ST. BERNARD'S PARISH OF CONCORD

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

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

"NARRATIVE HISTORY" AMOUNTS TO FABULATION, THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY

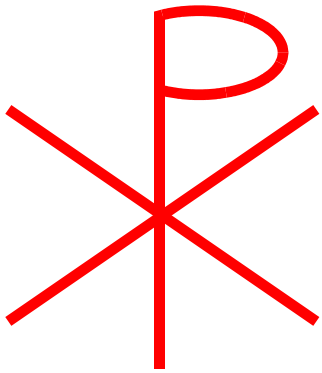
312 CE

October 28: Our favorite pushy people, the Romans, met at Augusta Taurinorum in northern Italy some even pushier people, to wit the legions of Constantine the Great — and the outcome of this would be an entirely new Pax Romana. While about to do battle against the legions of Maxentius which outnumbered his own 4 to 1, Constantine had a vision in which he saw a compound symbol ☧ (*chi* Χχ and *rho* Ρρ, the beginning of Χρεστος) appearing in the cloudy heavens,[1] and heard "Under this sign you will be victorious." He placed the symbol on his helmet and on the shields of his soldiers, and Maxentius's horse threw him into the water at Milvan (Mulvian) Bridge and the Roman commander was drowned (what more could one ask God for?).

1. In a timeframe in which no real distinction was being made between astrology and astronomy, you will note, seeing a sign like this in the heavens may be classed as astronomy quite as readily as it may be classed as astrology. Also, in a timeframe in which no real distinction was being made between God being on your side and you being on God's side, having this sort of belief system may be classed as theology quite as readily as it may be classed as superstition.

According to an account written by an Orthodox bishop named Eusebius during the 330s, the Eastern Roman Caesar Constantinus I converted to Christianity, his goal being to obtain magical power over his enemies. However, this account by Eusebius is of questionable veracity. The cross he describes sounds more like a Mithraic labarum than a Christian cross. Also, Constantinus did not ever convert the Roman Empire to Christianity but instead merely ended its persecution of heterodox religious cults. Subsequent churchly agitprop notwithstanding, Constantinus would not become a Christian before his deathbed in 337 — and then his conversion would be to Arian or Alexandrian Christianity rather than to what we would regard as orthodox Roman Catholicism.

"History teaches us that religion and patriotism have always gone hand in hand."
— General Douglas MacArthur



Thus began nominal Christianity, something that has been with us ever since. The back of this coin depicts two soldiers beside their standard — which utilizes the battle symbol in question.

Constantine, who had been born a bastard, would be able to enter Rome in triumph as the new Emperor. Sylvester I, who would be the Papa of Rome from 314 CE to 335 CE, would have no difficulty with the concept of a warrior coming to the Christian faith by slaughtering his enemies. So was to begin the fatal alliance between Caesar and Papa. Throne and Altar would become part of the orthodoxy of the Roman church establishment. As Emperor, Constantine would retain his other title, Pontifex Maximus, which is to say, head of the pagan state cult. However, confident that his victory at the bridge meant the Christian God was on his side, in Milan in the following year he would proclaim religious tolerance for everyone without distinction, thereby allowing the Christian Church and the Jewish Church to come out of the gloom of the catacombs into the full light of day. The tragedy is that this fundamental principle of religious tolerance would not be accepted by the Roman Catholic Church until the late 20th Century. He would opinion that even he himself had become something of a Christian (although this wouldn't prevent him from offing his second wife). Constantine allegedly would be baptized by a heretical Arian Papas named Eusebius just prior to his death. He saw the church merely as an instrument of political and cultural cohesion, a pillar of the Imperial structure he was building. The Emperor's actions represent the Roman obsession with order rather than any religious conviction. He would call the first Ecumenical Council in 325. He established the idea of a council of all Christian communities as the only way to formulate the faith incontestably and forever. It would be he who

would order that the Roman citizen Paul's letters and other manuscripts be compiled together into one book. It is noteworthy that some have considered this man to be "the thirtieth Apostle."

The coinage of the subsequent emperors would increasingly rely on this symbolism that had been pioneered by Constantine, and elaborate on it with **IN HOC SIGNO VINCES** — in the same devout spirit as during our civil war Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Portland Chase would order that we engrave **In God We Trust** on our sacred gold half-eagle, eagle, and double-eagle coins, and on our sacred silver dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar, and on our sacred nickel five-cent piece.[2] (No one whose opinion matters ever considers this sort of thing to be an act of cynicism — with the signal exception of President Theodore Roosevelt, whose opinion in the matter we have utterly ignored!)

"No matter how cynical you get,
it is impossible to keep up."
— Lily Tomlin

During this year at some point, the founder of the Exegetical School in Antioch, Lucian, who had revised the LXX, would be martyred.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT

2. Such bumper-sticker philosophy won't fit on our dime or penny coins, because they are too small to hold so many words.

604 CE

In Rome, Sabinian was pope.

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

606 CE

In Rome, Boniface III was the pope, to be succeeded in the following year by Boniface IV.

446 The Britons, now left to themselves, are greatly harassed by the Scots and Picts, upon which they once more make their complaint to the Romans, but receive no assistance from that quarter.

447 Attila (surnamed the Scourge of God) with his Huns, ravages the Roman empire.

449 Vortigern, king of the Britons, invites the Saxons into Britain against the Scots and Picts.

455 The Saxons having repulsed the Scots and Picts, invite over more of their countrymen, and begin to establish themselves in Kent, under Hengist.

476 The western empire is finished, 523 years after the battle of Pharsalia; upon the ruins of which several new states arise in Italy and other parts, consisting of Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other Barbarians, under whom literature is extinguished, and the works of the learned are destroyed.

496 Clovis, king of France, baptized, and Christianity begins in that kingdom.

508 Prince Arthur begins his reign over the Britons.

516 The computing of time by the Christian æra is introduced by Dionysius the monk.

529 The code of Justinian, the eastern emperor, is published.

581 Latin ceased to be spoken about this time in Italy.

596 Augustine the monk comes into England with forty monks.

606 Here begins the power of the popes, by the concessions of Phocas, emperor of the east.

622 Mahomet, the false prophet, flies from Mecca to Medina, in Arabia, in the 44th year of his age, and 10th of his ministry, when he laid the foundation of the Saracen empire; and from whom the Mahometan princes to this day claim their descent. His followers compute their time from this æra, which in Arabic is called Hegira, i. e. the Flight.

637 Jerusalem is taken by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet.

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

636 CE

The southern portion of the Irish Church submitted to Roman Catholicism.

IRELAND

At about this point the 81st chapter of a Sui Dynasty history called the Sui Shu mentioned the Eastern Barbarians, meaning Koreans, Japanese, and either the Taiwanese of the Okinawans. Regarding the Taiwanese or Okinawans, the chroniclers wrote, “There are villages here and there, each with a headman called wu-liao. Invariably a good fighter becomes the wu-liao and controls the village... There are knives, pikes, bows and arrows, and things like swords. There is little iron there, and their blades are all thin and small. Bone and horn are generally used, to make up [for the lack of iron]. For armor they use plaited hemp or the thin skins of bears or leopards... The people of this country like to attack one another. They are strong and robust, and they run well. They do not die easily and bear their wounds well. The various districts live unto themselves and do not succor one another. When two bands of fighters face each other, three to five brave men come forward and leap and dance about, yelling and hurling insults at each other. Then they fight, shooting arrows at each other. If neither side can vanquish the other, they all run away.” During the late 19th Century, European scholars would theorize that this passage had referred to Taiwan and after the Japanese occupied that island in 1895, this attitude would become the prevalent one in Japan (20th-Century Chinese scholars, on the other hand, would determine that this had been a reference to Okinawa, and most US scholars now accept the Chinese interpretation).

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

697 CE

Roman Catholic priests prohibited Irish women and children from appearing on contested battlefields. This instituted a considerable cultural change for, in pre-Christian times, Irish women and children had often accompanied their men into battle.

On the Italian peninsula, the Adriatic city-state of Venice declared independence from both Byzantium and Rome.

In this year and the following one, Saracens destroyed the Byzantine city of Carthage in North Africa, disrupting the Pax Romana (the new city of Tunis would begin nearby).

754 CE

The Frankish king Pepin began to march into Italy against the Lombards and Byzantines, and would by 756 CE have achieved control of the papal succession in Rome.

CATHOLICS

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE

800 CE

December 25, Christmas: Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Roman Empire of the West by Pope Leo III in St. Peter's Church, Rome. An enormously good time was had by all.

640 Alexandria in Egypt is taken by the Saracens, and the grand library there burnt by order of Omar, their caliph or prince.
653 The Saracens now extend their conquests on every side, and retaliate the barbarities of the Goths and Vandals upon their posterity.
664 Glass invented in England by Benalt, a monk.
685 The Britons after a brave struggle of near 150 years, are totally expelled by the Saxons, and driven into Wales and Cornwall.
713 The Saracens conquer Spain.
726 The controversy about images begins, and occasions many insurrections in the eastern empire.
748 The computing of years from the birth of Christ began to be used in history.
749 The race of Abbas became caliphs of the Saracens, and encourage learning.
762 The city of Bagdad upon the Tigris is made the capital for the caliphs of the house of Abbas.
800 Charlemagne, king of France, begins the empire of Germany, afterwards called the western empire; gives the present names to the winds and months; endeavours to restore learning in Europe; but mankind are not yet disposed for it, being solely engrossed in military enterprises.
826 Harold, king of Denmark, dethroned by his subjects, for being a Christian.
828 Egbert, king of Wessex, unites the Heptarchy, by the name of England.
836 The Flemings trade to Scotland for fish.
838 The Scots and Picts have a decisive battle, in which the former prevail, and both kingdoms are united by Kenneth, which begins the second period of Scottish history.
867 The Danes begin their ravages in England.
896 Alfred the Great, after subduing the Danish invaders (against whom he fought 56 battles by sea and land), composes his body of laws; divides England into counties, hundreds, and tithings; erects county courts, and founds the university of Oxford about this time.
915 The university of Cambridge founded.
936 The Saracen empire is divided by usurpation into seven kingdoms.
975 Pope Boniface VII. is deposed and banished for his crimes.
979 Coronation oaths said to be first used in England.
991 The figures in arithmetic are brought into Europe by the Saracens from Arabia. Letters of the alphabet were hitherto used.
996 Otho III. makes the empire of Germany elective.
999 Boleslaus, the first king of Poland.

On this auspicious occasion the emperor presented the pope with the authentic foreskin of Jesus Christ — what a singularly appropriate present for a pope! Although this object may have been given to Chuck as a wedding present by the Byzantine Empress Irene, the story he told was that it had been given to him by an angel, of

course while praying at the Holy Sepulchre. The pope would deposit this sacred piece of Jesus in the *Sanctum sanctorum* of the Lateran basilica in Rome (from which it would be looted during the Sack of Rome in 1527).

CATHOLICS

LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT'S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN'S STORIES.
LIFE ISN'T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.

1090 CE

St. Bernard of Clairvaux was born. He would be a Cistercian abbot and theologian of great devotion to the Blessed Mother.

CATHOLICS

During this year, into the following one, there would be yet another battle: at Constantinople the siege of the Byzantines under Patzinaks, disrupting the Pax Romana.

of the German bishops. Henry in penance walks barefooted to the pope, towards the end of January.

1076 Justices of Peace first appointed in England.

1080 Doomsday book began to be compiled by order of William, from a survey of all the estates in England, and finished in 1086.

The Tower of London built by William, to curb his English subjects, numbers of whom fly to Scotland, where they introduce the Saxon or English language; are protected by Malcolm, and have lands given them.

1091 The Saracens in Spain, being hard pressed by the Spaniards, call to their assistance Joseph, king of Morocco; by which the Moors get possession of all the Saracen dominions in Spain.

1096 The first crusade to the Holy Land is begun under several Christian princes, to drive the infidels from Jerusalem.

1110 Edgar Atheling, the last of the Saxon princes, dies in England, where he had been permitted to reside as a subject.

1118 The order of the Knights Templars instituted, to defend the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and protect Christian strangers.

1151 The canon law collected by Gratian, a monk of Bologna.

1163 London bridge, consisting of nineteen small arches, first built of stone.

1164 The Teutonic order of religious knights begins in Germany.

1172 Henry II. king of England (and first of the Plantagenets) takes possession of Ireland; which, from that period, has been governed by an English vice-roy, or lord-lieutenant.

