollars.

INDIANA. A committee of the legislature was appointed to consider and report upon the expediency of adopting the Common School system.

The white population in 1830: 339,399

The coloured: 3,632

ILLINOIS. Contained less than 160,000 persons in 1830, and had no public schools.

THE SLAVE STATES IN 1830.

MARYLAND. Provision was made for the establishment of Primary Schools throughout the State. One was opened in Baltimore in 1829. There were 8 or 10 academies, which received annually from 400 to 600 dollars from the Treasury of the State.

Grants to the University of Maryland: ..... 5,000 dollars.

Grants to Colleges, Academies, and Schools: 13,000

DELAWARE. A law ordaining the establishment of a Common School system was passed in 1829, and the counties were being divided into districts in 1830.

NORTH CAROLINA had a literary fund of 70,000 dollars; but nothing had yet been done towards applying it.

VIRGINIA. No free-schools.

SOUTH CAROLINA. "It appeared by a Report of a Committee on Schools, that

the number of public schools established in the State was 513, wherein 5,361 scholars were educated at the annual expense of 35,310 dollars."

"The benefit derived from this appropriation," says the governor, "is partial, founded on no principle, and arbitrarily dispensed by the Commissioners. If the fund could be so managed as to educate thoroughly a given number of young men, and to require them afterwards to teach for a limited time, as an equivalent, the effects would scan be seen and felt." American Annual Register.

The white population in 1830 957,863

The coloured 323,322

GEORGIA. The appropriations for county academies amounted to 14,302 dollars: and the poor school fund, 742 dollars.

The white population in 1830 296,806

The coloured 220,017

ALABAMA. No schools.

MISSISSIPPI. No schools.

MISSOURI. No schools.

LOUISIANA. Instead of schools, a law making imprisonment the punishment of teaching a slave to read.

TENNESSEE. A fund is set to accumulate for the purpose of hereafter encouraging schools, colleges, and academies.

KENTUCKY. The Common School system was established by law, and provisions made for the division of the counties into districts, and the levying of the poll and property taxes for the purpose.

"The Louisville Advertiser announces the establishment by that city of a school at the public expense, stated to be the first south of the Ohio. It is opened to the children of all the citizens. The number of pupils entered is 300." — American Annual Register.

APPENDIX F: Further Notes on the Relation of Women and the Clergy.

Independently of the disinterestedness, simplicity, and humility of woman's character, in all matters relating to religion, they naturally reverence and cling to those who show them respect and deference. The clergy, from understanding this point in their nature, possess great and deserved influence over them; and they have only to interest their feelings, to insure success to any clerical or charitable purpose. Look at a woman's zeal in foreign or domestic missions, not only devoting her time at home, but leaving her friends and her comforts, to assist in establishing them in a distant land. And is it ever pretended that a woman bus not more than equalled a man in these duties? And will she not toil for days, scarcely raising her eyes from the work, to assist in purchasing an

organ, a new altarcloth, or in cleaning and painting a church?
So great is the tax, now, on a woman's time, for these and for other religious purposes, such as the "educating young men for the ministry, that the amount is frightful and scandalous. If the funds of a religious congregation be low, which can only happen where the men are poor in spirit, and wanting in religious fervour, a woman is allowed to exert herself beyond her means; for well we know that she cannot endure a want of neatness and order, in a house where God is to be worshipped. To be sure, it may be said, that no one compels her to this unequal share of labour; but we know how the thing operates.
She ought, and she does, and nobly does her share, in educating poor children, both during the week and on Sunday. She searches out the widow and the fatherless, the orphan, the sick and the poor, the aged and the unhappy. All this, although it amount to a great deal, and certainly much more than men can ever do, it is her duty to do, and she performs the duty cheerfully. As she considers it incumbent on her thus to exert herself, and as it gives her pleasure, there can be no objection on our part, to let her do al] the good in this way that she can; but do not let us exact too much of a willing mind and tender conscience. Confiding in her spiritual directors, she may be brought to do more than is proper for her to do. This "educating of young men, this preparing them for a theological seminary," is not part of a woman's duty, and it is not only contemptible, but base, to allow such a discipline of their minds, as to make them imagine it to be their duty.
Look at the young men who are to be educated — What right have they, with so many sources open to them, what right have they to allow women to tax themselves for their maintenance? Poor credulous woman! she can be made to think anything a duty. How have we seen her neglecting her health, her comfort, her family, the poor, and, above all, neglecting the improvement of her own mind, that she might earn a few dollars towards educating a young man, who is far more able to do it himself, and who, nine times in ten, laughs in his sleeve at her. What right, we again ask, have these young men to the labours of a woman? Are they not as capable of working as she is? What should hinder them from pursuing some handicraft, some employment, during their term of study?
If a woman were to be educated gratis, in this way, would any set of young men associate and work for her maintenance? No, that they would not; she would not only have to labour for herself, but her labour would be unaided even by sympathy. Now, very few women are aware, that they are, in a manner, maneuvred into thus spending their precious time; we mean for the education of young men that have a desire to enter the theological seminary. Many of them are not conscious of being swayed by other motives indeed, some have no other motive, than that of pure Christian love, when they thus assist in raising funds for educating young men. They feel a disposition to follow on, in any scheme proposed to them; and when the thing is rightly managed, the project has the appearance of originating with themselves. Men understand the mode of doing this.
The spirit of piety and charity is very strong in the bosom of a woman; she feels the deepest reverence and devotion towards her spiritual pastor, and is naturally, therefore, disposed to do good, in the way he thinks best. If it were not for this reverence and submission, if they were left unbiased by hint, persuasion, or by some unaccountable spell which they cannot break through, their charities would find another and a more suitable channel. Their good sense would show them the impropriety of giving up so much of their time, for a, purpose that belongs exclusively to the care of men: they would soon see the truth, as it appears to others, that the scheme must be a bad one, which enables young men to live in idleness, during the time that they are getting through with their classical studies: such a "getting through," too, as it generally is.
We do not set forth the following plan, as the very best that can be offered, but it is practicable, and would be creditable. It is that every theological seminary should have sufficient ground attached to it, that each student might have employment in raising vegetables and fruit. There should likewise be a workshop connected with it, wherein he might pursue some trade so that if he did not find it his vocation to preach, when his religious education was finished, he might not be utterly destitute, as too many are. In fact, it ought to be so much the part of a clergyman's education, to be acquainted with certain branches of horticulture, that he should not receive a call to a country or village church, if he were ignorant of it.
So far from degrading, it would be doing these young men a kindness. In the first place, they would hold fast that spirit of independence which is so necessary to a man's prosperity, and to his usefullness as a clergyman. He would be of the greatest consequence to his parishioners, for horticulture is an art but little known to them; and even if they go to a great distance as missionaries, of what great service would his horticultural knowledge be to the poor people, whose souls he hopes to save! We all know how immediately civilisation follows the cultivation of the soil; and we may rest assured, that the sacred object which the young missionary has in view, will meet with fewer obstacles, if his lessons are connected with attention to the bodily wants of his charge.
It is really disgusting to those who live in the neighbourhood of religious institutions, to see the frivolous manner in which young men pass their time, when not in actual study. We do not say that they are dissipated,

or vicious, in the common sense of the word, but that they lounge about, trifle, and gossip, retailing idle chit-chat and fooleries.

At the very time when they are thus happily amusing themselves, the women who assist in giving them a classical education allow themselves scarcely any respite from their labours. We have known some of them to sew, it is all they can do, from sunrise till nine o'clock at night; and all for this very purpose.

It is quite time to put a stop to this, and let indigent young men educate themselves. Why do they not form societies to create funds for the purpose, not as is usually done whenever they have attempted a thing of this kind, by carrying about a paper to collect money, but by extra labour of their own, as women do? Let those who live in cities write for lawyers or clerks in chancery, or make out accounts for poor shopkeeping women, who will never cheat them out of a cent, nor refuse them a just compensation. If it be said that they cannot write well enough for any of these purposes, then they must go to the free-school again. There are a hundred modes by which they could earn at least twenty-five cents a day, which is the average of what a woman makes when she is employed in sewing for this purpose. Those who live in the country, where, in fact, all students, rich or poor, ought to be, on account of health, should raise fruit, vegetables, we mean assist in this, work at some trade, write for newspapers, teach the children of the families at extra hours: in short, a lad of independent spirit could devise ways and means enough to pay for his board and clothing while he is learning Latin and Greek. This plan of proceeding would raise a young man twice as much in the opinion of the public, and a thousand times as much in his own.

But this is not the time to dwell on such a subject; it was too important, however, to remain untouched. We intend to discuss it amply at some future period. Our object, at present, is to assist women. They who are always so willing to assist others, to their own detriment, should now, in turn, for their wants loudly call for it, be assisted and encouraged to strike out a new path, by which they could assist themselves.

The first step for us to take in order to effect our intentions, is to prove to them that they should attend to their own wants exclusively; work for their own sons, if those sons can bear to see it; but to let young men, unconnected with them, and who are destined for the ministry, educate themselves, as the poor young men of other professions do.

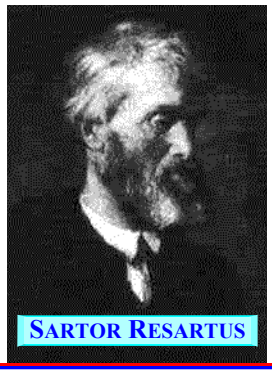
When do we ever hear that a lawyer or a doctor owed their education to the industry or the alms of women?

We have said all this before, and we shall say it again and again. There must be a change for the better in the affairs of poor women; they are degraded by their poverty; and their degradation is the cause of nearly all the crime that is committed." Aladdin's Lamp. New York, 1833

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

October: The North American Review published a blistering anonymous 40-page attack on the work of Thomas Carlyle and on Harriet Martineau's book sponsoring it, obviously by the Dean of the Harvard Divinity School, that Harvard University Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature scourge of the Transcendentalists, the Reverend John G. Palfrey:

> "No living writer ...," continues Miss Martineau, "exercises so enviable a sway, as far as it goes, as Mr. Carlyle." There is much virtue in that clause, as far as it goes, inasmuch as, to supply this nation of fifteen millions, over which the author of the "SARTOR RESARTUS" "exercises so enviable a sway," that work, — a work, too, which they have "taken to their hearts," and which "is acting upon them with wonderful force," — has, according to information on which we have the best reason to rely, been printed in but two editions, the first consisting of five hundred copies, and the second, after an interval of more than a year, being only twice as large.



SARTOR RESARTUS

OCT. 1837, N.A. REVIEW

SOCIETY OF TH. CARLYLE

Not only had the Transcendentalists sustained the American dissemination and publication of SARTOR RESARTUS, for they had proceeded directly to sponsor the publication here of his following book, his THE FRENCH REVOLUTION of 1837, and they would compound their error by proceeding directly to sponsor the publication here of his next work as well, his CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS of 1838. Carlyle's American reputation would persist until, by denouncing the Union cause during the Civil War as mere niggerocracy, he would entirely alienate this Northern support group. (Those who had so eagerly bought and championed his writings in the 1830s and 1840s would conclude to their sorrow during the 1860s that they should all along have been distancing themselves from such a spirit.)

1838

Harriet Martineau's RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL:

H-NET BOOK REVIEW
Published by H-SHEAR@h-net.msu.edu (January, 2001)

Harriet Martineau. RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL. Daniel Feller, ed. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000

Reviewed for H-SHEAR by Jamie Bronstein <jbronste@nmsu.edu>, Department of History, New Mexico State University

Choosing readings for an undergraduate course on the early republic is a difficult task, due to an abundance of excellent scholarship about, and primary sources from, the period. The appearance of a new paperback version of Harriet Martineau's RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL, abridged and introduced by Daniel Feller, will make the process of paring down a syllabus easier. A fast read at under 200 pages, it provides students with the opportunity of seeing the young republic through the eyes of a rare visitor who was able to shake off feelings of European superiority to limn American culture with a witty, able, and often admiring pen.

Daniel Feller's brief and bouncy introduction brings Martineau to life. Disappointed in her bodily powers through illness and deafness, she took solace in the life of the mind. As a single woman in a period when domesticity was the norm, she wrote in order to support herself, breaking into fields of economic and political thought formerly reserved for men. Feller portrays Martineau as a radical free-marketeer and opponent of slavery, who refused to keep her opinions to herself during her two-year visit to the United States. Firsthand observation only intensified

her opposition to slavery, and her brave unwillingness to keep her opinions to herself made her unpopular in some cities she visited.

RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL (1838) was the second major book Martineau produced about her American travels. In SOCIETY IN AMERICA, (1837), she tested the Americans' commitment to democracy, finding that it fell short only on their attachment to slavery and their confinement of women to the domestic sphere. Having experienced success with her first book, she produced the RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL, a more chronological and reportorial work than her first, more thematic, book.

Feller's abridgement of Martineau's work omits thirteen chapters of scenic description and biography to focus on her firsthand observations. Martineau's travels take her from her transatlantic ship to New York City and West Point. She attends three weddings, many church services, and several holidays, including Thanksgiving Day and Christmas. She tours upstate New York, transported by a highly unpleasant canal-boat. She visits American prisons, interviewing prisoners about their crimes, and observes education in action at schools for the deaf and blind. She visits Washington DC, and finds President Jackson feeling paranoid after an assassination attempt. She travels to Jefferson's Virginia, cuts south to New Orleans, then travels up the Mississippi on a packed steamboat. She visits Cincinnati, which for her encapsulates the promise of the west, and ends her juggernaut among abolitionists in Boston.

Everywhere she looks, Martineau sees a cheering prosperity. "The young women all well-dressed, the men all at work or amusement, the farms all held in fee-simple, the stores all inadequate to their custom." (32) This promise balances out a certain immaturity, which Martineau chronicles like a kindly parent. Although the Americans seem to her to be imitative in their culture and lacking rigor in their science (too easily led into such childish fancies as phrenology, spiritualism, and animal magnetism), she has no doubt that they will eventually settle down to cultural richness.

In contrast with some European visitors, even Martineau's harshest condemnations of the Americans are not very harsh. She finds Southerners deluded about the benefits of slavery, and Northerners largely deluded that colonization is the answer, and hints several times at the possibility that the slavery question will provoke open conflict. Nonetheless, she believes that the honesty and integrity of the American public (in contrast with some of its leaders) will resolve the question.

Her book also includes short but bitingly honest sketches of many of the leaders of Jacksonian politics – Jackson, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, among others. Her willingness to describe their appearances and modes of speaking, their vices and their achievements, originally elicited some bad reviews for the book in the American press, but it makes the book a wonderful resource for students of the period.

Most engagingly, Martineau's somewhat detached and anthropological commentary reveals the otherwise hidden texture of early American life. West Point cadets sneak cigarettes, while lecturing new students about the evils of smoking. A Quaker bridegroom works hard to stifle a laugh during a long silence at his own wedding. Vandals add speech-balloons to the mouths of people portrayed on hotel wallpaper. An "eminent professor" staves off boredom during a Harvard graduation by doodling on the commencement program. Hardy New England boys get their exercise in winter by "coasting" down the snow-covered hills and streets on planks of wood. These little continuities of human nature link the reader to an America that otherwise seems distant and surprising.

The edited version of Martineau's book flows smoothly and feels like an integrated whole — testimony to Feller's judicious editing. He has also added a helpful index and footnotes that identify most figures and events. Although many contemporary American critics panned Martineau's book, Feller is an unabashed admirer of Martineau: "Whatever flaws her American books contain are outweighed by her talent for insightful reporting, her great store of good sense, and above all the shining clarity of her moral purpose." (xix) Anyone looking for student readings on the early republic will want to acquire a copy of RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL, and see whether they agree.

August: WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, VIRGINIA, per Captain Frederick Marryat.

Whittling Women; Naming Slaves.

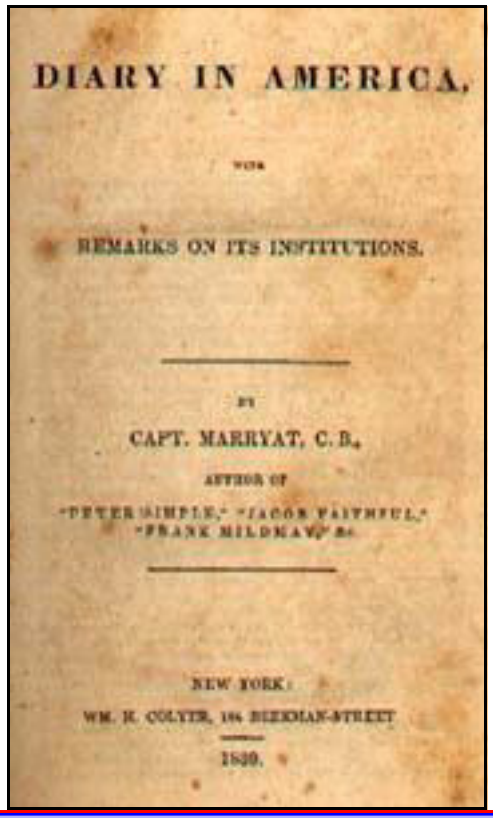
I passed many pleasant days at this beautiful spot, and was almost as unwilling to leave it as I was to part with the Sioux Indians at St. Peters.' Refinement and simplicity are equally charming. I was introduced to a very beautiful girl here, whom I should have not mentioned so particularly, had it not been that she was the first and only lady in America that I observed to whittle. She was sitting one fine morning on a wooden bench, surrounded by admirers, and as she carved away her scat with her pen-knife, so did she cut deep into the hearts of those who listened to her lively conversation. There are, as may be supposed, a large number of negro servants here attending their masters and mistresses. I have often been amused, not only here, but during my residence in Kentucky, at the high-sounding Christian names which have been given to them. "Byron, tell Ada to come here directly." "Now, Telemachus, if you don't leave Calypso alone, you'll get a taste of the cow-hide."

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY, per Captain Frederick Marryat, August 1838.
Accuracy of Martineau's Account; Fear of Violence by Slaves Exaggerated.

Lexington is a very pretty town, with very pleasant society, and afforded me great relief after the unpleasant sojourn I had had at Louisville. Conversing one day with Mr. Clay, I had another instance given me of the mischief which the conduct of Miss Martineau has entailed upon all those English who may happen to visit America. Mr. Clay observed that Miss Martineau had remained with him for some time, and that during her stay, she had professed very different, or at least more modified opinions on the subject of slavery, than those she had expressed in her book: so much so, that one day, having read a letter from Boston cautioning her against being cajoled by the hospitality and pleasant society of the Western States, she handed it to him saying, "They want to make a regular abolitionist of me." "When her work came out," continued Mr. Clay, "although I read but very little of it, I turned to this subject so important with us, and I must say I was a little surprised to find that she had so changed her opinions." The fact is, Miss Martineau appears to have been what the Kentuckians call, "playing 'possum." I have met with some of the Southern ladies whose conversations on slavery are said, or supposed to have been those printed by Miss Martineau, and they deny that they are correct. That the Southern ladies are very apt to express great horror at living too long a time at the plantations, is very certain; not, however, because they expect to be murdered in their beds by the slaves, as they tell their husbands, but because they are anxious to spend more of their time at the cities, where they can enjoy more luxury and amusement than can be procured at the plantations.
Everybody rides in Virginia and Kentucky, master, man, woman, and slave, and they all ride well: it is quite as common to meet a woman on horseback as a man, and it is a pretty sight in their States to walk by the church doors and see them all arrive. The churches have stables, or rather sheds, built close to them, for the accommodation of the cattle.

HARRIET MARTINEAU HARRIET MARTINEAU

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN



DIARY IN AMERICA,

WITH

REMARKS ON ITS INSTITUTIONS.

BY

CAPT. MARRYAT, C. B.,

AUTHOR OF

"PETER SIMPLE," "JACOB FAITHFUL,"

"FRANK MILDMAY," &c.

NEW YORK:

WM. H. COLYER, 184 BLEECKER-STREET

1839.

READ MARRYAT TEXT

1839

Harriet Martineau's DEERBROOK, and THE MARTYR AGE OF THE UNITED STATES (Boston: Weeks, Jordan). Her health, never good, at this point collapsed, and until 1844 she would be forced to inaction, a complete invalid.

[The antislavery abolitionists are] the true republicans ... the sufferers, the moral soldiers who have gone out armed only with faith, hope, and charity.... Let us not wait ... for another century to greet the confessors and martyrs who stretch out their strong arm to bring down Heaven upon our earth; but even now ... let us make our reverent congratulations heard over the ocean which divides us from the spiritual potentates of our age.

In Boston, the American Anti-Slavery Society put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

THE LIBERTY BELL, 1839

- Maria W. Chapman. "Sonnet Suggested by the Inscription on the Philadelphia Liberty Bell"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Bradburn, George. "Incendiarism of Abolitionists"
- Lydia Maria Child. "Lines to Those Men and Women, Who Were Avowed Abolitionists in 1831, '32, '33, '34, and '35"
- Quincy, Edmund. "Mother Coelia"
- Chapman, Ann Greene. "Address of a Russian to the Corpse of his Friend"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "To the Memory of Ann Greene Chapman"

  Like the previous item, an obituary poem for a cherished friend and inspired advocate of the oppressed. Departing from conventional gender constructions, Garrison praises not Chapman's private life, but her public and political work.

- Weston, Anne Warren. "Lines written on hearing the remark of a friend, that a large number of abolitionists had died during the preceding years"
- David Lee Child. [Untitled prayer]
- Lydia Maria Child. "Charity Bowery"
- Weston, Caroline. "The Church and the World"

  Lengthy poem chronicling the world's hostility to Truth since the age of prophecy. As in times past, "Christ's faithful servants here/Must walk with DANGER grim!" Interesting example of abolitionist literary iconography, particularly their self-representation as isolated, persecuted, and misunderstood, much like Christ.

- Robbins, Mary Eliza. "Freedom"
- Chapman, Maria Weston. "Lines Inscribed to the Intolerant, throughout New England and the Coasts thereof"

  Poem defending fund-raising fairs as valuable abolitionist work.

- Harriet Martineau. "Extract from a Letter"
- Sargent, Henrietta. "Queen Esther's Banquet"
- Lydia Maria Child. "Anecdote of Elias Hicks"
- Chapman, Maria Weston. "Sonnet: The Anniversary of Lovejoy's Martyrdom"

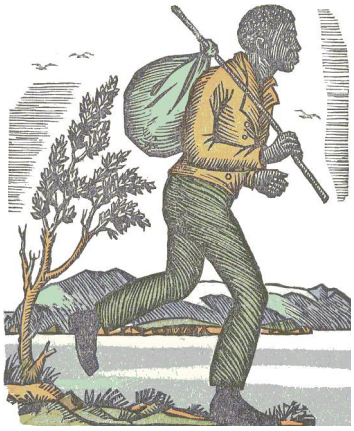
ELIAS HICKS

  Elijah Parish Lovejoy was an abolitionist newspaper editor who was murdered by a pro-slavery mob in 1837 in Alton, Illinois. This sonnet praises Lovejoy's "sacrifice"; the poet urges

readers to rejoice rather than mourn.

- Lydia Maria Child. "The Emancipated Slaveholders"
- John Pierpont. "The Fugitive Slave's Apostrophe to the North Star."

This swiftly-paced poem relies on vivid imagery.



- Chapman, Maria Weston. "The British India Society"
- Phillips, Wendell. "Extract From a Letter, Read Before the Glasgow Emancipation Society"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "Pious Trust"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "The Cause of Emancipation"
- Clark, Mary. "Perfect Freedom"

Poem praising freedom in conventional terms; the Liberty Bell is a metaphor for freedom.

- Follen, Charles. “The Last Hope”

April: Harriet Martineau’s “Literary Lionism” appeared in the Westminster Review.

[Literary Lion: for illustration of this Emersonian trope used in regard to Thoreau, use George Cruickshank’s “The Lion of the Party!” as found in Gilbert Abbott à Beckett’s GEORGE CRUICKSHANK’S TABLE-BOOK, published in July 1845.]

1840

James Pierrepont Greaves wrote to Bronson Alcott from England. Harriet Martineau had taken Miss Elizabeth Palmer Peabody's RECORD OF MR. ALCOTT'S SCHOOL[2] back to London with her, and had been showing it around as an example of the bad things she had found in America, and Greaves had seen this book

RECORD OF A SCHOOL

and instead of being dismayed by it — was fascinated. In this era of hopelessly high postage rates, when people were writing on tissue paper and were over-writing their left-to-right lines with bottom-to-top lines in order to save on postage weight, the intercontinental letter which Greaves would post to Alcott would be all of 30 pages long. Greaves was translating the works of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi into English and had for a time been associated with Robert Dale Owen in the Infant School Society. He believed that the world was midway on a journey toward what he termed Love Spirit, and that this unfolding spirit could manifest itself in lives only through people's **being**, never their mere **doing**.