1176 England is divided by Henry into six circuits, and justice is dispensed by itinerant judges.

1180 Glass windows began to be used in private houses in England.

1181 The laws of England are digested about this time by Glanville.

1182 Pope Alexander III. compelled the kings of England and France to hold the stirrups of his saddle when he mounted his horse.

1192 The battle of Ascalon, in Judea, in which Richard, king of England, defeats Saladin's army, consisting of 300,000 combatants.

1194 *Dieu et mon droit* first used as a motto by Richard, on a victory over the French.

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT

1153 CE

St. Bernard of Clairvaux died. One of his preserved sayings includes the words, “Jesus to me is honey in the mouth, music in the ear, a song in the heart” — thus his emblem would become the beehive.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT

1391

The pogroms against Jews in Spain led to the beginning of Marranism: For the sake of "social and sectarian uniformity," Spanish Jews were obliged to pretend to convert to Catholicism.

INQUISITION
ANTISEMITISM

June 4, Sunday (Old Style): At Seville, where the largest and most prosperous Jewish community in the kingdom of Castile was situated, Catholics set fire to the gates to the Jewish quarter and killed many of its inhabitants. Women and children would be sold into slavery in North Africa. Some infants were taken to baptismal fonts and adopted. In a few days, a similar antisemitic pogrom would begin at nearby Cordoa. This would prove to be a long hot summer of looting and slaughter, in Toledo, in Madrid, in Cuenca, in Valencia, and in Burgos. Jews would be fleeing from España toward Navarre to the north, toward Morocco to the south, and toward Portugal to the west. (This is now alleged by the historian Benzion Netanyahu to have been part of the complex social circumstances leading up to the Inquisition.)

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JUNE 4, 1391 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST). THE EVENTS OF THIS DAY HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE INQUISITION BECAUSE AT THIS POINT THE INQUISITION HAS NOT YET EMERGED AS A TOPIC FOR CONCERN. AT THIS POINT IT EXISTS MERELY AS A PORTION OF A PRE-EXISTING AGENDA, ANTI-SEMITISM.

July 9, Sunday (Old Style): Antisemitic rioting began among the Catholics of Valencia.

August 2, Wednesday (Old Style): Antisemitic rioting began among the Catholics on the island of Majorca. Soon such rioting would be beginning in Barcelona.

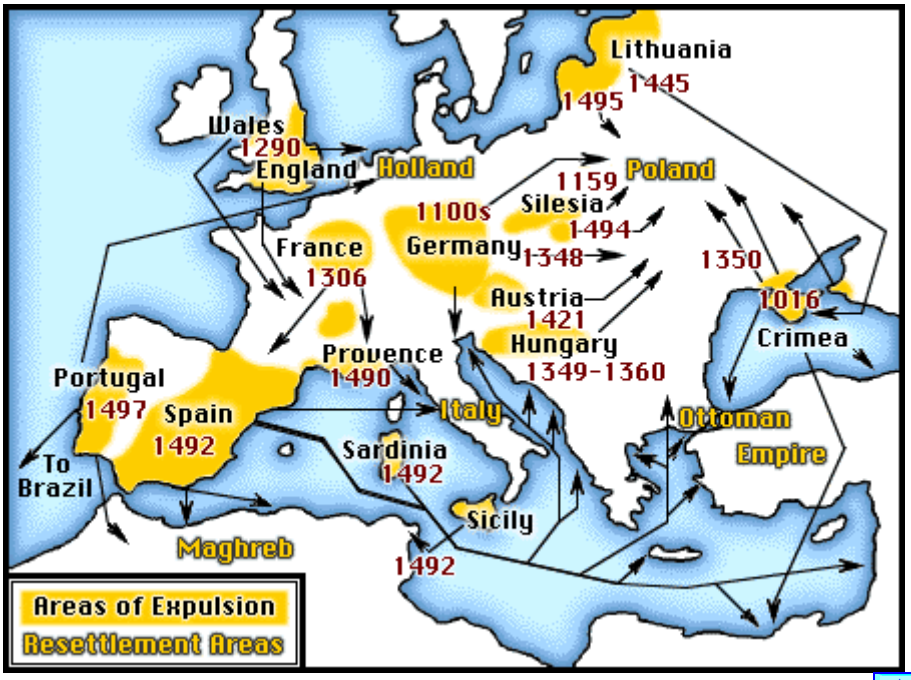
1492

By order of Inquisitor-General Torquemada, all Spanish Jews were allowed three months in which to embrace Catholicism — or leave the nation.

ANTISEMITISM

1497

Portuguese Jews (including Baruch Spinoza's ancestors) were forced to convert to Catholicism. A stream of refugees of course began to flow out of Portugal.



ANTISEMITISM

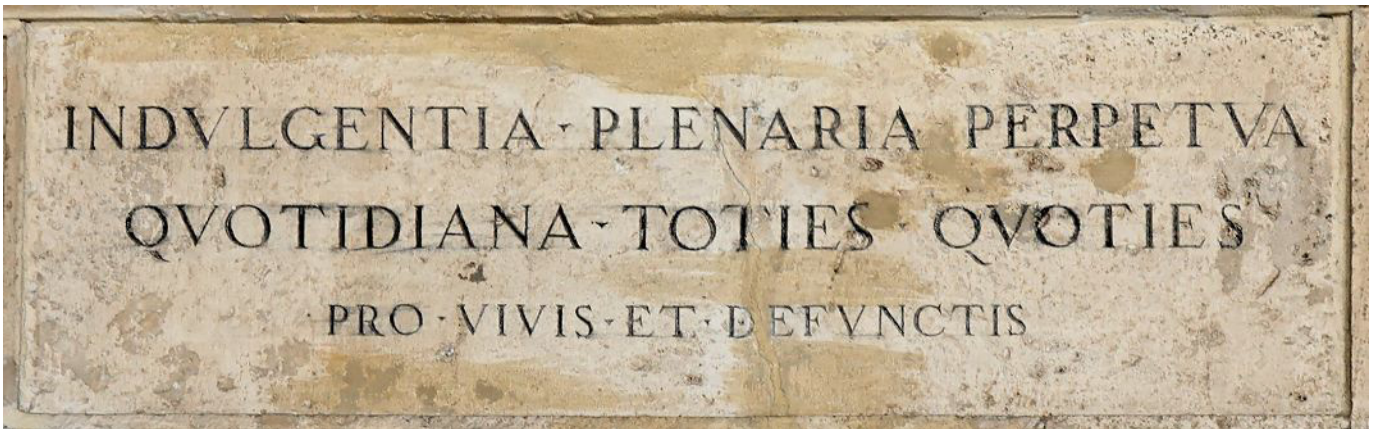
1505

July 17, Thursday (Old Style): Having sold most of his books except for Virgil and Plautus (presumably selling off even that copy of *CORPUS IURIS* which his father Hans Luder had presented to him upon his graduation), Martin Luder entered the house of Augustinian Hermits in Erfurt, called "Black Monastery" on account of the color of the monks' robes. His friends walked him to the door. Hans was going to be furious.

1506

Pope Julius II ordered the demolition of the old St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, originating in the 4th Century. He desired a new edifice designed by Donato Bramante, having atop it the largest all-stone dome in the world. Of course this all needed to be paid for, and construction would be going on into the Year of Our Lord 1612 — therefore Johann Tetzel, a Dominican monk, began to sell indulgences in Germany. (The 2d largest such dome is now atop the state edifice of Rhode Island in Providence and the 3d largest is atop the state edifice of Minnesota in the Twin Cities, but to the best of our knowledge neither this grand dome in Providence, Rhode Island nor this grand dome in St. Paul, Minnesota would be being paid for by the sale of "indulgences," which is to say, purchased forgivenesses for sin.)

Here is an actual inscription on a building in Rome erected with the proceeds from sale of such indulgences:



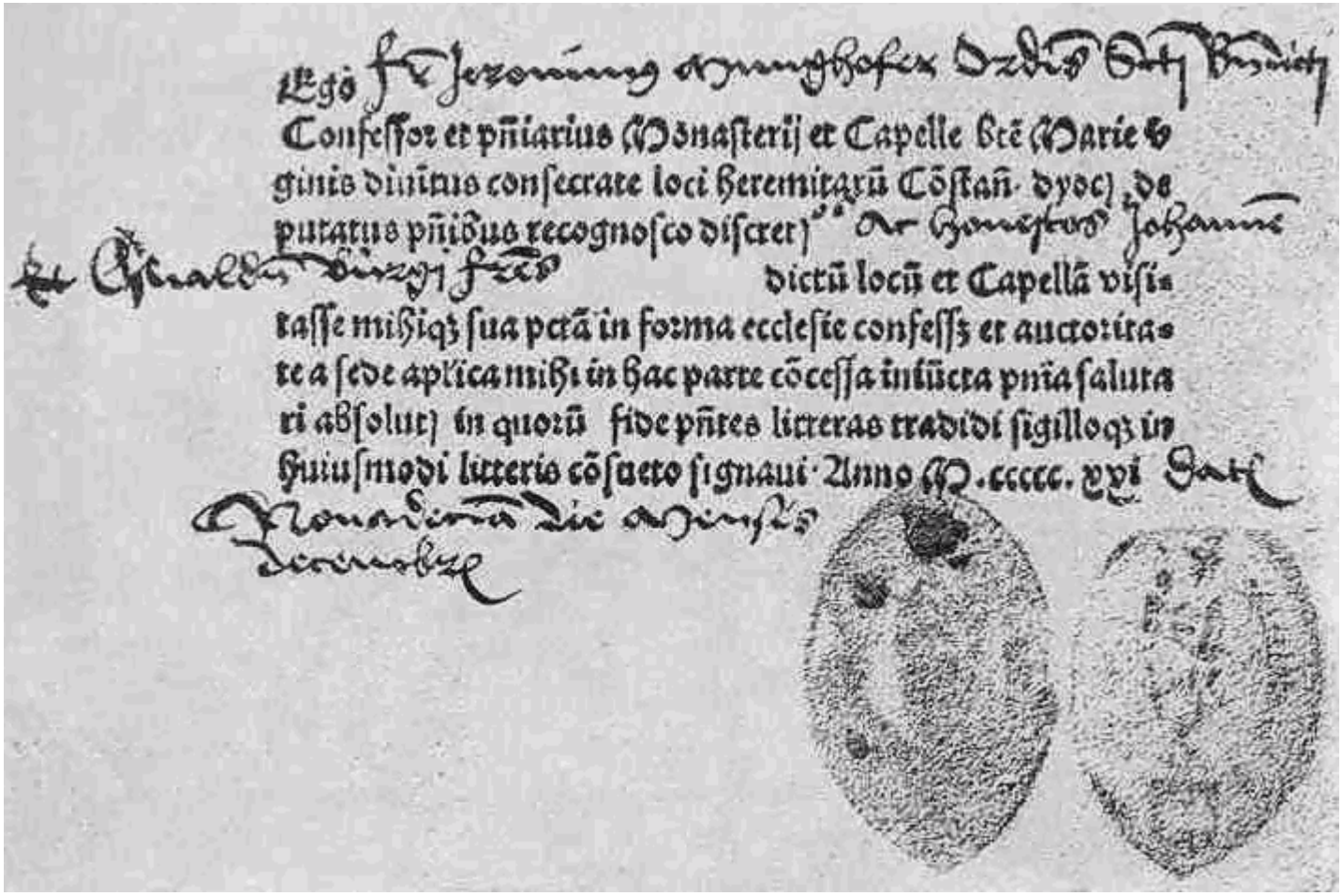
July: After an initial year of apprenticeship at Erfurt's Black Monastery, the house of the Augustinian Hermits, Martin Luder took monastic vows.

September: Martin Luder made his profession as an Augustinian monk and began to prepare himself for ordination as a Catholic priest.

1507

April 3, Saturday (Old Style): In Germany, 23-year-old Martin Luder was ordained as a Catholic priest — but in this year, coincidentally, in Rome, Pope Julius II was proclaiming an indulgence for any sinner who would aid in the rebuilding of the Basilica of St. Peter's (a certain number of stones for a certain number of sins, hot damn).

Here is an actual indulgence document, bought and paid for:



May 2, Sunday (Old Style): Father Martin Luder, studying theology at the University of Erfurt, was permitted to celebrate his 1st Catholic mass. His father Hans Luder and a group of his father's friends were in attendance. The ritual was to position oneself face down on the floor, then rise to one's knees. Church officials would place their hands on the initiate's head and speak the words of ordination. The new priest would then proceed behind the altar for the 1st time, and offer the ceremony of the Mass. Although the words were of course very familiar, Martin stumbled, thinking that a person such as himself had no business speaking such sacred text.[3] After the ritual Hans unhelpfully blurted out "I hope it was God and not the devil that called you." The father continued to reproach the son for not having made of himself something respectable and worthwhile, such as a lawyer: "Did you not read in Scripture that one shall honor one's father and mother?"

3. Martin was subject to lifelong health afflictions. The list of potential subsequent medical diagnoses includes but is not limited to varicose ulcer, angina pectoris with anxiety, obesity, hypertension arterialis, Ménière's disease with vertigo, tinnitus and fainting fits, gastralgia, constipation with anal ulcers and hemorrhoids with bleeding, urolithiasis, arthritis urica, Roemheld's syndrome, and cataract in one eye. His personality type was manic-depressive with a tendency to emotional lability — it is not marvelous that a person of such affliction would urge religious reformation.

"If anything ail a man," says Thoreau, "so that he does not perform his functions, if he has a pain in his bowels even ... he forthwith sets about reforming – the world."

– Eric Hoffer, THE TRUE BELIEVER, 1951

1510

Pope Julius II absolved Venice.

Leonardo da Vinci designed a horizontal water wheel (we now call this device a turbine).

During this year and the following one there would be a hiatus in Michelangelo's painting of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, due to the Vatican having stopped paying its bills. Hey, guys, I don't do this sort of thingie for free.

During November of this year, Father Martin Luder would be chosen to journey with another monk to Rome to present the appeal of some dissident German houses of the Augustinians. He would ascended on his knees the steps of the Scala Santa, said to have been transported from Pontius Pilate's judgment hall in Jerusalem, saying an "Our Father" on each step to free his grandfather from purgatory. This Catholic priest would be shocked, just shocked, at the worldly goings-on he would see going on at Vatican City. Upon return he would become a loyal supporter of Johann von Staupitz, vicar general of the order, who seems to have been theologically trained as a Thomist (Realist) and under the influence of the Augustinian tradition of his order, though his theology shows elements derived from a conflation of German mysticism with the *devotio moderna* of the Brethren of the Common Life.

1514

Pope Leo X issued a bull denouncing slavery and the slave trade.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

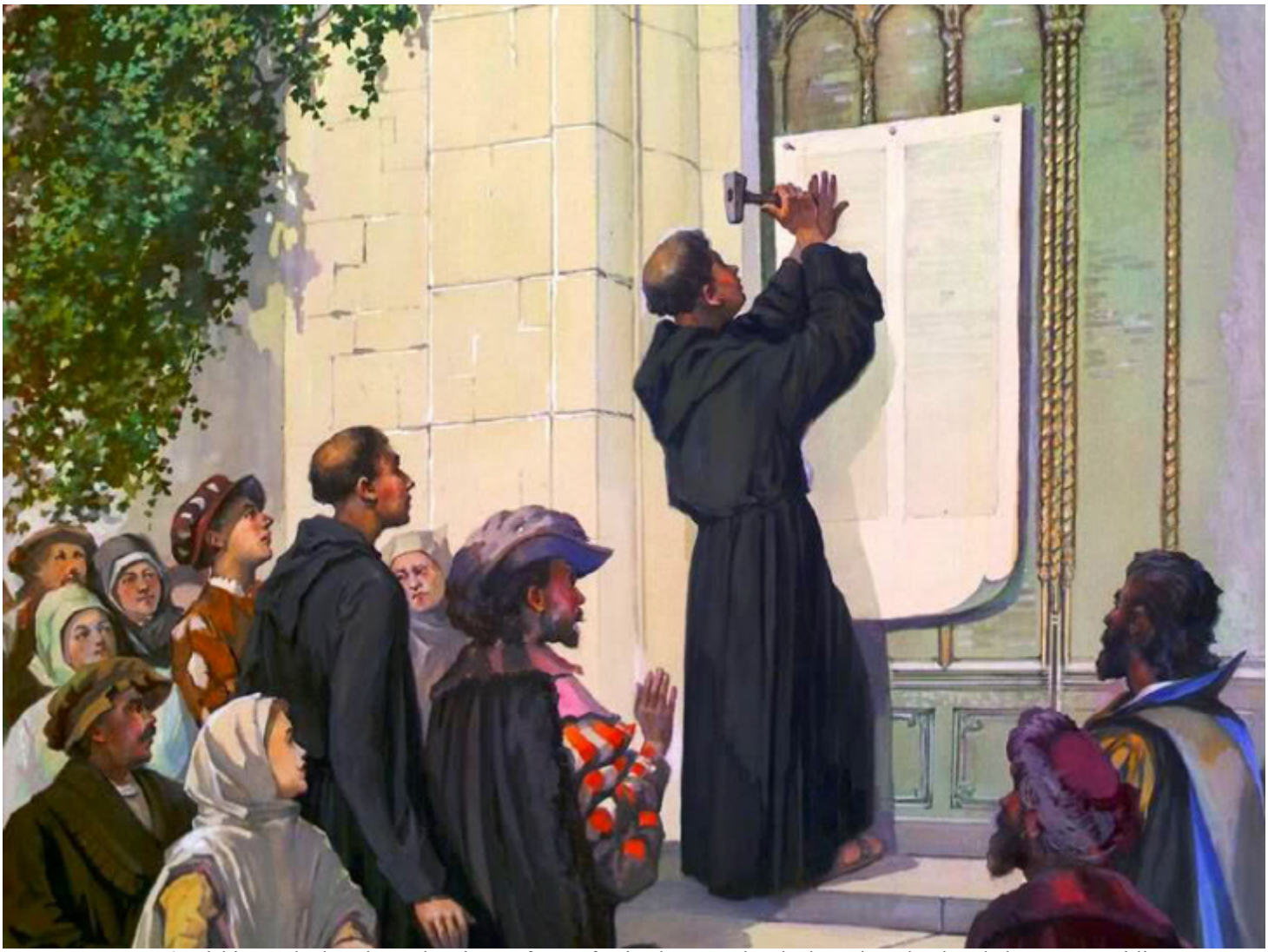
When King Manuel I of Portugal enhanced the menagerie of animals enslaved by the Pope through the gift of an Indian elephant, fascinated crowds of locals trailed after this lumbering monster during the entire length of its journey along the Italian peninsula.

At the age of 30, in addition to his university professorship, the Reverend Martin Luder became the Catholic priest for Wittenberg's city church of St. Mary, named for Mary Magdalene, the *Stadtkirche St. Marien*.

THE SCIENCE OF 1514

1517

October 31, Saturday (Old Style): In Wittenberg, Martin Luther instigated the Protestant Reformation by proclaiming 95 theses (objections to Catholic practices such as Johannes Tetzel's promiscuous vending of indulgences), by nailing his document to the door of Castle Church.



(Parishioners had not been showing up for confession because they had purchased a church document entitling them to commit sins. The church door was at that point functioning as a sort of community bulletin board, and the professor had entitled his document "Disputation of Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences." He might as well have entitled it "You're Not Getting Away With Anything.")

The Reverend didn't just tack this up in Latin on the local bulletin board. He also offered a German translation

to a printer in Wittenberg who would in the course of a couple of weeks spread it throughout the region, plus, he posted a copy to Bishop Schulze of Brandenburg and Albrecht, the new Archbishop of Mainz — who would, and this goes without saying, forward the document to the authorities in Rome.

November 1, Sunday (Old Style): It was All Saints Day, the big day of the year for All Saints Church, the church of the Catholic priest Martin Luther — and, as his German parishioners flocked in that morning, those who could understand Latin were able to read his Thesis 32 posted there, a thesis that directly pertained to the fate of the eternal souls of some of them: "Those who believe that they can be certain of their salvation because they have indulgence letters will be eternally damned, together with their teachers."

December: Johannes Tetzel published 106 theses in defense of the papacy, categorizing Herr Professor Martin Luther as an enemy of the Church (in the preparation of this document, he had the assistance of friends in the Dominican Order).

1518

August: Wittenberg University added seven chairs to its faculty. The chair in Greek went to 21-year-old Philipp Schwartzerdt (known to us by the Greek version of his family name, "Melanchthon"), who would become Herr Professor Martin Luther's close friend and collaborator.

August 5, Thursday (Old Style): Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I denounced Herr Professor Martin Luther as a heretic.

August 7, Saturday (Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther was summoned to appear before a tribunal in Rome within 60 days, to respond to the charges against him.

August 23, Monday (Old Style): Pope Leo X declared Martin Luther a heretic to Catholicism and dispatched a representative, Thomas Cardinal Cajetan, to confront the professor at the governing council (Diet) at Augsburg in southwestern Germany and demand retraction of all his condemnations of indulgences.

October 12, Tuesday (Old Style): Pope Leo X's representative Thomas Cardinal Cajetan met with Martin Luther in Augsburg and the professor began with a display of apparent respect (actually, he regarded the Cardinal as "evasive, obscure and unintelligible," no more fit to handle such an issue than an ass to play upon a harp). When the cardinal spoke of the pope as the commander in chief, above everyone else in the Holy Roman Catholic Church, Luther pointed out that such might be the case, but nevertheless His Holiness was not "above Scripture." This went on in the course of several meetings on several days. Finally, on the 3d day of this discussion, when the cardinal demanded that Luther speak the word "Revoco," "I recant," Luther declined and the meetings were over.

October 20, Wednesday (Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther was warned that Thomas Cardinal Cajetan was planning to have him arrested. The gates of this walled city of Augsburg were of course being guarded but with a little help from his friends, the professor was able to escape readily enough.

October 31, Sunday (Old Style): On the anniversary of the posting of the 95 Theses at the door of his church in Wittenberg, Herr Professor Martin Luther returned home a hunted man and solicited the protection of Elector Frederick III the Wise of Saxony. He would dispatch a letter to Pope Leo X, alleging that his treatment by Thomas Cardinal Cajetan had been unfair and offering to recant if his errors could be contradicted on the basis of Holy Scripture.

November 9, Tuesday (Old Style): Pope Leo X issued *Cum Postquam* ("When After," the initial two words of the document) stating the church's doctrine of indulgences. This bull directly contradicted the position taken by Herr Professor Martin Luther.[4]

4. These documents were referred to as bulls because they bore the red seal of authenticity known as the *bulla*.

1520

October 6, Saturday (Old Style): The 2d of Herr Professor Martin Luther's three major 1520 publications, THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY FOR THE CHURCH, likened the captivity of the Holy Roman Catholic Church by the Bishop of Rome to the captivity of the Jews in Babylon in 597 BCE. Luther declared the Pope to be the Antichrist. He criticized the denial of the bread/body and wine/body of Christ to the people, attacked the Mass as a sacrifice, and attacked the development of the church's seven (as opposed to the Biblical two) sacraments.

October 10, Wednesday (Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther received the papal bull *EXSURGE DOMINE* "Arise O Lord" (most likely he had known of it since late September).

Mid-October: At the University of Erfurt, when students ripped up a copy of the papal bull *EXSURGE DOMINE* "Arise O Lord" and cast the shreds into the Elbe River, the university officials took no action.

November 12, Monday (Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther's books were burned in Cologne (burning of his books in other cities would follow shortly).

November 20, Tuesday (Old Style): The 3d of Herr Professor Martin Luther's major 1520 writings, FREEDOM OF THE CHRISTIAN MAN: "A Christian is a free lord, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant, subject to all.... We are justified [made right with God] by faith alone; salvation cannot be earned by good works. Good works follow from that faith. The tree bears fruit, the fruit does not bear the tree." Luther attached a copy of this to an open letter of explanation to Pope Leo X, to the effect that this wasn't personal, that he wasn't attacking Leo himself as a person but instead the office he held, the Pontiff's chair in which he sat, his Papacy. It's not you, Sire, it's your hat, and that white horse you rode in on: "I understand that I am accused of great rashness, and that this rashness is said to be my great fault, in which, they say, I have not spared even your person. For my part, I will openly confess that I know I have only spoken good and honorable things of you whenever I have made mention of your name.... I have truly despised your see, which is called the court of Rome. Neither you nor anyone else can deny that it is more corrupt than any Babylon or Sodom ever was. As far as I can see, it is marked a completely depraved, hopeless, and notorious godlessness.... You would all perish by poison, before you could undertake to decide on a remedy. It is all over with the Court of Rome; the wrath of God has come upon her to the uttermost. She hates councils, she dreads to be reformed...."