> *Spirit alone can whole.*

Note that these English love-enthusiasts, although it appeared they were on the same road as Alcott, were in actuality going in the opposite direction. For Alcott, the world was good and life in the world was to be appreciated as a gift. For these people, the world was evil, propagation was evil, and life itself was to be regarded as an insult and an injury. Nevertheless, Alcott House in England was doing well, and the people there, who had come to think of Bronson as "the Concord Plato," were even suggesting to Alcott in Concord that he should come and be their Director.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

Waldo Emerson's "Thoughts on Modern Literature" in THE DIAL praised Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi

2. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. RECORD OF MR. ALCOTT'S SCHOOL, EXEMPLIFYING THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF MORAL CULTURE. Boston, New-York, Philadelphia: James Munroe and Company, 1835, 208 pages (2d edition 1836, Boston, New-York: Russell, Shattuck and Company, 198 pages; 3d edition 1874, Boston: Roberts Brothers)

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

QUARTER CARD OF DISCIPLINE AND STUDIES IN MR. ALCOTT'S SCHOOL FOR THE SPRING TERM CURRENT 1836.

THE TUITION AND DISCIPLINE ARE ADDRESSED IN DUE PROPORTION TO THE THREEFOLD NATURE OF CHILDHOOD.

THE SPIRITUAL FACULTY.
MEANS OF ITS DIRECT CULTURE.
1. Listening to Sacred Readings.
2. Conversations on the GOSPELS.
3. Writing Journals.
4. Self-Analysis and Self-Discipline.
5. Listening to Readings from Works of Genius.
6. Motives to Study and Action.
7. Government of the School.

THE IMAGINATIVE FACULTY.
MEANS OF ITS DIRECT CULTURE.
1. Spelling and Reading.
2. Writing and Sketching from Nature.
3. Picturesque Geography.
4. Writing Journals and Epistles.
5. Illustrating Words.
6. Listening to Readings.
7. Conversation.

THE RATIONAL FACULTY.
MEANS OF ITS DIRECT CULTURE.
1. Defining Words.
2. Analysing Speech.
3. Self-Analysis.
4. Arithmetic.
5. Study of the HUMAN BODY.
6. Reasonings on Conduct.
7. Discipline.

The Subjects of Study and Means of Discipline are disposed through the Week in the following general Order.

TIME.	SUNDAY.	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
IX	Sacred READINGS *with* Conversations.	STUDYING Spelling & Defining *and* Writing in *Journals*.	STUDYING Geography *and* Sketching Maps in *Journals*.	STUDYING THE GOSPEL *and* Writing in *Journals*.	STUDYING Parsing Lesson *and* Writing in *Journals*.	PARAPHRASING Text of Readings *and* Writing in *Journals*.	COMPLETING Account *of* Week's Studies in *Journals*.
X	Listening *to* Services *at* CHURCH *and* Reading	SPELLING *with* Illustrative Conversations on the Meaning & Use *of* Words.	RECITATIONS *in* Geography *with* Picturesque Readings *and* Conversations.	READINGS *and* Conversations on SPIRIT as displayed in the Life of CHRIST.	ANALYSING Speech Written and Vocal *on* Tablets *with* Illustrative Conversations.	READINGS *with* Illustrative Conversations on the Sense *of the* Text.	READINGS *from* Works of Genius *with* Applications *and* Conversations.
XI	RECREATION ON THE COMMON OR IN THE ANTE-ROOM.						
XII	BOOKS *from* School Library *or* others *at* Home.	STUDYING Arithmetic *with* Demonstrations in *Journals*.	DRAWING FROM NATURE in Journals *with* Mr. Graeter.	CONVERSATIONS *on the* HUMAN BODY *and its* Culture.	COMPOSING *and* Writing Epistles in *Journals*.	STUDYING Arithmetic *with* Demonstrations in *Journals*.	REVIEW *of Journals* Week's Conduct *and* Studies.
I	INTERMISSION FOR REFRESHMENT AND RECREATION.						
III		STUDYING *Latin* and Writing in *Journals*.	STUDYING Latin *with* Recitations.	RECREATIONS *and* Duties *At Home*.	STUDYING Latin *with* Recitations.	STUDYING *Latin* and Writing in *Journals*.	RECREATIONS *and* Duties *At Home*.
IV							

TEMPLE No. 7, MARCH 1st 1836.

(see **boldface**) as a change agent:

> The favorable side of this research and love of facts is the bold and systematic criticism, which has appeared in every department of literature. From Wolf's attack upon the authenticity of the Homeric Poems, dates a new epoch in learning. Ancient history has been found to be not yet settled. It is to be subjected to common sense. It is to be cross examined. It is to be seen, whether its traditions will consist not with universal belief, but with universal experience. Niebuhr has sifted Roman history by the like methods. Heeren has made good essays towards ascertaining the necessary facts in the Grecian, Persian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Ethiopic, Carthaginian nations. English history has been analyzed by Turner, Hallam, Brodie, Lingard, Palgrave. Goethe has gone the circuit of human knowledge, as Lord Bacon did before him, writing True or False on every article. Bentham has attempted the same scrutiny in reference to Civil Law. **Pestalozzi out of a deep love undertook the reform of education.** The ambition of Coleridge in England embraced the whole problem of philosophy; to find, that is, a foundation in thought for everything that existed in fact. The German philosophers, Schelling, Kant, Fichte, have applied their analysis to nature and thought with an antique boldness. There can be no honest inquiry, which is not better than acquiescence. Inquiries, which once looked grave and vital no doubt, change their appearance very fast, and come to look frivolous beside the later queries to which they gave occasion.

1841

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled STAR OF EMANCIPATION (a copy of which, with the penciled inscription "Maria Thoreau / June 1st 1842," would be present in the

Thoreau home — and is now at the Concord Free Public Library).

THE REFUGEE MOTHER IN CANADA

BY SARAH DYMOND.

Victoria! Oh Victoria,
Queen of the brave and free!
We come from the land of scourge and chain,
And tell our griefs to thee;
Through many a dark and dreary wild,
With beating hearts we come,
And here, beneath thy gentle sway,
We find a quiet home.

Oh! thou hast riven *thy* bondmen's chain,
Hast set *thy* captives free;
And thou dost still a home provide
For the wandering refugee;
For though a crown adorns thy brow,
Thy heroes all are brave,
Thou carest still for the poor and wrong'd,
Thou pitiest still the slave.

Then hear, thou royal lady, hear
The tale of the refugee;

The Fair also put out a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- Pierpont, John. "Plymouth Rock"
- Godwin, B. "England and America"
- Bowring, John. "To the American Abolitionists"
- Child, Lydia Maria. "The Black Saxons"
- Anonymous. "The Trump of Jubilee"

  Sprawling poem in which the metaphorical trumpet of freedom is heard across the land. In travelogue style, this poem maps a national landscape while asserting a broadened definition of abolitionism: Native Americans and the poor must also be freed.

- Harriet Martineau. "Letter to a Student of History"
- Sargent, Henrietta. "The Voice of the Spirit of Freedom"

  This poem's language and imagery are derived from a manumission ceremony reported by William Adam in SLAVERY IN INDIA.

- Phillips, Wendell. "James C. Alvord"

  This obituary essay is perhaps most interesting for what it reveals about nineteenth century constructions of masculinity. Phillips praises Alvord not only for his selfless service to the abolitionist cause, but also his innocence, purity, and simplicity--traditional feminine virtues.

- Winslow, Harriet. "The Lonely Hearted"

  This poem laments the life of an unhappy slave girl. Her masters believe themselves "kind," but do not understand that slave children have spiritual as well as physical needs. No master, however "kind," can compensate the slave child's loss of family and community.

- Anonymous. "The London Convention"

  Essay expounding a non-coercive, anti-authoritarian theory and practice of education in line with abolitionist principles. Teachers are encouraged to scrutinize their methods closely, for

such commonly accepted practices as corporal punishment of schoolchildren can only be justified by the same principles that justify slavery.

- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Sonnet [A little child! and yet he spake as one]”
- Follen, Eliza Lee. “A Morning Walk”
- Garrison, William Lloyd. “Sonnet to Liberty”
- ---. “Sonnet On Completing My Thity-Fifth [sic] Year”
- Child, David Lee. “All is in All”
- Weston, Anne Warren. “Sonnets [The chiming of the distant bell comes borne]”

I include both in a single entry because, rather than being two discrete sonnets, it seems to me that this is a single poem in two parts, each of which is in sonnet form. The poem’s first part laments the church’s indifference to abolitionism, and the second implores God to make His temple in the poet’s heart instead.

- Quincy, Edmund. “Dinah Rollins”
- [Chapman, Maria Weston.] “Charles Follen”
- Follen, Charles. “Farewell to Life”

Harriet Martineau's THE PEASANT AND THE PRINCE, her THE PLAYFELLOW (a volume of children's stories), and her THE HOUR AND THE MAN, based on the life of former Haitian Governor-General François-Dominique

Brèda Toussaint Louverture.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

1842

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- Pierpont, John. "The Liberty Bell"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "Women's Work"

> Prepared in the wake of the controversial debates of 1839-40 regarding the role of women in anti-slavery societies, debates which led to the break-up of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, this volume contains many works, like Eliza Follen's "Women's Work," in which women's rights to full political participation are defended.

- Cabot, Susan C. "A Fact and a Reflection"
- Bowring, John. "Union of the Old and the New World"
- Adam, William. "Virginia"
- Harriet Martineau. "A Child's Thought"
- Burleigh, George S. "The Dying Slave Mother"
- Lowell, James Russell. "Sonnets [Great Truths are portions of the Soul of man]"
- Jackson, Edmund. "The Effects of Slavery"
- Chapman, Maria Weston. "Boston"
- Phillips, Wendell. "Divisions"
- Webb, Richard D. "Memories of the Past"
- Haughton, James. "A Voice from Erin"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "Song of the Abolitionist"
- Anonymous. "Sketch of 'A Foreign Incendiary'"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "Sonnet, to Elizabeth Pease, of Darlington, England"
- Quincy, Edmund. "American Chivalry"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "Sonnet to Liberty"
- Rogers, Nathaniel P. "British Abolitionism"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Story, William W. “Sonnet [Freedom is wealth, health, strength--the serene throne]”
- ---. “Sonnet [Put back the swelling ocean with thy hand!]”
- Garrison, William Lloyd. “Sonnet [England! I grant that thou dost justly boast]”
- Lydia Maria Child. “The Quadroons”
- Adams, John Quincy. “Gelon King of Syracuse, A Sonnet”
- Weston, Anne Warren. “A Lesson From History”
- May, Samuel J. “The Place to Speak”
- Collins, John A. “The Middle Course”
- Anonymous. “Woman and Her Pastor”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Haiti”

1844

Harriet Martineau's general health somewhat improved, and she authored LIFE IN THE SICKROOM.

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- Moore, R. R. R. "The Liberty Bell"
- Spooner, Allen C. "Words to the Wavering"
- James Russell Lowell. "A Chippewa Legend"
- Haughton, James. "A Word of Encouragement"
- Burleigh, George S. "Our First Ten Years in the Struggle for Liberty"
- Hildreth, Richard. "Complaint and Reproach"
- Pierpont, John. "Nebuchadnezzar"
- Adam, William. "Reminiscences"
- Bowring, John. "To America"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "The Melancholy Boy"

This story has recently been interpreted as evidence of feminist-abolitionists' need to "erase" the blackness of the black body (Sanchez-Eppler), however, it could be interpreted much differently, as an indictment of racism's power to induce

self-loathing.

- Madden, R. R. "Our Reliance"
- Cabot, Susan C. "Letter to a Friend"
- Howitt, William. "The Harvest Moon"
- Howitt, Mary. "The Blind King"
- Walker, Amasa. "Pater Noster"
- Taylor, Emily. "To a Friend, Who Asked the Author's Aid and Prayers for the Slave"
- Webb, Richard D. "Random Reflections"
- Poole, Elizabeth. "The Slave-Boy's Death"

This poem dramatizes an account from THE LIFE OF MOSES GRANDY, LATE A SLAVE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (London: Charles Gilpin, 1843).