December 10, Monday (Old Style): It was exactly 60 days since Herr Professor Martin Luther had accepted delivery of his personal copy of the papal bull *EXSURGE DOMINE* "Arise O Lord" (which had given him 60 days to recant or be excommunicated from Catholicism and declared a heretic). His books were being burned in Cologne and elsewhere across Germany. So as not to be outdone in the burning of books, he and a group of his students publicly made a bonfire of books of church law and books written by his enemies outside Wittenberg's Elster Gate, and cast into these flames his personal copy of the bull. Work of the Antichrist, perish in flames!

1521

May 25, Saturday (Old Style): The "Edict of Worms" declared Herr Professor Martin Luther to be a devil in monk's clothing, whose agenda was to destroy the sacraments and encourage war, murder, robbery and what have you. The Catholic document promised "Those who will help in his capture will be rewarded generously for their good work."[5]

June: In Wittenberg, Andreas Karlstadt and the ex-Augustinian Gabriel Zwilling were embarking on an substantial agenda of church reform. They attacked the standing Catholic practice that although priests, monks, and nuns need not be chaste (unless they had indeed taken such an additional, unusual vow of chastity), nevertheless they might never marry. To probe the point Karlstadt himself got married with a 15-year-old — other German monks would of course be rushing the exit doors of their monasteries in order to mimic such an example. Hoo-hah! Karlstadt simplified the mass or communion service, remaining attired in his simple black robe rather than donning the usual rich and colorful vestments, distributing both wine/blood and bread/flesh to the people and discontinuing the requirement that they fast and go to confession before receiving the Sacrament. He was physically overturning altars and destroying images and pictures of the saints.

5. Typically, any Catholic who managed to kill off a Cathar was allowed to seize and keep all that heretic's property — so this wasn't just hype, we are indeed talking goodies here.

1523

Sir Thomas More was elected Speaker of the House of Commons. He would help establish a parliamentary right to freedom of speech within that chamber. During this year he was writing his *RESPONSIO AD LUTHERUM*.

1524

The Reverend Huldrych Zwingli abolished Catholic Mass in Zürich.

The Protestant princes who were opposed to the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor Charles V met at Ulm. There was a Peasant's Revolt in southwestern Germany under the leadership of Thomas "Show No Pity" Münzer, Florian Geyer, and Michael Gaismar. Peasants initiated tax revolts in Swabia and Franconia. The Spanish responded by sending their army into Germany. As the German peasants were Lutheran and the Spanish soldiers were Catholic, the Spanish would be able to justify the resultant genocide as holy war.

Although the 3d Imperial Diet of Nuremberg renewed its banishment of Herr Professor Martin Luther, he was becoming so popular that arrest was unlikely. He urged councilmen in all German cities to establish and maintain schools: "A town does not thrive in that it accumulates immense treasures, builds sturdy walls, nice houses, many muskets and suits of armor alone. On the contrary, a town's best and most prosperous progress, welfare and strength, comes from having many excellent, educated, decent, honest and well brought-up citizens." With the assistance of Johann Walther a hymn book for church use, *WITTENBERG GESANGBUCH*, came into existence. Luther adapted some of the words and tunes of popular music. He prepared an *ERFURTER ENCHIRIDION* of 26 hymns — between 1524 and 1545 he would compose and compile nine hymnals for homes and schools as well as churches. "I truly desire that all Christians would love and regard as worthy the lovely gift of music, which is a precious, worthy and costly treasure given to mankind by God." He began two years of argument with Desiderius Erasmus that would create bad feelings and a minor split with humanists who to this point had been welcoming the professor's progressive ideas.

1527

This was a poor harvest year in Europe.

The first Protestant University was founded in Marburg.

German mercenary soldiers, troops in the pay of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, put Rome to fire and sword, killing 4,000 of its inhabitants and looting its art treasures — well, so much for the Renaissance. The Swiss guards transferred Pope Clement VII to safe custody at the Castel Sant'Angelo, with in the process 147 of them losing their lives. Benvenuto Cellini, participating in the unsuccessful defense of the city, at one point –if we are to take his word for it– slew the Constable of Bourbon and at another point slew the Prince of Orange, Philibert — he was, it seems, quite the slewer.

King Charles V himself also was slewed during this Roman holiday event. Also, the authentic foreskin of Jesus Christ, which had been passed along to the pope by the emperor Charlemagne upon the occasion of his coronation on Christmas Day, 800 CE, was taken by a German soldier from the *Sanctum sanctorum* of the Lateran basilica in Rome, in its jeweled reliquary. That soldier would soon be captured in the village of Calcata, just a day or two's travel north of Rome, and taken into confinement, and would hide the precious object in his cell for the following three decades, until it would be discovered there in 1557 and taken to the local church.

CATHOLICS

With the sack of Rome, Pope Clement was put to ignominious flight — and so Florence revolted against the Medici and restored its traditional republic. The Medici were expelled. The left arm of Michelangelo's "David" was struck with a bench during a riot, and broken into three pieces (it would be reattached but the seams still show).

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

Michelangelo completed the marble interior of the Medici family chapel devoted to the memory of their dear departed youths Giuliano and Lorenzo.

This was a fateful year for Anglican religion — King Henry VIII began the divorce proceedings against his wife Queen Consort Catherine of Aragón which would radically divorce London from Rome.

In London, Boccaccio's THE FALL OF PRINCES, PRINCESSES, AND OTHER NOBLES was translated by John Lydgate and printed by Richard Pynson who, in addition to William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde, was among the 1st to bring printing to the British Isles. He had been Printer to the King since 1508 and would continue in that capacity until 1529. He was still using black-letter face, though this had long since been abandoned in Italy and elsewhere on the Continent.

HISTORY OF THE PRESS

1529

Alto, tenor, and bass versions of the "descant," a flute, were being pioneered.

In the 1st Swiss *Kappelerkriege*, or civil war of religion, Lucerne led the Catholic faction.

CHRIST ON THE CROSSBOW

February 21, Sunday (1528, Old Style): The 2d Diet of Speyer, Germany began (it would continue through April 22d). This would set aside the 1st Diet's judgment in something the Catholics would regard as a fair compromise, but the Lutheran princes would come to consider that "Christ was again in the hands of Caiaphas and Pontius Pilate" (they would resist the decree by issuing a document that, because it began with "We protest...," would initiate the terms "Protestant" and "Protestantism" that would come to be applied somewhat more broadly than "Lutheran").

1530

Philipp Melanchthon's *APOLOGIA*.

King Francis I got married with Eleanor of Portugal, widow of Manuel I and sister of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

Holy Roman Emperor Charles V reestablished the Knights of St. John in Malta.

At Bologna, Charles V was crowned Holy Roman Emperor and King of Italy by Pope Clement VII (no-one knew it at the time, but this was to be the last imperial coronation conducted by a pope).

In an effort to restore church unity and rally support against a Turkish invasion, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V called on the German Princes to explain their religious convictions at a 2d Diet of Augsburg. Herr Professor Martin Luther and his fellow reformers had already discussed a confession of faith that might be presented at the Diet and agreed upon part of its contents, as prepared by Melanchthon, though its final form had not been determined.

The Confession was signed by the German Protestant princes. They formed the Schamalkaldic League against Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and his Catholic allies.

April 16, Saturday (Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther and his family arrived at the Coburg Castle in Germany in which they were to reside for the course of the imperial Catholic Diet of Augsburg. Since officially the Professor remained under the ban of the Empire it would not be possible for him to appear at the official meeting four days' journey away, but this castle would be convenient for hearing periodic updates by Philipp Melanchthon and other Lutheran participants. (The Professor's 5 months at Coburg Castle are in strikingly parallel with his 11 months at the Wartburg, except that at the Wartburg he had been alone).

May 1, Sunday (Old Style): At Coburg Castle, Herr Professor Martin Luther was informed that his father Hans Luder had died. "This death has certainly thrown me into sadness, thinking not only of nature, but also of the very kind love, for through him my Creator has given me all that I am and have."

June 20, Monday (Old Style): The initial meeting of the imperial Catholic Diet of Augsburg, Germany.

June 25, Saturday (Old Style): Presentation of the Augsburg Confession. The Diet of Augsburg, Germany was adjourned to a smaller venue to reduce the size of the crowd and perhaps prevent a riot. Since the day was hot, the windows were open. A reader was chosen who could speak loudly enough to enable those gathering around the building to hear. The Augsburg Confession written by Philipp Melanchthon and approved by Herr Professor Martin Luther was read before the imperial Catholic diet. It was a moderate Lutheran confession of faith divided into 28 articles. Perhaps it was the heat, maybe the length of the reading, but Holy Roman Emperor Charles V fell asleep and perhaps missed the following:

- For Lutherans the good deeds of good Christians follow out of their faith and salvation, rather than being a price they must pay to acquire faith and salvation.
- For Lutherans there is one holy Christian church, which appears wherever the gospel is preached in its truth and purity and sacraments are administered in accordance with the gospel.
- The Word and the Sacraments as instituted by Christ are always everywhere valid and available.
- Rather than being a requirement for our salvation, faith induces us to perform the sort of good works that testify to the fact that we have been redeemed.

Over the following three months Catholic theologians would be creating the *CONFUTATIO PONTIFICIA* stating their institution's position on the 28 articles of the Protestant Confession. The initial draft by Johann Eck would be so wordy and sound so "vicious" that the Catholic princes would decline to submit it to emperor Holy Roman Emperor Charles V until it had been very much toned in the process of being edited and then re-edited.

- Their Confession in the 6th article that faith should bring forth good fruits is acceptable and valid. But in the same article their ascription of justification to faith alone is diametrically opposite the truth of the Gospel, by which works are not excluded.
- The 7th article of the Confession ... that the church is the congregation of saints ... is in no way accepted.

November 19, Saturday (Old Style): The Diet of Augsburg ended without a compromise, so Holy Roman Emperor Charles V reinstated the Edict of Worms which condemned Lutheranism and outlawed those who advocated it. If the German reformers failed to pledge that they would return to Catholic practices, the deadline being arbitrarily April 15th, 1531 — they would be compelled by military force.

1531

The 2d *Kappelerkriege*, or civil war of religion between Protestant Zürich and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland led by Lucerne. The Reverend Zwingli and the father of Conrad Gesner were killed at the Battle of Kappel. The Forest Cantons were defeated.

King Henry VIII was approved by the Parliament as the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

The Catholic Inquisition began in Portugal.

At the age of 47, Herr Professor Martin Luther wrote WARNING TO MY BELOVED GERMANS, explaining that whether or not to offer armed resistance to the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor was a decision to be left to wisdom of their local Protestant lords.

February 27, Monday (1530, Old Style): The Schmalkaldic League was established in Germany by Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse, and John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony, the two most powerful Protestant rulers at the time. This originated as a defensive alliance, the members being pledged to defend each other should their territories be attacked by the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Since breaking from the Holy Roman Catholic Church offered such significant economic advantages, this would quickly transform itself into a territorial political movement.

June 30, Friday (Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther's mother Margarethe Luder died.

1534

Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus with the purpose of preaching and winning over new converts to Catholicism. The "Jesuits" would dedicate themselves to teaching, and stress the importance of obedience to the Pope in Rome.

At the age of 50, after 12 years of labor, Herr Professor Martin Luther completed his project of translating the BIBLE by publishing a vernacular German translation of the OLD TESTAMENT in a 6-part edition. "There are some who have a small opinion of the OLD TESTAMENT, thinking of it as a book that was given to the Jewish people only — but Christ says, 'Search in the scriptures, for they give testimony of me'... therefore the Old Testament is to be highly regarded." This had been a collaborative effort, with Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558), Justus Jonas (1493-1555), Caspar Creuziger (1504-1548), Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), Professor of Hebrew Matthäus Aurogallus (1490-1543), and Georg Roerer (1492-1557). In the process they in effect

codified the modern German language.[6]

HISTORY OF THE BIBLE

The initial printing of 3,000 would sell out within three months. Before Luther would die Hans Lufft of Wittenberg, whose printing press was set up in the basement of the Luther domicile, would put out 13 editions, and 253 editions would be being published outside Wittenberg (with no copyright laws, there could of course be no royalties). A completely revised edition would appear in 1541.[7] The illustrations in some copies would later be hand-colored.