- Quincy, Edmund. "Lewis Herbert: An Incident of New-England Slavery"
- Weston, Anne Warren. "Sonnet: Written After Seeing the Picture, 'Christus Consolator'"
- Mott, Lucretia. "Diversities"

This essay argues in favor of pluralism in the anti-slavery movement; a plea to avoid destructive in-fighting by accepting "diversities" of approach.

LUCRETIA MOTT

- Sutherland, Harriet (Duchess). "Extract of a Letter"
- Harriet Martineau. "Pity the Slave"
- Whipple, Charles K. "The Church and the Clergy"
- Wilson, Susan. "The Fugitives in Boston"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "No Compromise with Slavery"
- Chapman, Maria Weston. "Sonnet: Conversing With His Soul"
- Rogers, Nathaniel P. "Blind Guides"
- Poole, Elizabeth. "The Soul's Freedom"
- Hilton, John T. "To the Abolitionists"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1845

Harriet Martineau moved to the Lake District of England, building a house near Ambleside.

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- The Liberty Bell. By Friends of Freedom. Boston: Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair, 1845.
- Barton, Bernard. "Sonnet to the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause in America"
- Coues, Charlotte H. L. "An Appeal to Mothers"

  Any mother who has lost a child should sympathize with the slave mother "whose child is removed, not by the commands of a Father of infinite love, and by the still hand of death, but at the bidding of the fierce demon of avarice.... "

- Bowring, John. "To the American Abolitionists: Encouragement"
- Cabot, Susan C. "The New England Convention"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "To Cassius M. Clay"
- Pease, Elizabeth. "Responsibility"

  Scripture proves that "all mankind, the world over, [is to be regarded] as one great family."

- Longfellow, Henry W. "The Norman Baron"
- Clarkson, Thomas. "[Letter] To the Christian and Well-Disposed Citizens of the Northern States of America"
- Burleigh, George S. "Worth of the Union"

  This poem indicts Southern dominance of national culture: "Down with the blood-streaked flag!"

- Downes, George. "Character of an Irish Bell-Ringer"
- Sturge, Esther. "The Judgment"

  A vision of the judgment day, on which the "fiend of disquiet"

takes possession of slaveholders' souls.

- Placido. "A Dios"

  Placido was a Cuban ex-slave executed in July 1843 for attempting to free the slaves of Cuba.

- Chapman, Maria Weston. "Prayer: From the Spanish of Placido"
- Bremer, Fredrika. "Letter on Slavery"
- Chapman, Ann Greene. "The Armor and the Prize"
- Whipple, Charles K. "The Abolitionists' Plan"

  Impassioned argument for immediate, universal emancipation.

- Weston, Anne Warren. "The Come-Outers of the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"
- Quincy, Edmund. "Philip Catesby; Or, A Republic's Gratitude"
- James Russell Lowell. "The Happy Martyrdom"
- Phillips, Wendell. "The Constitution"
- White, Maria. "The Maiden's Harvest"

  Allegorical poem depicting the white female liberator as a Christ-like sower of seeds.

- May, Samuel J. "The Liberty Bell is not of the Liberty Party"
- Poole, Joseph. "Southern Hunting Song"
- Frederick Douglass. "The Folly of our Opponents"

  Rebuts the idea that there exists an "impassable barrier" between this country's white and non-white people.

- Poole, Elizabeth. "Stanzas, Written After a Visit to the Comeragh Mountain, County Waterford"
- Clapp, Henry Jr. "Modern Christianity"
- Barton, Bernard. "A Sonnet [Heart-stirring text! Proclaim it far and wide]"
- Remond, Charles Lenox. "The New Age of Anti-Slavery"

  Condemns racism as well as slavery.

- Garrison, William Lloyd. "The Triumph of Freedom"
- May, Samuel J. "Fidelity"
- Parkman, John. "Word and Work Worship" 6 (1845):
- Kelly, Abby. "What is Real Anti-Slavery Work?"
- Hempstead, Martha. "The Fugitive"
- Grew, Mary. "The Dangers of the Cause"
- Crosse, Andrew. "Emancipation in the British Isles"
- Wright, Paulina S. "The Grand Difficulty"
- Nathaniel Peabody Rogers. "The Anti-Slavery Platform"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "The American Union"
- Murray, J. Oswald. "To the Ministers of the Free Church of Scotland: On Their Accepting the Contributions of Slave-holders, and Defending Their Doing So by Speeches Palliating Slavery"
- Thaxter, Anna Quincy. "Purity of Heart"
- Jackson, Francis. "The National Compact"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Harriet Martineau. "[Letter] To Elizabeth Pease"

1846

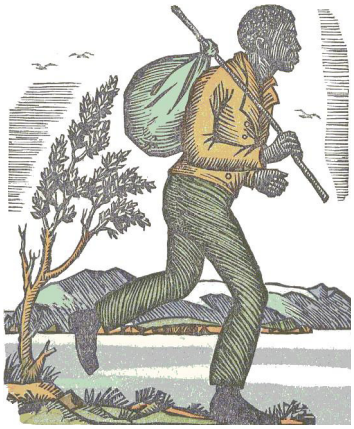
The propagating fissure in the Liberty Bell had by this point gotten too bad to permit ringing it any more, unless something was done to stop this propagation and to stop the rough edges of the hairline fissure from rubbing together.

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- Thompson, George. "A Fragment, Verbatim et Literatim From my Journal in Upper India"
- Howitt, William. "Onward! Right Onward!"
- Atkinson, William P. "The True Reformer"
- Higginson, J. W. "Sonnet to William Lloyd Garrison"
- Parker, Theodore. "A Parable"
- Longfellow, Henry W. "The Poet of Miletus"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Joshua Reed Giddings. “Fugitive Slaves in Northern Ohio”



- Anonymous. “Our Country”
- Cabot, Susan C. “Thought”
- Anonymous. “Interference: On Reading a Paper, In Defence [sic] of Slavery, Written by a Clergyman”
- Hitchcock, Jane Elizabeth. “All are Needed”
- Parker, Theodore. “Jesus There is No Name So Dear as Thine”
- ---. “Oh Thou Great Friend to All the Sons of Men”
- ---. “Dear Jesus Were Thy Spirit Now on Earth”
- Clarkson, Thomas. “Letter”
- Follen, Eliza Lee. “Song, for the Friends of Freedom”
- Harriet Martineau. “A Communication”
- Jones, Benjamin S. “Our Duty”
- Samuel Joseph May. “Extract From a Speech at the Anti-Texan Meeting in Faneuil Hall, 1845”
- Thompson, George. “Early Morning”
- ---. “Sonnet: To Blanche”
- Fuller, S. Margaret. “The Liberty Bell”
- Hornblower, Jane E. “A Fragment”
- Haughton, James. “Pro-Slavery Appeal To the World for Sympathy, Answered from Old Ireland”
- Spooner, Allen C. “Jubilee”
- ---. “Discouragements and Incentives”
- Ross, Georgiana Fanny. “Stanzas On Reading J. H. Wiffen’s Translation of Tasso”
- Browne, John W. “A Vision of the Fathers”
- Watts, Alaric A. “A Remonstrance”
- Lee, E [probably Eliza Buckminster]. “The Dream within a Dream”
- Bowring, John. “Think of the Slave”
- Furness, William H. “Self-Denial”
- William Lloyd Garrison. “Fight On!”
- Howitt, Mary. “Some Passages from the Poetry of Life”
- William Lloyd Garrison “Sonnet . . . . Character”
- Wendell Phillips. “The Church”
- Friend Daniel Ricketson. “Lines to the Trans-Atlantic Friends of the Slave”
- Kirkland, Caroline M. “Recollections of Anti-Slavery at the West”

This familiar essay reveals the same lively, ironic style that made the author's A New Home: Who'll Follow? popular.

- Quincy, Edmund. "Phoebe Mallory; the Last of the Slaves"

A narrative of the life of Phoebe Mallory, the last living person to have been enslaved in Massachusetts. Mallory died in 1845.

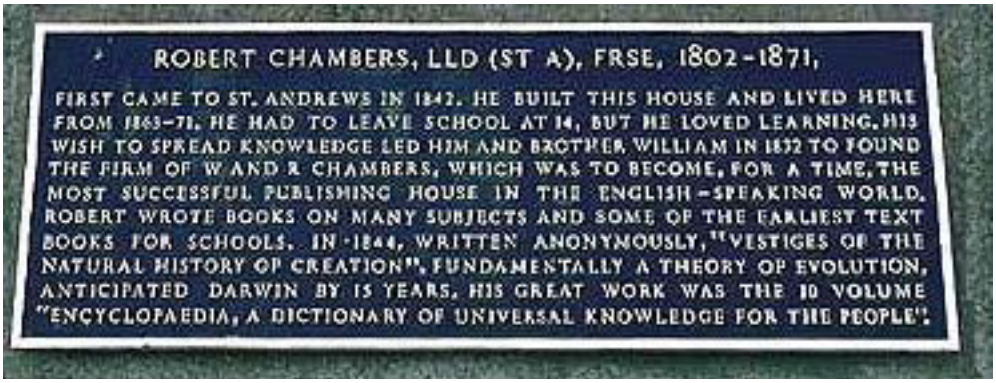
- Lowell, James Russell. "The Falconer"
- The Reverend Adin Ballou. "Is there any Friend?"
- Lowell, Maria. "The Slave-Mother"
- Lucretia Mott. "What is Anti-Slavery Work?"
- Clay, Cassius M. "God and Liberty"
- Linstant. "Influence de l'emigration Europeenne Sur le Sort de la Race Africaine aux Etats Unis d'Amerique"
- Weston, Anne Warren. "Sonnet in Memory of Elizabeth Fry"
- Howitt, William. "The Worst Evil of Slavery"

Harriet Martineau toured the Middle East.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1847

December 11, Saturday: A cartoon by Horace Mayhew in Punch depicted the sensational anonymous bestseller VESTIGES OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF CREATION as a bastard child, waiting disconsolately outside the door of the Foundling Hospital with a sign reading WANTS A FATHER.



During Robert Chambers's lifetime he would confide in only seven people. Among the over sixty suggestions as to the authorship were, in alphabetical order:

- Ada, countess of Lovelace
- Neil Arnott
- Charles Babbage
- Samuel Bailey
- Henry Peter Brougham
- William Carpenter
- Anne Chambers (the manuscript was in her handwriting)
- Robert Chambers
- George Combe
- Andrew Crosse
- Catherine Crowe
- Charles Darwin
- Edward Forbes
- Charles Lyell
- Thomas Simmons Mackintosh
- Harriet Martineau
- Francis Newman
- John Pringle Nichol
- William Makepeace Thackeray
- Sir Richard Rawlinson Vyvyan, Bart. (Emerson's guess)
- Hewett Watson

The authorship would be revealed in 1884, after Chambers was safely in his grave. For the time being, only the following people would know for sure:

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Neil Arnott
- Anne Chambers, who copied manuscripts for her husband so his handwriting would not appear
- William Chambers
- Robert Cox
- Alexander Ireland
- John Pringle Nichol
- David Page, who would become a disgruntled ex-employee and try to reveal the actual authorship, with his problematic accusations hitting the newspapers on November 24, 1854 and December 2, 1854

1848

Harriet Martineau's EASTERN LIFE, PRESENT AND PAST.

In Boston, the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar had out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- A Southron [*sic*]. "The Insurrection and its Hero: A Tale of the South"
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point"

Long poem by the prominent British author published here for the first time.

- Follen, Eliza Lee. “Harshness of Abolitionists”
- Taylor, J. Bayard. “To Earth”
- Brooke, Samuel. “Enthusiasm”
- Wiffen, Benjamin B. “Placido, the Cuban Poet”
- Placido. “Thirty Years”
- May, Samuel J. “The American Revolution”
- Trend, Henry. “Response across the Atlantic From Britons to Americans”
- Harriet Martineau. “Incidents of Travel”
- Anonymous. “Lines for the Anti-Slavery Bazaar”
- Linstant. “L’Esclavage”
- Thomas Wentworth Higginson. “The Fugitives’ Hymn”
- Whipple, Charles K. “Clerical Influence”
- Alexander, W. Lindsay. “Hail! the Dawn!”
- Parker, Theodore. “Come and do it better”
- —. “A Christmas Hymn”
- Frederick Douglass. “Bibles for the Slaves”
- Seymour, Almira. “The Spirit’s Birth-song”
- Lee, Eliza. “Old Sambo”

Another contribution dealing with the Northern practice of slavery. Eliza Lee reminisces about Sambo, her father’s servant and “the earliest friend and associate of [her] youth.”