In about this year, in a painting called "Furious Gretel," Pieter Brueghel the Elder showed an armed and armored housewife striding past the gates of Hell with a sword in one hand and a shopping basket in the other.

6. Presumably, once the Jewish books of the OLD TESTAMENT had been rendered into German the original texts in Hebrew and Greek were superfluous — for in 1543 we will find Luther urging that all Jewish books, including Jewish books such as their BIBLE, ought to be burned as part of the process of reducing all German Jews who resisted conversion to Protestant Christianity to being merely members of a degraded agricultural labor force.

7. In contrast with the attitude that translation amounts to a betrayal, Luther's insistence in regard to his translations of Holy Scripture was that of Psalm 12:6-7, to wit, that each fresh translation amounted to a "purification" of these texts's meanings. Materials presented in Hebrew had been purified when rendered into Aramaic, the Aramaic version had been purified when rendered into Greek, the Greek version had been purified when rendered into Old Syriac, the Old Syriac version had been purified when rendered into Old Latin, the Old Latin version had been purified when rendered by Ulfias into Gothic, and finally he had himself purified these sacred texts while rendering them into High German. Likewise, in each successive new printing/version, the NEW TESTAMENT as presented on September 1, 1522, and then the NEW TESTAMENT of December 1522, and then this OLD TESTAMENT AND NEW TESTAMENT of 1534, and then the BIBLE of 1535, the BIBLE of 1536, and finally the BIBLE of 1545 a year before his death, the teachings of God had become more and more clarified and understood.

His allusion was to a Dutch story about a wife so fierce that she could safely plunder the mouth of Hell.

1500 Maximilian divides the empire of Germany into six circles, and adds four more in 1512.
1505 Shillings first coined in England.
1509 Gardening introduced into England from the Netherlands, from whence vegetables were imported hitherto.
1513 The battle of Flodden, in which James IV. of Scotland is killed, with the flower of his nobility.
1517 Martin Luther began the reformation.
Egypt is conquered by the Turks.
1518 Magellan, in the service of Spain, first discovers the straits of that name in South America.
1520 Henry VIII. for his writings in favour of popery, receives the title of Defender of the Faith from his Holiness.
1529 The name of Protestant takes its rise from the reformed protesting against the church of Rome, at the Diet of Spires in Germany.
1534 The reformation takes place in England under Henry VIII.
1537 Religious houses dissolved by ditto.
1539 The first English edition of the Bible authorized; the present translation finished 1611.
About this time cannon began to be used in ships.
1543 Silk stockings first worn by the French king; first worn in England by queen Elizabeth, 1561; the steel frame for weaving invented by the Rev. Mr. Lee, of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1589.
Pins first used in England, before which time the ladies used skewers.
1544 Good lands let in England at one shilling per acre.
1545 The famous council of Trent begins, and continues 18 years.
1546 First law in England, establishing the interest of money at ten per cent.
1549 Lord Lieutenants of counties instituted in England.
1550 Horse guards instituted in England.
1555 The Russian Company established in England.
1558 Queen Elizabeth begins her reign.
1560 The reformation in Scotland completed by John Knox.

May 4, Monday (Old Style): The English Catholics Father John Houghton, Prior of the London Charterhouse,[8] John Haile, Vicar of Isleworth, Richard Reynolds, Prior of Sion Hospital, Augustine Webster, Prior of Axholme, and Robert Lawrence, Prior of Belval, having refused to acknowledge the new supremacy of King Henry VIII over the church in England, were escorted from the Tower of London to Tyburn and there hanged, cut down while still alive, disemboweled, beheaded, and quartered. While being disemboweled Father John was heard to remark "And what wilt thou do with my heart, O Christ?" The pieces of his body would be put on display around London to encourage the people in their faith. (In 1970 these five would be canonized by the Catholic Church.)

HEADCHOPPING

8. John Houghton had graduated from Cambridge with degrees in civil and canon law and then served as a parish priest for four years. He had taken vows as a Carthusian monk and had become the Prior of the Beauvale Carthusian Charterhouse in Northampton. He had been imprisoned with Humphrey Middlemore. When the Oath of Acknowledgement of Supremacy was modified to include the phrase "in so far as the law of God permits," John felt he could be loyal to both Church and Crown, and he and several of his monks had swallowed their misgivings and signed the qualified oath. Father John was released, and a few days later troops arrived at his London Chapterhouse to obtain the signatures of the remaining monks to this qualified oath. Later, however, Parliament had rejected this escape clause and had insisted upon the original wording of the oath, to which assent could not be given.

Famous Last Words:

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

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

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

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

399 BCE	Socrates	drinking the hemlock	*"Crito, I owe a cock to Æsclepius."*
27 CE	Jesus	being crucified	*"It is finished."* [John 19:30]
1415	John Huss	being burned at the stake	*"O, holy simplicity!"*
May 30, 1431	Joan of Arc	being burned at the stake	*"Hold the cross high so I may see it through the flames."*
May 4, 1534	Father John Houghton	as he was being disemboweled	*"And what wilt thou do with my heart, O Christ?"*
July 6, 1535	Sir Thomas More	being beheaded	*"The King's good servant, but God's First."*
1536	Anne Boleyn	being beheaded	*"Oh God, have pity on my soul."*
February 18, 1546	Martin Luther	found on his chamber table	*"We are beggars: this is true."*
July 16, 1546	Anne Askew	being burned at the stake	*"There he misseth, and speaketh without the book"*
... other famous last words ...			

1535

July 6, Tuesday (Old Style): Sir Thomas More was taken from the Tower of London and beheaded on Tower Hill. (He would be canonized by the Catholic Church in 1935.) His comment at the block was along the lines of Thoreauvian civil disobedience:

LONDON
HEADCHOPPING

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December: The Schmalkaldic League became willing to admit any German political entity that could subscribe to the Augsburg Confession.

1537

Pope Paul III issued the bull *Sublimus Deus* which declared that the inhabitants of the New World were not to be considered to be mere “dumb brutes created for our service.” Rather they were to be treated as “truly men ... capable of understanding the Catholic faith.” They were not to be enslaved “in any way.”

1538

In Germany, Herr Professor Martin Luther's always precarious health was deteriorating. Not only was he suffering from "the stone" (kidneystones), but also his arthritis was acting up, he had heart problems, and there were of course his perennial digestive disorders. The outpouring of his writing was in decline.

In Switzerland, Geneva repudiated the Reverend John Calvin.

In France, the Catholic monarch François I ordered renewed pursuit of Protestants.

Pope Paul III signed and sealed the 2d and final excommunication of King Henry VIII of England. "What I tell you twice is true."

1541

The leadership of the Reverend John Calvin in Geneva, Switzerland began at this point and would continue until 1564.

In Germany, Herr Professor Martin Luther wrote the hymn "Lord Keep us Steadfast in Thy Word." His health was particularly bad, as an ulcer on his leg had reopened and he was suffering from throat and ear infections, as well as experiencing continuing problems with kidneystones, arthritis, heart difficulties — and of course digestive disorders. The Professor's writing was on occasion becoming even pushily vulgar.

Conrad Gesner took the degree of doctor of medicine at Basel. Dr. Conradus Gesnerus would establish a medical practice in Zürich, meanwhile lecturing in physics at the Carolinum (precursor of the University of Zürich). This year saw the publication of his *ENCHIRIDION HISTORIAE PLANTARUM.* In the prefix to his *LIBELLUS DE LACTE ET OPERIBUS LACTARIIS,* Gesner described for the benefit of a friend, J. Vogel of Glarus, the wonders to be found among the mountains, below the snow line. The author declared an intention to climb at least one mountain per summer, not only to collect botanical specimens but also for bodily exercise.

King Henry VIII had himself declared, by the English barons living on their estates in Ireland, as the King of Ireland rather than merely their feudal lord. Anointing himself as the head of the Church of Ireland, in this year he would demand that the Irish renounce their Catholicism.

Let's do it my way.

1542

Under King Henry VIII a statute provided the death penalty for "invoking or conjuring an evil spirit" (King Edward VI, his son and heir, being of sounder mind, would repeal the father's statute).

WITCHCRAFT

In a related bit of news from this year, the English Parliament banned crossbows because "malicious and evil-minded people carried them ready bent and charged with bolts, to the great annoyance and risk of passengers on the highways." They also banned "little short handguns" as too many yeomen were loading them with "hail shot" and then slaughtering the King's game birds. While double and triple guns were made, they would not become popular until Lefauchaux's breechloading shotguns of 1851, probably because hard-drinking shooters could forget that their other barrel was still loaded and at full cock (oops, there went my right foot).[9]

In Switzerland, the Reverend John Calvin established a Protestant theocracy at Geneva (his attitudes would take some time to catch on, as communal bathing would not be banned in Bern until 1658 and in Zurich until 1688).

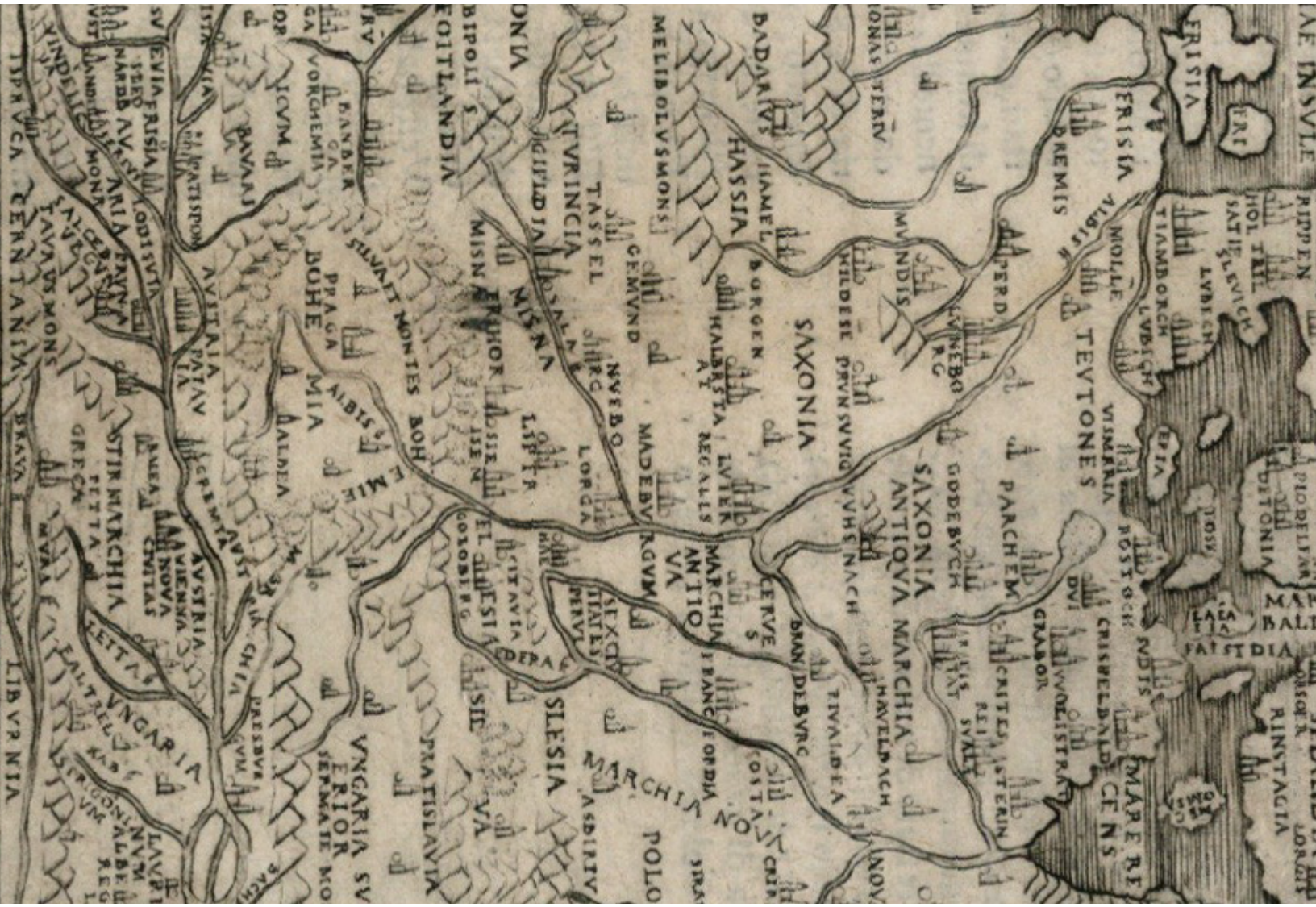
The Jesuits introduced Goa to Roman Catholicism — many, perhaps most, of their converts would be among the Jews there.