- Hornblower, Jane E. “Sonnet: British West Indian Emancipation”
- Cabot, Susan C. “The Slave of Mammon”
- Friend Daniel Ricketson. “The Field”
- Wright, Henry C. “Reminiscences: My First Acquaintance with Garrison and Anti-Slavery”
- A Backwoods’ Girl [E. C. W.] “Idiot Era”
- Joshua Reed Giddings. “Progress of Free Principles in Congress”
- Lowell, James Russell. “An Extract”
- Dall, Caroline W. Healey. “Annie Gray: A Tale”

Dall’s story engages the question of what it might mean for a white woman to consider herself “the slave’s friend.” This story is much influenced by Lydia Maria Child’s tales published in earlier volumes of The Liberty Bell.

- Lowell, Maria. “Song”
- Pillsbury, Parker. “Incidents in the Life of an Anti-Slavery Agent”
- Jones, Benjamin S. “The Lord’s Prayer”
- Brown, William Wells. “The American Slave-Trade”
- Carpenter, Mary. “Offerings of English Women from the Old World to the New”
- Quincy, Edmund. “Seth Sprague”
- Dawson, Susan F. “Pray!”
- May, Samuel Jr. “Have any of the Rulers believed?”
- Holinski, Alexander. “Abolitionism in America”
- Weston, Anne Warren. “Retrospection and Repentance”
- Garrison, William Lloyd. “Hard Language”

- Bowditch, William Ingersoll "What Law is not"

February 27, Sunday: Charles Hubert Hastings Parry was born at Bournemouth, the 6th child born to Thomas Gambier Parry, a painter and art collector, and Anna Maria Isabella Fynes Clinton, of aristocratic lineage and daughter of a former member of Parliament. Mrs. Parry gave birth in the final stages of tuberculosis and would die in twelve days. The couple was in Bournemouth in an attempt to recover her health.

Giacomo Meyerbeer contributed 500 francs to a fund for those wounded in the fighting in Paris.

A large political demonstration took place in Karlsruhe, Baden calling for the Radical-Liberal demands of free press, trial by jury, and a German parliament.

Late in the month, Waldo Emerson traveled by train to Ambleside to visit Harriet Martineau and William Wordsworth.

> Mr. Emerson did come. He spent a few days in February with me; and, unfavourable as the season was for seeing the district, — the fells and meadows being in their dunnest haycolour instead of green, — he saw in rides with a neighbour and myself some of the most striking features in the nearer scenery. I remember bringing him, one early morning, the first green spray of the wild currant, from a warm nook. We met soon after in London, where Mr. Atkinson made acquaintance with him. It was a great pleasure to me to have for my guest one of the most honoured of my American hosts, and to find him as full as ever of the sincerity and serenity which had inspired me with so cordial a reverence twelve years before.

1849

In this year and the following one, Harriet Martineau's THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' PEACE, A.D. 1816-1846, volumes I through IV.

In Boston, the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar had out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- Bowring, John. "Europe to America"
- Dall, Caroline W. Healy. "Amy: A Tale"

  Another short story in the tradition of Lydia Maria Child's "The Quadroons."

- Lowell, Maria. "Africa"

  Long poem whose narrator appears to be the sphinx.

- May, Samuel J. "The Emblem of Our Country: A Chained Eagle, with Torn and Dishevelled [sic] Plumage"
- Hornblower, Jane E. "Sonnet [Cast to the winds thy great and glorious scroll]"
- Pillsbury, Parker. "Dissolution of the Union"

- Hall, Louisa J. "Birth in the Slave's Hut"

  One of The Liberty Bell's many poems by women writers, that treat, like Barrett Browning's "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point," the subject of infanticide.

- Harriet Martineau. "Letter"
- Fletcher, Eliza. "Letter to Harriet Martineau"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "Stanzas [When through long bitter strife, and weary years]"
- Bauer, Juliette. "The Daughter of the Riccarees"
- Byron, Annabella Milbanke, Lady. "To the Anti-Slavery Advocate"
- Johnson, Samuel. "Practical Anti-Slavery"
- Chapman, Edwin. "The Dying Slave: A Pro-Slavery Minister of Religion Offering Him Spiritual Aid"
- Webb, Richard D. "Liverpool Fifty Years Ago"
- C., M. "The Ocean Monarch and the Pearl"
- Rushton, Edward. "Letter to Thomas Paine"
- Weston, Caroline. "St. Dennis"
- May, Samuel Jr. "Our National Idolatry"
- Sturge, Thomas. "Reminiscences"
- Arnold, Jane M. "Nature's Teachings"

  "Many and penetrating are the voices which speak to us through nature," begins this meditation on the ocean. The narrator's communion with nature is interrupted by the sight of a slave-ship.

- Poole, Elizabeth. "Prayer of the Captain's Clerk"
- Whipple, Charles K. "A. B. C. F. M. [American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions]"
- Anonymous. "Sonnet [Three million men, by God created free]"
- Haughton, James. "Liberty"
- Lowell, James Russell. "The Burial of Theobald"
- Phillips, Wendell. "Everything Helps Us"
- Channing, William Henry. "Religion and Politics: Extract from a Discourse Preached the Sunday before the Presidential Election, 1848"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "A True Hero"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1850

Harriet Martineau's "How to Make Home Unhealthy," in Harper's.

1851

Harriet Martineau's LETTERS ON THE LAWS OF MAN'S NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT, a complete repudiation of religious belief, ended her relationship with her brother James Martineau, a Unitarian leader. In Harper's, her "Sketches from Life."

In Boston, the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar again had out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom," despite having neglected to put out an issue of this during the previous year:

- Hempstead, Martha. "Liberty Bells"
- Furness, William H. "Let your Light Shine"
- Barland, Katherine. "Love and Liberty"
- Dall, Caroline W. Healy. "Pictures of Southern Life, for the Drawing Rooms of American Women"
- Longfellow, Samuel. "The Word"
- Harriet Martineau HARRIET MARTINEAU. "Anomalies of the Age"
- Morley, John. "The Two Eagles"
- Bowditch, William Ingersoll "Infidelity and Treason"
- May, Samuel J. "The Root of Slavery"
- Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Translations from the Persian of Hafiz [The Phoenix; Faith; The Poet; To Himself]"
- Chapman, Maria Weston. "The Spirit of the Abolitionists"
- Nute, Ephraim Jr. "The Leaven of Liberty"
- Phillips, Wendell. "Mrs. Eliza Garnaut"

- Parker, Theodore. "The Last Poet"
- Stone, Thomas T. "The Second Reformation"
- Belloc, Madame. "Le Fils d'un Planteur"
- ——. "The Planter's Son"
- Parker, Theodore. "A Sonnet for the Times"
- Whipple, Charles K. "Our Southern Brethren"
- Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Translation from the Persian of Nisami"
- Jackson, Edmund. "Servile Insurrections"
- Richardson, James Jr. "The Changes"
- Quincy, Edmund. "Ratcliffe Gordon: A Sketch from Memory"
- Souvestre, Emile. "Legitimite de L'esclavage"
- ---. "Is Slavery Legitimate?"
- Buckingham, Edgar. "Settled!"
- Parker, Theodore. "The Sultan's fair Daughter and the Masters of the Flowers"
- Johnson, Samuel. "The Prestige of Slavery"
- Weston, Caroline. "Stanzas: To ——, With a Bracelet Composed of Crystals and Stones from the Bernese Alps"
- Souvestre, Madame. "Influence de L'esclavage sur les Maitres"
- ---. "Influence of Slavery on Masters"
- Thomas Wentworth Higginson. "To a Young Convert"
- Browne, John W. "The Higher Law"
- May, Samuel Jr. "The Gospel of Freedom: When Shall It Be Preached?"
- Armstrong, George. "A Glance over the Field"
- David Lee Child. "National Hymn"
- William Lloyd Garrison. "The Great Apostate"
- Lowell, James Russell. "Yussouf"

September 7, Sunday: At this point Henry Thoreau originated what eventually would become, after four distinct revisions during Fall 1854 during preparations for the lecture he would deliver on December 4, 1854 at Railroad Hall in Providence, a leaf now in the Houghton Library. Just prior to his death Thoreau submitted a revised version of this lecture to James Fields for print publication as an essay, including this leaf which he had not included in the lecture as it had been delivered in Rhode Island, and the essay would be published as his "LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE". Here is the final version as it would posthumously be published:

It seems to me that there is nothing memorable written upon the

art of life — at least in these days. By what discipline to secure the most life? I would like to know how to spend this evening; not how to economize time, but how to spend it — that the day may not have been in vain. It is plain that men are not well employed. We explore the coast of Greenland but leave our own interior blank. I would fain go to that place or condition where my life is to be found. I suffer that to be rumor which may be verified. We are surrounded by mystery; as big a drapery [sic] which adapts itself to all our motives, and yet most men will be reminded by this of no garment but their shirts and pretend perchance that the only mystery left is the magnetic character of the North Pole. That is the great problem nowadays. To devote your life to the discovery of the divinity in Nature, or to the eating of oysters! I have read how many car-loads of oysters are sent daily from Connecticut to western New York. So it seems that some men are devoted even to the mere statistics of the oyster business, who perhaps do not get any oysters!

Now, here is the original initial first version of this finished product, as it appeared as of this date:

September 7, Sunday: We sometimes experience a mere fulness of life, which does not find any channels to flow into. We are stimulated but to no obvious purpose. I feel myself uncommonly prepared for **some** literary work, but I can select no work. I am prepared not so much for contemplation, as for forceful expression. I am braced both physically and intellectually. It is not so much the music–as the marching to the music that I feel.

I feel that the juices of the fruits which I have eaten the melons & apples have ascended to my brain–& are stimulating it. They give me a heady force. Now I can write nervously. Carlyle's writing is for the most part of this character.

Miss Martineau's last book is not so bad as the timidity which fears its influence.[3] As if the popularity of this

or that book would be so fatal–& man would not still be man in the world. Nothing is so much to be feared as fear– Atheism may be popular with God himself.
What shall we say of these timid folk who carry the principle of thinking nothing & doing nothing and being nothing to such an extreme– As if in the absence of thought that vast yearning of their natures for something to fill the vacuum–made the least traditionary expression & shadow of a thought to be clung to with instinctive tenacity. They atone for their producing nothing by a brutish respect for something. They are as simple as oxen and as guiltless of thought & reflection.– their reflections are reflected from other minds. The creature of institutions–bigoted–& a conservatist– –can say nothing hearty. he cannot meet life with life–but only with words. He rebuts you by avoiding you. He is shocked like a woman. Our extatic states which appear to yield so little fruit, have this value at least–though in the seasons when our genius reigns we may be powerless for expression.– Yet in calmer seasons, when our talent is active, the memory of those rarer moods comes to color our picture & is the permanent paint pot as it were into which we dip our brush
Thus no life or experience goes unreported at last–but if it be not solid gold it is gold-leaf which gilds the furniture of the mind. It is an experience of infinite beauty–on which we unfailingly draw. Which enables us to exaggerate ever truly. Our moments of inspiration are not lost though we have no particular poems to show for them. For those experiences have left an indelible impression, and we are ever and anon reminded of them. Their truth subsides & in cooler moments we can use them as paint to gild & adorn our prose. When I despair to sing them I will remember that they will furnish me with paint with which to adorn & preserve the works of talent one day. They are like a pot of pure ether.
They lend the writer when the moment comes a certain superfluity of wealth–making his expression to overrun & float itself. It is the difference between our river now parched & dried up exposing its unsightly & weedy bottom–& the same when in the spring it covers all the meads with a chain of placid lakes, reflecting the forests & the skies.
We are receiving our portion of the Infinite. The **Art of life**! Was there ever anything memorable written upon it? By what disciplines to secure the most life–with what care to watch our thoughts. To observe not what transpires, in the street–but in the mind. & heart of me! I do not remember any page which will tell me how to spend this afternoon. I do not so much wish to know how to economize time–as how to spend it–by what means to grow rich. That the day may not have–been in vain.
What if one moon has come & gone with its world of poetry–its weird teachings–its oracular suggestions– So divine a creature–freighted with hints for me, and I not use her. One moon gone by unnoticed!!
Suppose you attend to the hints to the suggestions which the moon makes for one month–commonly in vain– will they not be very diffirent from any thing in literature or religion or philosophy. The scenery, when it is truly seen reacts on the life of the seer. How to live– How to get the most life! as if you were to teach the young hunter how to entrap his game. How to extract its honey from the flower of the world. That is my every day business. I am as busy as a bee about it. I ramble over all fields on that errand and am never so happy as when I feel myself heavy with honey & wax. I am like a bee searching the livelong day for the sweets of nature. Do I not impregnate & intermix the flowers produce rare & finer varieties by transfering my eyes from one to another? I do as naturally & as joyfully with my own humming music–seek honey all the day. With what honied thought any experience yields me I take a bee line to my cell. It is with flowers I would deal. Where is the flower there is the honey–which is perchance the nectareous portion of the fruit–there is to be the fruit–& no doubt flowers are thus colored & painted–to attract & guide the bee. So by the dawning or radiance of beauty are we advertised where is the honey & the fruit of thought of discourse & of action– We are first attracted by the beauty of the flower, before we discover the honey which is a foretaste of the future fruit. Did not the young Achilles (?) spend his youth learning how to hunt? The art of spending a day. If it is possible that we may be addressed–it behoves us to be attentive. If by watching all day & all night–I may detect some trace of the Ineffable–then will it not be worth the while to watch? Watch & pray without ceasing–but not necessary in sadness–be of good cheer. Those Jews were too sad: to another people a still deeper revelation may suggest only joy. Dont I know what gladness is? Is it but the reflex of sadness, its back side? In the Hebrew gladness I hear but too distinctly still the sound of sadness retreating. Give me a gladness which has never given place to

3. Thoreau was presumably referring to the correspondence of the notorious free-thinker Harriet Martineau with her friend Henry Atksinson, which was being published during this year by J. Chapman of London as LETTERS ON THE LAWS OF MAN'S NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT. Martineau shocked many readers with her acceptance of her friend's "necessarianism, materialism [and] perfectibilism."

sadness.

I am convinced that men are not well employed–that this is not the way to spend a day. If by patience, if by watching I can secure one new ray of light–can feel myself elevated for an instant upon Pisgah–the world which was dead prose to me become living & divine–shall I not watch ever–shall I not be a watchman henceforth?– If by watching a whole year on the citys walls I may obtain a communication from heaven, shall I not do well to shut up my shop & turn a watchman? Can a youth–a man–do more wisely–than to go where his life is to found? As if I had suffered that to be rumor–which may be verified. We are surrounded by a rich & fertile mystery– May we not probe it–pry into it–employ ourselves about it–a little? To devote your life to the discovery of the divinity in Nature or to the eating of oysters would they not be attended with very different results?[4]

I cannot **easily** buy a blank book to write thoughts in, they are all ruled for dollars & cents.[5]

If the wine which will nourish me grows on the surface of the moon–I will do the best I can to go to the moon

4. This entry would inspire Thoreau as he began to write "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" in late 1854:

> The art of life! Was there ever anything memorable written upon it? By what disciplines to secure the most life, with what care to watch our thoughts. To observe what transpires, not in the street, but in the mind and heart of me! I do not remember any page which will tell me how to spend this afternoon. I do not so much wish to know how to economize time as how to spend it, by what means to grow rich, that the day may not have been in vain.... How to live. How to get the most life.... How to extract its honey from the flower of the world. That is my everyday business. I am as busy as a bee about it.... The art of spending a day. If it is possible that we may be addressed, it behooves us to be attentive.... I am convinced that men are not well employed, that this is not the way to spend a day.... We are surrounded by a rich and fertile mystery. May we not probe it, pry into it, employ ourselves about it, a little? To devote your life to the discovery of the divinity in nature or to the eating of oysters, would they not be attended with very different results?

for it.
The discoveries which we make abroad are special and particular–those which we make at home are general & significant. The further off the nearer the surface. The nearer home the deeper. Go in search of the springs of life–& you will get exercise enough. Think of a man's swinging dumb bells for his health–when those springs are bubbling in far off pastures unsought by him! The seeming necessity of swinging dumbells proves that he has lost his way.
To watch for describe all the divine feautures which I detect in Nature.
My profession is to be always on the alert to find God in nature–to know his lurking places. To attend all the oratorios–the operas in nature.
The mind may perchance be persuaded to act–to energize–by the action and energy of the body. Any kind of liquid will fetch the pump.
We all have our states of fullness & of emptiness–but we overflow at different points. One overflows through the sensual outlets–another through his heart another through his head–& another perchance only through the higher part of his head or his poetic faculty– It depends on where each is tight & open. We can perchance thus direct our nutriment to those organs we specially use.
How happens it that there are few men so well employed–, so much to their minds, but that a little money–or fame–would by them off from their present pursuits![6]
7th still: To Conantum via fields Hubbards Grove & grain field To Tupelo cliff & Conantum and rturning over peak same way. 6. P M I hear no larks **[Eastern Meadowlark** ***Sturnella magna***] sing at evening as in the spring–nor robins. only a few distressed notes from the robin– In Hubbards grain field beyond the brook–now the the sun is down. The air is very still– There is a fine sound of crickets not loud The woods & single trees are heavier masses in the landscape than in the spring. Night has more allies. The heavy shadows of woods and trees are remarkable now. The meadows are green with their second crop. I hear only a tree toad or song sparrow **[*Melospiza* *melodia*]** singing as in spring at long intervals. The Roman wormwood is beginning to yellow-green my shoes.– intermingled with the blue-curls over the sand in this grain field. Perchance some poet likened this yellow dust to the ambrosia of the Gods. The birds are remarkably silent At the bridge perceive the bats are out. & the yet silvery moon not quite full is reflected in the water. The water is perfectly still–and there is a red tinge from the evening sky in it. The sky is singularly marked this evening. There are bars or rays of nebulous light springing from the western horizon where the sun has disappeared, and alternating with beautiful blue rays, by far more blue than any other portion of the sky these continue to diverge till they have reached the middle & then converge to the eastern horizon–making a symmetrical figure like the divisions of a muskmelon–not very bright yet distinct.– though growing less & less bright toward the east. It was a quite remarkable phenomenon encompasing the heavens, as if you were to behold the divisions of a muskmelon thus alternately colored from within it.
A proper vision–a colored mist. The most beautiful thing in Nature is the sun reflected from a tear-ful cloud. These white and blue ribs embraced the earth. The two outer blues much the brightest & matching one another. You hear the hum of mosquitoes.
Going up the road. The sound of the crickets is now much more universal & loud. Now in the fields I see the white white streak of the neottia in the twilight– The whippoorwills **[Whip-poor-will** ***Caprimulgus vociferus***] sing far off. I smell burnt land somewhere. At Tupelo Cliff I hear the sound of singers on the river young men & women–which is unusual here–returning from their row. Man's voice thus uttered fits well the spaces– It fills Nature. And after all the singing of men is something far grander than any natural sound. It is wonderful that men do not oftener sing in the fields–by day & night. I bathe at the north side the cliff while the moon shines round the end of the rock– The opposite Cliff is reflected in the water. Then sit on the S side of the Cliff in the woods. One or two fireflies–could it be a glowworm– I thought I saw one or two in the air (–that is all in this walk) I hear a whippoorwill uttering a cluck of suspicion in my rear– He is suspicious

5. Thoreau would later copy this into his early lecture "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT", combining it with an entry made on June 29, 1852 (JOURNAL 4:162) to form the following:

> [Paragraph 6] I cannot easily buy a blank book to write thoughts in; they are all ruled for dollars and cents. If a man was tossed out of a window when an infant, and so made a cripple for life, or scared out of his wits by the Indians, it is regretted chiefly because he was thus incapacitated for—business! I think that there is nothing, not even crime, more opposed to poetry, to philosophy, ay, to life itself, than this incessant business.

& inquisitive. The river stretches off southward from me. I see the sheeny portions of its western shore interruptedly for a quarter of a mile–where the moon light is reflected from the pads.– a strong gleaming light while the water is lost in the obscurity.

I hear the sound from time to time of a leaping fish–or a frog–or a muskrat or turtle.– It is even warmer **methinks** than it was in August–& it is perfectly clear the air. I know not how it is that this universal cricket's creak should sound thus regularly intermittent–as if for the most part they fell in with one another & creaked in time–making a certain pulsing sound a sort of breathing or panting of all nature. You sit twenty feet above the still river–see the sheeny pads. & the moon & some bare tree tops in the distant horizon. Those bare tree tops add greatly to the wildness.

Lower down I see the moon in the water as bright as in the heavens–only the water bugs disturb its disk–and now I catch a faint glassy glare from the whole river surface which before was simply dark. This is set in a frame of double darkness on the east i.e. the reflected shore of woods & hills & the reality–the shadow & the substance bipartite answering to each. I see the northern lights over my shoulder to remind me of the Esquimaux & that they are still my contemporaries on this globe–that they too are taking their walks on another part of the planet.– in pursuit of seals perchance.

AURORA

The stars are dimly reflected in the water– The path of water-bugs in the moon's rays is like ripples of light. It is only when you stand fronting the sun or moon that you see their light reflected in the water. I hear no frogs these nights–bull-frogs or others–as in the spring– It is not the season of sound.

At Conantum end–just under the wall From this point & at this height I do not perceive any bright or yellowish light on Fair Haven–but an oily & glass like smoothness on its southwestern bay–through a very slight mistiness. Two or three pines appear to stand in the moon lit air on this side of the pond–while the Enlightened portion of the water is bounded by the heavy reflection of the wood on the east It was so soft & velvety a light as contained a thousand placid days sweetly put to rest in the bosom of the water. So looked the north Twin Lake in the Maine woods. It reminds me of placid lakes in the mid-noon of Ind. Summer days–but yet more placid & civilized–suggesting a higher cultivation–which aeons of summer days have gone to make. Like a summer day seen far away. All the effects of sunlight–with a softer tone–and all this stillness of the water & the air superadded–& the witchery of the hour. What gods are they that require so fair a vase of gleaming water to their prospect in the midst of the wild woods by night? Else why this beauty allotted to night–a gem to sparkle in the zone of night. They are strange gods now out–methinks their names are not in any mythology– I can faintly trace its zigzag border of sheeny pads even here. If such is there to be seen in remotest wildernesses–does it not suggest its own nymphs & wood Gods to enjoy it? As When at middle of the placcid noon in Ind summer days all the surface of a lake is as one cobweb–gleaming in the sun which heaves gently to the passing zephyr– There was the lake–its glassy surface just distinguishable–its sheeny shore of pads–with a few pines bathed in light on its hither shore just as in mid of a november day–except that this was the chaster light of the moon–

6.This would appear in "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" as:

> [Paragraph 36] It is remarkable that there are few men so well employed, so much to their minds, but that a little money or fame would commonly buy them off from their present pursuit. I see advertisements for **active** young men, as if activity were the whole of a young man's capital. Yet I have been surprised when one has with confidence proposed to me, a grown man, to embark in some enterprise of his, as if I had absolutely nothing to do, my life having been a complete failure hitherto. What a doubtful compliment this is to pay me! As if he had met me half-way across the ocean beating up against the wind, but bound nowhere, and proposed to me to go along with him! If I did, what do you think the Underwriter[1] would say? No, no! I am not without employment at this stage of the voyage. To tell the truth, I saw an advertisement for able-bodied seamen, when I was a boy, sauntering in my native port, and as soon as I came of age I embarked.