The citizens of Hildesheim in Saxony determined to accept the German teachings of Herr Professor Martin Luther, leaving only their cathedral and a few other buildings, and a few neighboring villages, still in the hands of the local Catholic hierarchy.

9. As recently as the early 19th Century, shooters suffering from fear of recoil were advised to drink "a glass of brandy; after which stand as still as possible for five minutes, and then proceed." The results of such a procedure can be imagined and, by 1861, British sportsmen would be being urged not to walk "or even to remain in the company with another who is in the least degree the worse for liquor, and yet has a loaded gun in his hands."

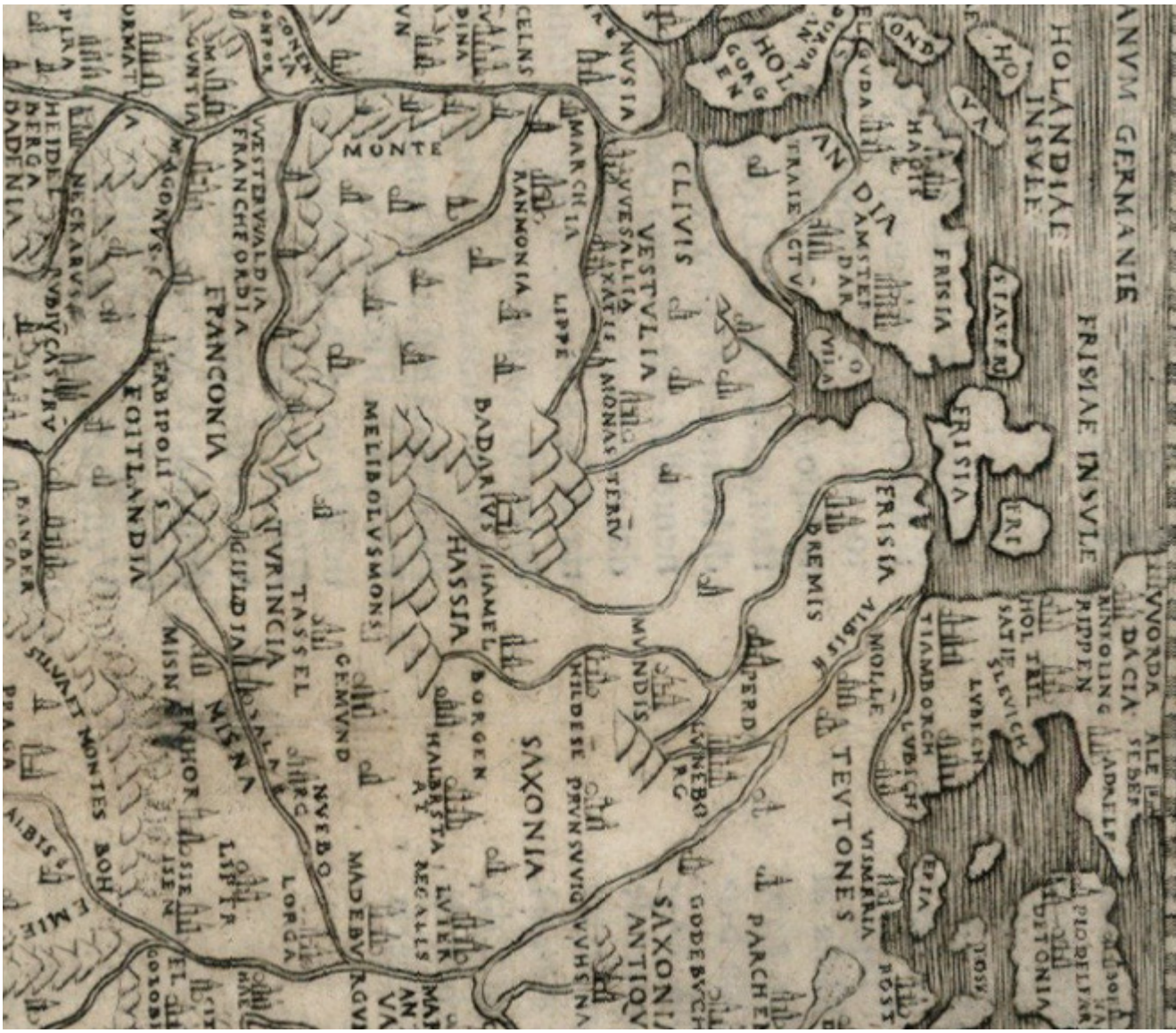
CATHOLICISM

ROMAN CATHOLICISM



ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM



1544

Guillaume de Salluste seigneur Du Bartas was born into a Huguenot family at Monfort near Auch, France.

WIKIPEDIA'S LIST OF HUGUENOTS

Sweden made Lutheranism its official state religion, banning Catholic worship.

King Henry VIII's chancellor Thomas Audley, who had been made 1st Baron Audley of Walden, died a natural death and when the body was buried in the mediaeval church in Saffron Walden, it was still in one piece (imagine that).

There appeared in Germany the 1st Protestant church, when the Palace church in Torgau was consecrated by Herr Professor Martin Luther.

As the monasteries of the Catholics were broken up and their apiaries, formally tended by the monks, fell into decay, the Protestant Reformation was leading to a shortage of honey. This created a demand for more sweet stuff which in turn would create a demand for more slaves. (Huh, is this a planet on which everything is connected to everything?)

1500 Maximilian divides the empire of Germany into six circles, and adds four more in 1512.
1505 Shillings first coined in England.
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1558 Queen Elizabeth begins her reign.
1560 The reformation in Scotland completed by John Knox.

1545

The *BIBLE* was published in Low German — Herr Professor Martin Luther's final revision of his *HIGH GERMAN BIBLE* first published in 1534.

From this year until 1563, there would be a Roman Catholic council (reunion of bishops) in session at Trent, Italy, that would be confirming the doctrines which the Catholic church would be using in order to oppose Protestantism. Lucerne, the only major city of the Swiss Confederacy to remain Catholic, would play a leading role in this "Counter-Reformation."

Conrad Gesner's *BIBLIOTHECA UNIVERSALIS*, which purported to list by author and title every treatise ever published in Latin, Greek or Hebrew.

March 25, Wednesday (New Year's Day, Old Style): At the age of 61, Herr Professor Martin Luther wrote AGAINST THE PAPACY AT ROME FOUNDED BY THE DEVIL. This writing was indeed vehement and vulgar: "...when a desperate, wicked, cunning knave puts on the mask and name of Christ or St. Peter and gains such an advantage that the Christians fear him and flee ... he has won and does what he likes, commits one rascality after another, particularly when God's wrath allows the devil to lift and push him along." To make certain that no good German missed the point, it was to be elaborated by cartoons. The professor commissioned Lucas Cranach to develop a series of defamatory drawings about the Pope and his Roman Catholic Church.

July 9, Thursday (Old Style): News reached Herr Professor Martin Luther that a Catholic council was expected to open in Trent, Italy: "The Pope shouts that we are heretics and that we must not have a place in the council ... indeed Satan reigns, all of them are so totally mad that they condemn us and at the same time ask for our consent."

July 28, Tuesday (Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther became so disillusioned with Wittenberg, Germany that he told Katharina to sell their goods — they were gonna get outa here! The university, Professor of Greek Philipp Melanchthon, and the burgomaster of the city would prevail on the angry man to stay.

December 13, Thursday: After years of negotiations and diplomacy, and after numerous false starts and delays, Pope Paul III convened a church council at Trent in northern Italy that was to make the peace between Catholicism and its critics. Herr Professor Martin Luther, skeptical, commented on the impossibility of reforming the unreformable. This council would amount to 3 sessions held over the course of 16 years, with lengthy hiatuses.

1546

January 17, Sunday (1545, Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther was called to mediate a dispute between Gebhard and Albert, two counts of Mansfield, that threatened his siblings' families continuing in the copper mining trade.

January 23, Saturday (1545, Old Style): Herr Professor Martin Luther left Wittenberg, Germany for Mansfeld. His health was especially poor and Katie Luther begged him to wait until spring, but he would not listen, believing the conflict threatened the work of his Protestant Reformation. During the following three weeks Luther would listen to the legal arguments in counts, preach a series of four sermons, distribute communion, and help ordain a couple of pastors.

February 17, Wednesday evening (1545, Old Style): The legal dispute between the counts of Mansfield having reached a satisfactory conclusion, Herr Professor Martin Luther was set to return home to Wittenberg, Germany when he began to experience chest pains.

February 18, Thursday (1545, Old Style): Martin Luther, scourge of Roman Catholicism, died of heart failure at 2:45 AM at the age of 62 in his birthplace, Eisleben, Germany, in the company of his three sons and several friends. A portrait artist captured his image at death and Justus Jonas recorded all the events over the previous 24 hours. His last writing was found on a scrap of paper on his table (translated from Latin): "Know that no one can have indulged in the Holy Writers sufficiently, unless he has governed churches for a hundred years with the prophets, such as Elijah and Elisha, John the Baptist, Christ and the apostles.... We are beggars: this is true." The room he died in would eventually become a memorial.

Alive I have been your plague;
dying I will be your death, Pope.[10]

10. Speak of a dude who has lived his life in opposition! Luther had written "Pestis ero vines, moriens ero mors tua papa" into his personal copy of Desiderius Erasmus's 1527 4th-edition Bible in Greek, Latin Vulgate, and Latin.

Famous Last Words:

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

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

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

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

399 BCE	Socrates	drinking the hemlock	*"Crito, I owe a cock to Æsclepius."*
27 CE	Jesus	being crucified	*"It is finished."* [John 19:30]
1415	John Huss	being burned at the stake	*"O, holy simplicity!"*
May 30, 1431	Joan of Arc	being burned at the stake	*"Hold the cross high so I may see it through the flames."*
May 4, 1534	Father John Houghton	as he was being disemboweled	*"And what wilt thou do with my heart, O Christ?"*
July 6, 1535	Sir Thomas More	being beheaded	*"The King's good servant, but God's First."*
1536	Anne Boleyn	being beheaded	*"Oh God, have pity on my soul."*
February 18, 1546	Martin Luther	found on his chamber table	*"We are beggars: this is true."*
July 16, 1546	Anne Askew	being burned at the stake	*"There he misseth, and speaketh without the book"*
... other famous last words ...			

February 20, Saturday (1545, Old Style): Martin Luther's coffin was taken to Wittenberg, Germany.

February 22, Monday (1545, Old Style): Martin Luther's funeral was held in the castle church in Wittenberg, Germany. The sermon was by Dr. John Bugenhagen and there was an address by Philipp Melanchthon. He was buried under the pulpit in the Castle Church.

1547

The Archbishop of Mainz conducted tests to discover why it might be, that rifling was making muskets more accurate, and discovered the reason to be that — the bullets were whirling because they were being guided by demons. Bzzzzzz. Most Roman Catholic countries would ban against either the manufacture or the possession of such a device as a "rifle." When Edward VI, who was at this point all of ten years of age, would come to the throne of England, the Duke of Somerset would be appointed to act as his Protector and one of the first acts of this new government would be to repeal daddy's statute that had provided the death penalty for "invoking or conjuring an evil spirit" (so, did this mean that Protestants would be able to use demon-guided whirling bullets to kill Catholics but Catholics not be able to use demon-guided whirling bullets to kill Protestants? —Stay tuned, folks).

WITCHCRAFT

Orders were sent from the mainland of England to the channel island of Jersey near the French coast, that any remaining vestiges of Catholicism on the island were to be quite erased.

January 28, Friday (1546, Old Style): Henry VIII died. Immediately, what this meant was that the headchopping of Henry Howard, Early of Surrey's father Thomas Howard, 3d Duke of Norfolk for treason, which had been slotted to occur on the following day, would no longer need to take place. The day's schedule had been freed up for other thingies (GENERAL PRINCIPLE, you cannot betray a monarch who's dead as a doorknob – or something like that).

[Jonathan Swift would write this marginalia into one of his books: ***"I wish he had been flayed, his skin stuffed and hanged upon a gibbet. His bulky guts and flesh left to be devoured by birds and beasts for a warning to his successors forever. Amen."***]

This would mean the accession of King Edward VI, ten years of age, under regency. As a sincere Roman Catholic, John Heywood would get into some trouble during this Church-of-England reign, for making an attempt to deny the monarch's spiritual supremacy — although in the end he will seem to have been induced to offer a public recantation of his denial.