1.Bradley P. Dean has emended the essay copy-text from 'underwriters' on authority of an intermediate lecture-draft manuscript in OCIW (see Dean, "Sound of a Flail," pages 403-404 for a transcription of this manuscript).

the cooler–temperature of the night and these were the deep shades of night that fenced it round & imbosomed. It tells of a far away long passed civilization of an antiquity superior to time–unappreciable by time.
Is there such virtue in raking cranberries–that those men's industry whom I now see on the meadow–shall reprove my idleness? Can I not go over those same meadows after them & rake still more valuable fruits. Can I not rake with my mind? Can I not rake a thought perchance which shall be worth a bushel of cranber?–[7]
A certain refinement & civilization in nature which increases with the wildness. The civilization that consists with wildness. The light that is in night. A smile as in a dream on the face of the sleeping lake. There is light enough to show what we see–what **night** has to exhibit–any more would obscure these objects. I am not advertised of any deficiency of light. The actual is fair as a vision or a dream. If ever we have attained to any nobleness–ever in our imagination & intentions–that will surely ennoble the features of nature for us that will clothe them with beauty. Of course no jeweller ever dealt with a gem so fair & suggestive as this actual lake. The scene it may be of so much noble & poetic life–& not merely adorn some monarch's crown.
It is remarkably still at this hour & season–no sound of bird or beast for the most part. This has none of the reputed noxious qualities of night.
On the Peak. The faint sounds of birds–dreaming aloud–in the night–the fresh cool air & sound of the wind rushing over the rocks–remind me of the tops of mts. That is all the earth is but the outside of the planet bordering on the hard eyed skyed–equally with drawn & near to heaven. is this pasture as the summit of the white mts– All the earth's surface like a mt top–for I see its relation to heaven as simply. & am not imposed upon by a difference of a few few feet in elevation.– In this faint light all fields are like a mossy rock–& remote from the cultivated plains of day. All is equally savage–equally solitary–& the dif. in elevation is felt to be unimportant. It is all one with caucasus the slightest hill pasture.
The bass wood had a singularly solid look & sharply defined–as by a web or film –as if its leaves covered it like scales–
Scared up a whippoorwill **[Whip-poor-will** ***Caprimulgus vociferus***] on the ground on the hill. Will not my townsmen consider me a benefactor if I conquer some realms from the night? If I can show them that there is some beauty awake while they are asleep.? If I add to the domains of poetry. If I report to the gazettes anything transpiring in our midst worthy of man's attention. I will say nothing now to the disparagement of Day, for he is not here to defend himself.
The northern lights now as I descend from the Conantum house have become a crescent of light crowned with

7. Thoreau would combine the entries JOURNAL 2:389 (August 15, 1851), JOURNAL 2:470, and JOURNAL 2:477 in "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" as:

> [Paragraph 96] It is pathetic for me far in the fields in mid forenoon to hear the village clock striking. The bees on the flowers seem to reprove my idleness. Yet I ask myself to what end do they labor? Is there so much need of honey and wax? Is the industry of mankind truly respectable? Is there such virtue in raking cranberries that those men's employment whom I now see in the meadow can rightly reprove my idleness? Can I not go over these same meadows after them and rake still more valuable fruits—rake with my mind? Can I not rake a thought perchance which shall be worth a bushel of cranberries? I will not mind the village clock; it marks time for the dead and dying. It sounds like a knell; as if one struck the most sonorous slates in the churchyard with a mallet, and they rang out the words which are engraved on them—*tempus fugit irrevocabile*.[1] I harken for the clock that strikes the eternal hours. What though my walk is desultory—and I do not find employment which satisfies my hunger and thirst, and the bee probing the thistle and loading himself with honey and wax seems better employed than I, my idleness is better than his industry. I would rather that my spirit hunger and thirst than that it forget its own wants in satisfying the hunger and thirst of the body.[2]
>
> 1 Latin: "time flies irrevocably." Bradley P. Dean has emended the manuscript copy-text by italicizing this phrase.
> 2. Compare Matthew 5:6.

short shooting flames–or the shadows of flames. for some times they are dark as well as white. There is scarcely any dew even in the low lands.
Now the fire in the north increases wonderfully–not shooting up so much as creeping along like a fire on the mts of the north seen afar in the night. The Hyperborean gods are burning brush, and it spread and all the hoes in heaven could'nt stop it. It spread from west to east over the crescent hill. Like a vast fiery worm it lay across the northern sky–broken into many pieces & each piece strives to advance itself worm like on its own muscles It has spread into the choicest woodlots of valhalla–now it shoots up like a single (solitary watch fire) or) burning bush–or where it ran up a pine tree like powder–& still it continues to gleam here & there like a fat stump in the burning & is reflected in the water. And now I see the gods by great exertions have got it under, & the stars have come out without fear in peace.
Though no birds sing, the crickets vibrate their shrill & stridulous cymbals especially on the alders of the causeway. Those minstrels especially engaged for night's quire.
It takes some time to wear off the trivial impression which the day has made–& thus the first hours of night are sometimes lost.
There were two hen hawks **[Red-tailed Hawk** ***Buteo jamaicensis***] soared and circled for our entertainment when we were in the woods on that Boon Plain the other day–crossing each others orbits from time to time, alternating like the squirrels of the morning. Till alarmed by an imitation of a hawks shrill cry–they gradually inflated themselves made themselves more aerial and rose higher & higher into the heavens & were at length lost to sight– Yet all the while earnestly looking scanning the surface of the earth for a stray mouse or rabbit.

Thoreau made a comment in his JOURNAL that would be trivialized by Waldo Emerson after Thoreau's death and then utilized, in its trivialized form, by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in a famous speech, as part of his legitimation of American progress-thinking:

> *It is not so much the music – as the marching to the music that I feel.... Nothing is so much to be feared as fear. Atheism may comparatively be popular with God himself.*

In this comment, of course, Thoreau was quoting a famous aphorism of Montaigne as of 1580 and Lord Francis Bacon as of 1623 which had, ten years earlier (1831), been plagiarized by Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, the general who had become utterly famous by being in command of the opposing forces when the forces of Napoleon Bonaparte were finally defeated on June 18, 1815.

> The only thing I am afraid of is fear.

Thoreau was quoting this famous aphorism, so similar to THE BOOK OF PROVERBS (Chapter 3, verse 25), merely by mentioning it, as today we would say "let a thousand flowers bloom" and bring

everyone's mind to Mao's use of this line from a Chinese classic essay.

Having quoted-by-mentioning, Thoreau went directly on to mock the sort of attitude that had produced such

a sentiment, and to mock the iron mind of the Duke, by a caustic deduction about atheism.

The gist of Thoreau's deduction was that, were it really true and meaningful that nothing is so much to be feared as fear, then atheism, something other than fear, would be something not so much to be feared as fear, and therefore even for God –who of course knows as well as anyone that atheism is a silly doctrine– would prefer being atheistic over being fearful. And we note that this *reductio ad absurdum* occurs in a context in which Thoreau has been ruminating about his mysterious

> *It is not so much the music — as the marching to the music that I feel.*

which was tied of course to the mysterious "different drummer" passage at the end of WALDEN.

WALDEN: Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed, and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away. It is not important that he should mature as soon as an apple-tree or an oak. Shall he turn his spring into summer? If the condition of things which we were made for is not yet, what were any reality which we can substitute? We will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality. Shall we with pains erect a heaven of blue glass over ourselves, though when it is done we shall be sure to gaze still at the true ethereal heaven far above, as if the former were not?

DIFFERENT DRUMMER
THE INNER LIGHT

The Duke of Wellington had presumably been recommending a practiced callousness toward the lives and desires of others, a Roman or Trojan accommodation rather than the traditional Greek one which involved staying in touch with one's affect while at the same time overcoming this affect and thus mastering the situation.

Lessing, in his "Laocoön," stated that "Palnatako gave his Jomsburgers the command to fear nothing nor once to utter the word fear." Wonder who those guys were....

Every once in a while, a Thoreau gathering will attract one or another survivalist, who will sit around for awhile in his camouflage shirt and then, hopefully, go about his business. Has anybody noted the link between the fear of fear, and the very contemporary agenda of the "survivalist"?

> *Today, the importance of doing away with fear is not sufficiently emphasized. Fear is worse than danger, which it both attracts and arouses. Survival is just socialized fear. Life has been so thoroughly consumed by survival that many believe they will lose everything if the means of survival are threatened. They forget that there is a happy way of ridding themselves of the "necessity" of survival, which is to dissolve it in life.*
>
> — *Vaneigem, Raoul.* THE MOVEMENT OF THE FREE SPIRIT: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND FIRSTHAND TESTIMONY CONCERNING SOME BRIEF FLOWERINGS OF LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, THE RENAISSANCE AND, INCIDENTALLY, OUR OWN TIME. *NY: Zone Books, 1994, page 294*

Here is how the "quotation" appeared in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first inaugural address on March 4, 1933:

> *This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly, nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So first of all let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself — nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.*

I will quote the usual account of the development of this extrapolation, from Kenneth C. Davis's DON'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT HISTORY: EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT AMERICAN HISTORY BUT NEVER

LEARNED:

> Most of Roosevelt's campaign speeches had been written for him, but a handwritten first draft of the inaugural address shows this to be Roosevelt's own work. Yet the speech's most famous line was old wine in a new bottle. Similar sentiments about fear had been voiced before. The historian Richard Hofstadter notes that Roosevelt read Thoreau in the days before the Inauguration and was probably inspired by the line "Nothing is so much to be feared as fear."

This DON'T KNOW MUCH simplification elides the fact that Roosevelt was not reading Thoreau directly, but reading him as filtered through the sensibilities of Emerson. Essentially, it can fairly be said, it was **Emerson** that FDR was reading. And the preacher, sorry to say, couldn't figure out how the trout got in the milk.

If you want an apposite remark about fear, you'll have to look to Eleanor Roosevelt rather than to her husband. Here's one, from a poster hanging on the wall of Professor Anita Hill's office, and you'll notice that Eleanor

did not think she was quoting anyone:

Anita Hill

"You gain strength, courage and confidence by every experience in which you really stop to look fear in the face.... You must do the thing you think you cannot do."

Eleanor Roosevelt

(Blanche Wiesen Cook, in her new biography ELEANOR ROOSEVELT (New York: Viking, 1992), offers that since Thoreau was one of Mrs. Roosevelt's favorite authors when she taught AmLit at the Todhunter School, and since she had a "copy of Thoreau" (pages 402, 494), it was in this copy of Thoreau that her husband found the quote he used in his first inaugural address. However, I regard such a provenance as entirely unlikely, taking into account that it was in the trivialized form in which the quote had passed through the mentation of Emerson that FDR made use of the quote.)

Thoreau was simply undeceived by the "religious" life he saw going on around him in Concord and Cambridge, for he clearly perceived the extent to which "religion is a habit, or rather, habit is religion" in the eyes of his friends and relatives, and he clearly perceived the extend to which their vaunted "Christian virtue of hope" was merely a honorific name they assigned to their complicity in their victimization by fear. His conclusion, as above in this remark about fear versus the fear of fear, and about theism versus atheism, was that, if this is what "religion" amounts to, then "to reject RELIGION is the first step." Shortly after August 15, 1844; 1974, p.159:

> [B]ut for fear death itself is an impossibility.

In his 1837 college essay on the sublime, God, he had said, "would be reverenced, not feared." Even at that point he was cognizant of the intimate connection between hope and despair, knew how they mutually implicated and reinforced each other in the manner in which the missiles of the USSR once legitimated the missiles of the USA which in turn....

Henry did not learn his faithfulness in church, he learned it from his elder brother, who said as he was dying:

> The cup that my Father gives me, shall I not drink it?

"DeQuincey and Dickens have not moderation enough.
They never stutter; they flow too readily."

–JOURNAL, September 8, 1851

ATTITUDES ON DE QUINCEY

ATTITUDES ON DICKENS

1852

Harriet Martineau joined the staff of the Daily News. She was a working woman: over the following 16 years she would author more than 1,600 articles for this newspaper.

In Boston, the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar had out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- Weston, Anne Warren. "Sonnet, Suggested by the inscription on the Bell of the Hall of Independence, Philadelphia: 'Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof'"
- Buckingham, Edgar. "Consequences"
- Michell, Emma. "The Strife with Slavery"
- David Lee Child. "African Inventors"
- Morley, John. "Courage: To the 'Silent Workers'"
- De Beaumont, Gustave. "L'Esclavage et les Etats-Unis"
- ---. "The United States and Slavery"
- Furness, William H. "The Great Festival"
- Little, Sophia L. "The Autograph of Sims"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Harriet Martineau. “More Warsaws than One”
- Arago, Dominique. “Extraits des Souvenirs Politiques”
- ---. “Passages from ‘Political Reminiscences’”
- Chapman, Edwin. “The Slave”
- Bowditch, William Ingersoll “Faith in Human Brotherhood”
- Sargent, Henrietta. “The Olive Tree”
- Parker, Theodore. “The Like and the Different”
- Lowell, Maria. “Cadiz”
- Jackson, Edmund. “The Virginia Maroons”
- Ross, Georgiana Fanny. “Stanzas In Memory of William Allen, Companion of Clarkson and Wilberforce, in their labors for the Abolition of Slavery”
- Schoelcher, Victor. “L’Esclavage aux Etats-Unis, et l’Exposition de Londres”
- ---. “American Slavery, and the London Exhibition”
- Gilbert, Howard Worcester. “Sonnet: To a Recreant Statesman”
- Talbot, George F. “Nulla vestigia retrorsum”
- Friend Daniel Ricketson. “Lines [A mind determined to be strong]”
- Buckingham, Joseph T. “Seymour Cunningham; or, All for Liberty”
- Hall, Louisa J. “The Joy of Wealth”
- Paschoud, Martin. “Le Christianisme et l’Esclavage”
- ---. “Christianity and Slavery”
- Thompson, George. “The Slave in America”
- Phillips, Wendell. “A Letter”
- Hurnard, James. “Sonnet: To a Blackbird”
- May, Samuel Jr. “Christianity a Crime!”
- Anonymous. “To Powers, the Sculptor: Upon hearing that he was employed on a statue of California and one of America”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “The Baron de Stael-Holstein”
- De Stael-Holstein, Le Baron. “L’Esclavage la Meme Partout”
- ---. “Slavery the Same Everywhere”
- Garrison, William Lloyd. “To Kossuth”
- Charles Chauncy Shackford “The Law of Progress and Slavery”
- George, Teuton. “The Manumitted Slave”
- Webb, Richard D. “Expostulation”
- List, Harriet Winslow. “The Ring”
- Thomas Wentworth Higginson. “Forward”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1853

In Boston, the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar had out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

THE LIBERTY BELL, 1853

- Harriet Martineau. "Henrietta, the Bride"
- Foxton, E. "Petra; or, a Song of the Desert"
- Dall, Caroline W. Healey. "A Breeze from Lake Ontario"

  Report on a Canadian community of former slaves, followed by an argument that "it will not do to have a Constitution which is not opposed to Freedom; we must have one that claims it with emphasis...."
- Chapman, Edwin. "The Slave Mother"
- Whipple, Charles K. "Personality"
- Sanford, Lucy. "The Cathedral"
- Bowditch, William Ingersoll "Liberty, Sectional: Slavery, National"
- Friend Daniel Ricketson. "True Greatness–Thomas Clarkson"
- Lafayette, O. "Lettre: A Monsieur V. Schoelcher"
- ---. "Letter: To M. Victor Schoelcher"
- Thomas Wentworth Higginson. "The Morning Mist"
- Richard Hildreth. "The Approaching Crisis"
- Hurnard, James. "Sonnet [As I was gathering strawberries to-day]"
- Talbot, George F. "Webster"
- Sargent, Henrietta. "The Prayer of Moses granted"
- Thomas Wentworth Higginson. "Am I my Brother's Keeper?"
- Weston, Anne Warren. "In Memory of C.S."
- Frothingham, Octavius Brooks. "Pauperism and Slavery"
- Dorvelas-Dorval. "Statement respecting the Commerce of Hayti"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Martineau, Harriet. “Nan’s Lot in Life, A Tale”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “The Young Sailor”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Russia and the Russians”

  Editorial note introducing Tourgueneff, a Russian noble imprisoned and sentenced to death for supporting the serfs. Chapman suggests the connections between anti-slavery work and other struggles against oppression.

- Tourgueneff, N [Ivan]. “Lettre”

  In French.

- May, Samuel Jr. “A more excellent Way”
- Waterston, R. C. “The Voice of Freedom”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “The Sculptor of the Torrid Zone”
- Legouve, Ernest. “La Religion de l’Abolition”
- Phillips, Wendell. “Daniel Webster”
- Anonymous. “Lines written after a Winter of severe Storms”
- Remusat. “L’Inconsequence Republicaine”
- Quincy, Edmund. “Fetichism [sic]”
- William Lloyd Garrison. “To Louis Kossuth”
- Lesley, J. P. “The Bell”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

Harriet Martineau's THE POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY OF AUGUSTE COMTE, FREELY TRANSLATED AND CONDENSED, two volumes (her version of the six volumes of *COURS DE PHILOSOPHIE POSITIVE*, which would be enlarged to three volumes in the 2nd edition of 1896).

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1856

In Boston, the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar again had out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom," despite having missed the opportunity to put out such a volume during the two previous years:

- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. "A Curse for a Nation"
- Harriet Martineau. "State Rights of Massachusetts"
- Hurlbut, William Henry. "The Ruined Temples"
- Michelet, Jules. "The Historic Point of View: Letters"

  Michelet gathered testimony against slavery to support his arguments against the strategy of moral suasion. Instead, slavery must be made unprofitable and African American culture must be ameliorated by education.

- Montalembert, Count. "The Historic Point of View: Testimony against Slavery [I]"
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. "The Historic Point of View: Testimony against Slavery [II]"
- De Girardin, Emile. "The Historic Point of View: Testimony against Slavery [III]"
- Carnot. "The Historic Point of View: Testimony against Slavery [IV]"
- Passy, H. "The Historic Point of View: Testimony against Slavery [V]"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "Lines [How mournful sound the Boston bells]"
- Child, Lydia Maria. "Jan and Zaida"
- Clarke, James Freeman. "The Ballad of Edward Davis"
- Tourgueneff, Ivan. "Letter"
- List, Harriet Winslow. "Lay of the Mountaineer"
- Quincy, Edmund. "Nemesis"
- Longfellow, Samuel. "Hymn [O God, in whom we live and move!]"
- Adams, Charles Francis. "The Consequences of Royal Piety"
- A Boston Doctor of Divinity. "A Psalm of Life"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "The 'Infidelity' of Abolitionism"
- Child, Lydia Maria. "Lines: Suggested by a Lock of Hair from our Departed Friend, Catherine Sargent"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Baines, Edward. "Testimony against Slavery"
- Anonymous. "A Charade: (Supposed to be Spoken by Slave-Hunters in Boston)"
- Chapman, Maria Weston. "Necrology: Daniel Webster"
- Harriet Beecher Stowe. "Elisabeth of the Wartburg"

  Ballad, by the famous author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, about a princess of Hungary renowned for her charity. In this long poem, Elisabeth raises an outcast Jewish child.

- Monod, Adolphe. "Letter of an Evangelical Pastor"
- Phillips, Wendell. "Extract from a Speech on the Boston Mob Anniversary"
- Weston, Anne Warren. "Sonnets: In Memory of John Bishop Estlin"

1858

In Boston, the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar for the last time had out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":

- Raymond, Aurelia F. "The Liberty Bell"
- Palfrey, John G. "The First and the Last of Slavery in Massachusetts"
- Chapman, Maria Weston. "The Beginning and Ending"

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Joshua Reed Giddings. “Letter to Mrs. Chapman”
- Foster, Abby Kelley. “What Hinders Us? An Item of Experience”
- Jackson, Francis. “Fugitive Slaves”
- Weston, Anne Warren. “The Cathedral of Arrezzo: May 31, 1857”
- Thomas Wentworth Higginson. “The Romance of History: In 1850”
- Chapman, Edwin. “Home”
- Follen, Charles. “Thoughts on the Theory of Anti-Slavery”
- Follen, Eliza Lee. “Say You Will”
- Gilbert, Howard Worcester. “La Notte Di Michelangiolo: Sonnets”
- Dall, Caroline W. Healy. “The Inalienable Love”
- Hall, Nathaniel. “Christ the Agitator”
- Child, Lydia Maria. “The Stars and Stripes: A Melo-Drama”
- Conway, Moncure D. “Rudiments”
- Pillsbury, Parker. “Faith and Patience”
- Ricketson, Daniel. “Ho! Help!”
- Ampere, J. J. “De la Liberte Personnelle et de l’Esclavage: Tire d’un Ecrit Inedit sur la Liberte”
- Milnes, Richard Monckton. “Requiescat in Pace”
- Alger, William Rounseville. “Bunker Hill in 1775, and Bunker Hill in 1857”
- Warren, Joseph. “Extract from Dr. Joseph Warren’s Oration, delivered in the Old South, Boston, March 5, 1772”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Sonnet [To speed the aim all other aims above-]”
- Adams, Charles Francis. “The Progress of Reform”
- Doane, G. W. “Harmodius and Aristogeiton: From the Greek of Callistratus; Selected from the Early Poems”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “The South”

  This essay includes two letters, one from an enslaved man in Tennessee, the other from William S. Bailey, a Kentucky abolitionist.

- Fox, W. J. “Hymn [A little child in bulrush ark]”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Education”
- Morton. “The African Chief”
- Shaw, Lemuel. “Judicial Procedure”
- Weston, Anne Warren. “Sonnet: Written after seeing the picture, ‘Christus Consolator,’ and reprinted from the Liberty Bell of 1844”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Sonnet: The Christus Consolator, of Ary Scheffer, and the Frontispice [*sic*] of the American Episcopal Book of Common Prayer”
- May, Samuel Jr. “The Voice of the Departed: The Rev. George Armstrong, of Bristol, England”
- McKim, J. M. “The Slave’s Ultima Ratio: Letter”
- Harriet Martineau. “Truth”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

- Vinet, Alfred. “La Cloche”

1862

Harriet Martineau’s “Sister Ana’s Probation,” in One a Week.

1866

Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, Emily Davies, Dorothea Beale, and Francis Mary Buss presented a petition to Parliament asking that women be granted the franchise to vote.

1869

Harriet Martineau's BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Under new legislation intended to reduce the incidence of venereal disease in the armed forces, the police were subjecting to medical examination any female believed by them to be engaging in prostitution. Martineau attacked the Contagious Disease Act in the Daily News on the principle that legislation that applied only to women was inherently discriminatory and unfair.

1876

June 27, Tuesday: Harriet Martineau died of bronchitis.

1877

The Reverend Moncure Daniel Conway's THE SACRED ANTHOLOGY / (ORIENTAL) / A BOOK OF ETHNICAL SCRIPTURES / COLLECTED AND EDITED BY MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY.[8]

THE SACRED ANTHOLOGY

Also, his IDOLS AND IDEALS, WITH AN ESSAY ON CHRISTIANITY:[9]

IDOLS AND IDEALS

Harriet Martineau's HARRIET MARTINEAU'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY was published posthumously in an edition by Maria Weston Chapman. In these memoirs, Martineau had alleged that she had never met a (white) lady in the American southern states who had failed to speak of slavery as a sin, as a curse, as a blight on the lives of the white wives and mothers of the South. The evaluation which John d'Entremont has made of this is "One need not take Martineau's comment literally to take it seriously." The Reverend Conway had noted in 1864 that in the 1850s he had gradually become aware that his mother Margaret truly deplored the existence of human slavery: "Every Southern woman, God knows, has enough reason to hate it." In 1856 Margaret commented to her son "**I** am the greatest slave here." My own (Austin Meredith's) comment here would not be as accepting

8. Moncure Daniel Conway. THE SACRED ANTHOLOGY (ORIENTAL): *A BOOK OF ETHNICAL SCRIPTURES.* COLLECTED AND EDITED BY MONCURE D. CONWAY. 8vo, pp. 517. London: Trübner & Co., 1877. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

READ THE FULL TEXT

9. Moncure Daniel Conway. Idols AND IDEALS: WITH AN ESSAY ON CHRISTIANITY. 8vo, pp. 137. London: Trübner & Co., 1877. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

READ THE FULL TEXT

as d'Entremont's. It would seem to me that when such comments are made, it is not so very distant from the classic upper-crust lament "Oh, it's so hard to get good help nowadays." That is, the *geist* of such expression of dismay, how hard it is to be a master, how much these servants require of us, is a *geist* which is indeterminate and ambiguous, and which can go toward "I'm against slavery because it provides a means of sustenance for these inferior Negroes who are such a burden upon the back of the long-suffering, responsible white man" as readily as it can go toward "I'm against slavery because it is a degrading condition, perhaps for the master and certainly for the servant." Privileged people who bemoan their condition are merely disgusting, not enlightened. The ambiguity is in whether one will seek to abolish the institution, or seek to abolish the persons who have a tendency to fall victim to that institution. There is not the slightest incompatibility between racism and anti-slavery.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

"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: July 16, 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.

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.

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