With the death of this monarch, the English Maisters of Defence lost their exclusive control over prices for fencing instruction within the City of London (this would allow the creation of rival schools, the most famous of which would be opened in 1576 by the Italian Rocco Bonnetti).

A pamphlet controversy would be breaking out in England over who should and who should not be informed about political decisions. At this point, however, no one was advocating anything nearly so extreme as that the average person had a right to be –at best– more than cursorily informed about such matters. It was a settled issue, or no issue at all, that the common run of people had no business meddling in politics, that they needed to keep their noses firmly attached to their grindstones. They needed to seem to be uninterested in the affairs of their betters.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

April: Holy Roman Emperor Charles V brought his Spanish Catholic troops across the Alps and defeated the forces of the Schmalkaldic League at Mulburg, Germany. He then marched across Katharina Luther's farm at Zulsdorf, destroying everything in his path, then moved into Wittenberg (the Protestant Reformation must have appeared, at this point at least, to be pretty much over).

1548

The Swiss guards of the Vatican City in Rome adopted the colorful livery they wear to this day. (Contrary to what has been claimed, the costume was not designed by Michelangelo — who preferred his guys without any clothes on.)

1549

William Hunnis prepared a transliteration in metre of Psalms 51, 56, 57, 113, 117, and 147 (in the numbering of Matthews's Bible), "The Songe of Zacharias," "The Songe of the three children," "A thanksgivinge to God for delivering from adversitie," "Ecclesiasticus the laste," "The complaint of a sinner." This would be printed in the following year, and such things proving popular, by 1562, by a number of pens, all the Psalms would be thus transliterated in metre; the Princess Elizabeth prepared one, King Henry VIII had prepared one. These metrical versions of the Psalms were sung during church services all across England to popular tunes of that day, as an antidote to what was called the "curious music" of Popery.[11]

1500 Maximilian divides the empire of Germany into six circles, and adds four more in 1512.
1505 Shillings first coined in England.
1509 Gardening introduced into England from the Netherlands, from whence vegetables were imported hitherto.
1513 The battle of Flodden, in which James IV. of Scotland is killed, with the flower of his nobility.
1517 Martin Luther began the reformation.
Egypt is conquered by the Turks.
1518 Magellan, in the service of Spain, first discovers the straits of that name in South America.
1520 Henry VIII. for his writings in favour of popery, receives the title of Defender of the Faith from his Holiness.
1529 The name of Protestant takes its rise from the reformed protesting against the church of Rome, at the Diet of Spires in Germany.
1534 The reformation takes place in England under Henry VIII.
1537 Religious houses dissolved by ditto.
1539 The first English edition of the Bible authorized; the present translation finished 1611.
About this time cannon began to be used in ships.
1543 Silk stockings first worn by the French king; first worn in England by queen Elizabeth, 1561; the steel frame for weaving invented by the Rev. Mr. Lee, of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1589.
Pins first used in England, before which time the ladies used skewers.
1544 Good lands let in England at one shilling per acre.
1545 The famous council of Trent begins, and continues 18 years.
1546 First law in England, establishing the interest of money at ten per cent.
1549 Lord Lieutenants of counties instituted in England.
1550 Horse guards instituted in England.
1555 The Russian Company established in England.
1558 Queen Elizabeth begins her reign.
1560 The reformation in Scotland completed by John Knox.

11. Desiderius Erasmus, who as a boy had been one of these choristers, came to oppose the entire practice of music in the English church, pointing out that the performers were not thinking of the "gibble gabble" they were singing, and the listeners were not hearing what was sung.

1550

On the Isle of Jersey, all property of the Catholic Church was sold for the benefit of the English Crown.

1552

The series of civil wars between Protestants (Huguenots) and Catholics in France, characterized by historians for some ungodly reason as "Wars of Religion," were at this point beginning:

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

During this earliest of the eight wars of religion the first mass out-migration of Huguenots took place across the channel to England. Many of these early fugitives were from Normandy and Brittany, of course, but many also came from areas in western France near the ocean.

Some came in open boats, others in sailing vessels.... Some crossed the Channel in mid-winter, braving the stormiest weather; and when they reached the English shore they usually fell upon their knees and thanked God for their deliverance.

January: Maurice of Saxony, known as the "Judas of the Reformation" for changing sides at Mulburg, reasserted himself. Under his leadership, he and his fellow German princes formed an alliance with Henry II of France and chased the Catholic monarch Holy Roman Emperor Charles V out of Germany.

August: The Peace of Passau: weary from three decades of religious civil war, Catholic monarch Charles V abandoned his lifelong quest for European religious unity and guaranteed Lutheran religious freedoms, releasing various Germany Protestant princes who had been taken prisoner during the Schmalkaldic War. There would be a very temporary and very local interruption in Christians killing Christians.

1553

December 13, Wednesday (Old Style): At 1:30AM, King Henri III of Navarre was born in Pau, France. He would found the House of Bourbon, by making himself King Henri IV of France. Baptized as a Roman Catholic but raised by his mother as a Huguenot, –avoiding assassination during the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre only by good luck, –leading the Protestant forces against the royal army — upon his rise to the French throne he would abjure Calvinism and return to Roman Catholicism. In 1598 it would be he who would promulgate the Edict of Nantes guaranteeing the religious liberties of French Protestants (in 1610 he would be assassinated by an unforgiving Catholic).

1555

This would be a poor harvest year in Europe:

Thoreau entered the following in his Journal, after July 1, 1850: In a note on the beach pea in the Hist Col. 1802 it is said "In 1555, during a time of great scarcity, the people about Orford in Sussex were preserved from perishing by eating the seeds of this plant, which grew there in great abundance upon the sea coast. Cows, horses, sheep, & goats eat it." but the writer who quotes this could not learn that the experiment was ever tried in Barn. County

Pope Marcellus II, then Pope Paul IV (Gian Pietro Caraffa of Naples).

During England's return to Roman Catholicism, the English Protestants would be persecuted and about 300 (including for instance Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury) would burn at the stake. Things were in a bloody mess.

Because his writings and publications were frequently censored and prohibited by the Theological Faculty of Paris, Robert Stephanus, shortly after the death of his royal patron Francis I, had moved his press to Geneva. There he prepared the Latin BIBLE of the Estienne family: "Stephanus Latin Bible 1555 A.D. Excudebat Roberto Stephano Conradus Badius (Geneva)," 3d octavo edition of the Latin BIBLE issued by the famous scholar printers, the Stephani or Estiennes. This issue, the work of the most eminent scholar of his day is generally considered to be the earliest Bible to divide the text into numbered verses.

The 1st edition of Alessio *PIEMONTESE'S SECRETI* listed about 350 medical recipes along with observations of nature (the publisher, Girolamo Ruscelli, would later claim authorship; enormously popular, this material would be appearing through 1699 in a total of 104 editions).

In Basle, meanwhile, the *OPORNIUS* edition of Vesalius was being put through a press using Garamond type.

HISTORY OF THE PRESS

September: The Peace of Augsburg allowed German princes to choose Roman Catholicism or Protestantism. This treaty between Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and the forces of the Schmalkaldic League basically said that the people of each German state would follow whichever religion their prince followed. Those who did not wish to conform to the prince's choice were given time to migrate to different regions in which their choice, Lutheran or Catholic, had been the dominant one. Charles was unhappy about compromising with Protestants but after decades of conflict the Lutheran church had acquired legal recognition. In the following year he would abdicate and retire to the monastery of Yusteto, Spain.

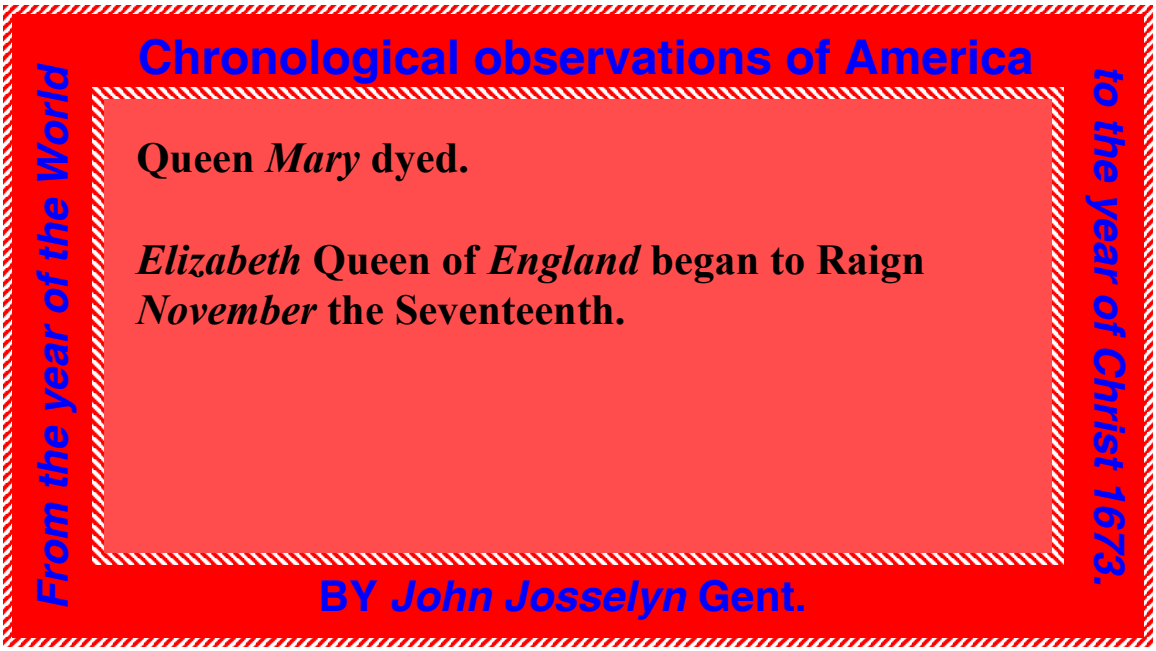
1557

A German soldier had stolen the jeweled reliquary containing the authentic foreskin of Jesus from its basilica during the looting of Rome some three decades earlier, but had quickly been captured in the village of Calcata, just a day or two's travel north of Rome. He had been concealing this in his cell, but at this point the precious object was discovered and taken to the local church. It would be a tourist attraction in the village for many centuries, and on the annual parade of the Feast of the Circumcision would be carried through the streets of the town in its jeweled reliquary. There were, however, in those times, embarrassingly, some 8 to 18 different authentic foreskins of Jesus Christ. One was at the Cathedral of Le Puy-on-Velay, one was at Santiago de Compostela, one was in Antwerp in the Brabant (brought there in 1100 CE as a gift from King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, who had purchased it in Palestine during the 1st Crusade, but then in 1566 this sacred object, which was still capable of bleeding, would mysteriously disappear), one was at Coulombs in the diocese of Chartres, one was in Chartres itself, one was in a church in Besançon, one was in a church in Newport, one was in a church in Metz, one was in a church in Hildesheim, one was in the abbey in Charroux (where it would be lost but then refound in 1856 by a workman repairing a wall), one was in a church in Conques, one was in a church in Langres, one was in a church in Fécamp, one was in a church in Stoke-on-Trent, and two were in churches in Auvergne (most of these Holy Prepuces would be destroyed during the Reformation and the French Revolution).

CATHOLICS

1558

November 17, Thursday (Old Style): "Bloody" Mary Tudor was succeeded by the Princess Elizabeth Tudor, daughter of King Henry VIII with Queen Consort Ann Bolyn, who became the Queen regnant Elizabeth of England and Ireland. Since Elizabeth was Church of England, the courtier John Heywood, who as a Roman Catholic and poet and musician had been in great favor during the reign of Queen Mary, would lose favor.



After the accession of the Lady Elizabeth, the gaunt William Hunnis would suddenly one day toward the end of the month be released from the Tower of London and provided with clothing against the cold weather. He stepped back into his old office as choirmaster in "the Queene's Chappell" with an appearance considerably altered by his experiences. The conspiracies that during the regime of Mary had made him seem the traitor, during the ascendancy of Elizabeth would make him seem the patriot.

Martin Luther had held that witches should be burnt for making a pact with the Devil even if they harmed no one, and then at Wittenburg in his absence four persons had indeed been executed as witches (I do not know that they were female, or that they were burned). The Reverend John Calvin was instructing Protestants that "The BIBLE teaches us that there are witches and that they must be slain. This law of God is a universal law." Bishop John Jewell, who was living in exile in Geneva, would bring witchhunting with him on his return to England in 1559 and would preach before the new Queen that:

> It may please your Grace to understand that witches and sorcerers within these last few years are marvelously increased within your Grace's realm, Your Grace's subjects pine away even unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their

speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft.

1500 Maximilian divides the empire of Germany into six circles, and adds four more in 1512.
1505 Shillings first coined in England.
1509 Gardening introduced into England from the Netherlands, from whence vegetables were imported hitherto.
1513 The battle of Flodden, in which James IV. of Scotland is killed, with the flower of his nobility.
1517 Martin Luther began the reformation.
Egypt is conquered by the Turks.
1518 Magellan, in the service of Spain, first discovers the straits of that name in South America.
1520 Henry VIII. for his writings in favour of popery, receives the title of Defender of the Faith from his Holiness.
1529 The name of Protestant takes its rise from the reformed protesting against the church of Rome, at the Diet of Spires in Germany.
1534 The reformation takes place in England under Henry VIII.
1537 Religious houses dissolved by ditto.
1539 The first English edition of the Bible authorized; the present translation finished 1611.
About this time cannon began to be used in ships.
1543 Silk stockings first worn by the French king; first worn in England by queen Elizabeth, 1561; the steel frame for weaving invented by the Rev. Mr. Lee, of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1589.
Pins first used in England, before which time the ladies used skewers.
1544 Good lands let in England at one shilling per acre.
1545 The famous council of Trent begins, and continues 18 years.
1546 First law in England, establishing the interest of money at ten per cent.
1549 Lord Lieutenants of counties instituted in England.
1550 Horse guards instituted in England.
1555 The Russian Company established in England.
1558 Queen Elizabeth begins her reign.
1560 The reformation in Scotland completed by John Knox.

1560

With the accession in 1533 of a Roman Catholic queen, "Bloody" Mary, religious reformers had fled from England to Geneva and local progress in well-done English translations of the BIBLE had halted. However, in Geneva these religious refugees had continued their work and by this point they had prepared a so-called "GENEVA BIBLE."

The illustrations surrounding the text block above include fanciful coats of arms for the tribes of ancient Israel. The principal translators were William Whittingham, Anthony Gilbey, and Thomas Sampson. The Geneva BIBLE was produced by Miles Coverdale, William Whittingham, John Knox, and others in Geneva after Mary became queen. This was not only the 1st English BIBLE to be printed in roman type but also the 1st to divide off the chapters into verses. It would be the one studied by William Shakespeare, by John Bunyan, and by many of the participants in the English Civil War. By 1640, 140 editions would have been issued.

HISTORY OF THE BIBLE

On the 1st page of the Book of Exodus –although it's not very visible in this tiny illustration– it should be noted that rather than using a large hand-painted initial, printers had at this point begun typesetting the initial letter. Note also that use of printed explanatory marginal glosses had begun:

1563

Completion of the 1st of the 8 Civil Wars between Huguenots and Roman Catholics in France, characterized for some unknown reason by historians as the "Wars of Religion":

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

The 39 Articles completed the establishment of the Anglican Church.

1567

The beginning of the 2nd of the eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France, characterized for some unknown reason by our clueless historians as the "Wars of Religion":

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

1568

The end of the 2d Round and the beginning of the 3d Round of the eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France, characterized for some unknown reason by historians as the "Wars of Religion":

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

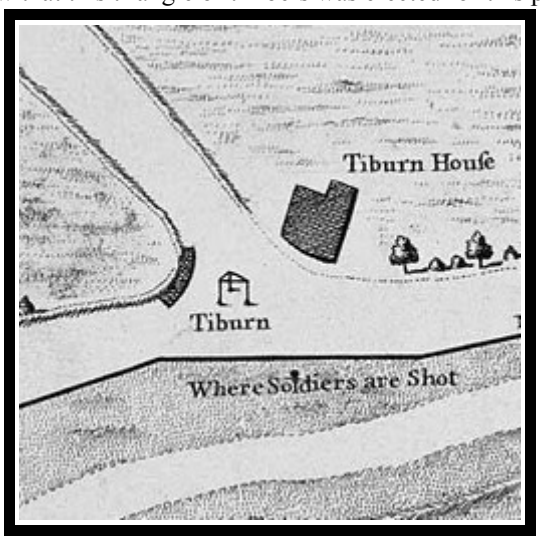
In this year and the next, the 2d mass out-migration of French Huguenots, fleeing their homeland due to Catholic persecution.

1570

At about this point Theodorus de Bry fled from the religious intolerance of Spanish Catholics in Liège, to Strasbourg.

1571

June 1, Friday (Old Style): John Story had been educated at Oxford, where he had become a lecturer on civil law in 1535, and had then become principal of Broadgates Hall (afterwards to be known as Pembroke College). Although with the accession of Edward VI as King of England he appeared to have disavowed his Roman Catholicism, when he was chosen a Member of Parliament, in 1547, he gained notoriety by opposing the Act of Uniformity. He cried out "Woe unto thee, O land, when thy king is a child," was imprisoned by the House of Commons, was released and went into exile, but then returned to England in 1553. He resigned as Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford and became Chancellor of the dioceses of London and of Oxford, and Dean of Arches. When the Catholic Queen Mary I ascended to the throne of England, he became one of her most active agents in prosecuting Protestants, and in 1555 was one of her proctors at the trial of Thomas Cranmer at Oxford. As Chancellor of Oxford he acquired a reputation for dealing harshly with Protestants (for instance, while he was burning one of these heretics at the stake, she attempting a psalm, he simply kept poking a piece of burning wood in her face until she stopped singing). Under Queen Mary I's Protestant half-sister Elizabeth, he was again returned to the Parliament, but in 1560 he boasted of his work in the former reign and was for a brief period again imprisoned. When he was again arrested in 1563 he managed to escape to Flanders and became a pensioner of King Philip II of Spain, working in the local Customs House. The Duke of Alva authorized him to exclude certain classes of books from the Netherlands and, in 1570, while engaged in this labor of censorship, he was decoyed by the English into the hold of a ship at Antwerp. His captors conveyed him to Yarmouth, he was taken to the Tower of London, tried for high treason, and on this day was drawn in a hurdle to the gallows at Tyburn, and there hanged by the neck until he was dead. Then the Protestants, whom he had taught well, cut him down and disembowelled him. (This was the year in which the famous "Tyburn Tree," the triple gallows as depicted below, was erected, in order to facilitate multiple simultaneous hangings — although I do not know that this triangle of timbers was erected for this particular execution.)



In 1886 Story would by Papal decree be beatified.

1572

The beginning of Round #4 of the eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France (characterized for some unknown reason by historians as the "Wars of Religion"):

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

Early in this year reports began to circulate, that Jasper Heywood SJ, professor of moral theology and controversy in the Jesuit College at Dillingen, Swabia, Bavaria, was experiencing acute terror every night, troubled by what he termed a "demon." The professor would be sent for a vacation at Augsburg, and by the end of the year the affliction would have waned.

August 23, Saturday-24, Sunday (Old Style): A series of religious repressions during the rule of the Catholic regent Catherine d'Medici (1560-1574) culminated in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of some 8,000 French Protestants. Troops loyal to the French crown alongside Catholic civilians massacred the Protestant Huguenots of Paris, estimates range between 20,000 and 100,000 deaths. This visualization was intended to depict the regent's viewing of the accomplishment of her orders:

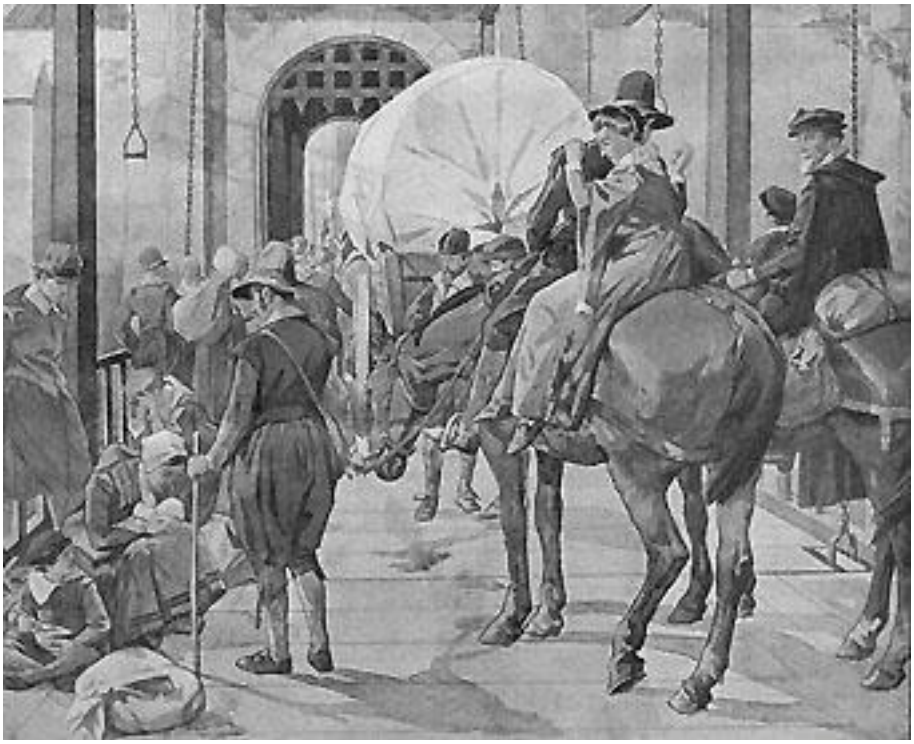
At news of this carnage of this St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, a gleeful Pope Gregory XIII would order celebrations and that a medal to be struck. This would occasion some American humor:

THE LOWEST ANIMAL
Mark Twain
from The Damned Human Race

In August, 1572, similar things were occurring in Paris and elsewhere in France. In this case it was Christian against Christian. The Roman Catholics, by previous concert, sprang a surprise upon the unprepared and unsuspecting Protestants, and butchered them by thousands —— both sexes and all ages. This was the memorable St. Bartholomew's Day. At Rome the Pope and the Church gave pub-

lic thanks to God when the happy news came. During several centuries hundreds of heretics were burned at the stake every year because their religious opinions were not satisfactory to the Roman Church. In all ages the savages of all lands have made the slaughtering of their neighboring brothers and the enslaving of their women and children the common business of their lives. Hypocrisy, envy, malice, cruelty, vengefulness, seduction, rape, robbery, swindling, arson, bigamy, adultery, and the oppression and humiliation of the poor and the helpless in all ways have been and still are more or less common among both the civilized and uncivilized peoples of the earth. For many centuries "the common brotherhood of man" has been urged--on Sundays--and "patriotism" on Sundays and weekdays both. Yet patriotism contemplates the opposite of a common brotherhood. Woman's equality with man has never been conceded by any people, ancient or modern, civilized or savage. I have been studying the traits and dispositions of the "lower animals" (so-called), and contrasting them with the traits and dispositions of man. I find the result humiliating to me. For it obliges me to renounce my allegiance to the Darwinian theory of the Ascent of Man from the Lower Animals; since it now seems plain to me that that theory ought to be vacated in favor of a new and truer one, this new and truer one to be named the Descent of Man from the Higher Animals.

The 3d mass out-migration of French Huguenots began. This image purportedly depicts some actual Huguenot refugees as they passed through Lyon during this year:



(It would, however, be more than a century, four more generations of human existence, before the Thoreau family of Huguenots would be forced out of France to the island of Jersey in the English Channel — as that would not be happening until the Year of Our Lord 1685.)

1573

The 4th Round of the eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France, characterized for some unknown reason by historians as the "Wars of Religion," came to an end:

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

When Queen Elizabeth offered to allow John Heywood to return to England, that family, at Malines in Brabant, sat tight.

1576

The 5th Round of the eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France, characterized for some obtuse reason by historians as the "Wars of Religion," came to an end:

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

1577

The 6th Round of the eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France (characterized for some ungodly reason by historians as “Wars of Religion”):

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

Jasper Heywood had become restive in his duties as professor of moral theology and controversy in the Jesuit College at Dillingen, Swabia, Bavaria, and the Society of Jesus was coming to consider him to represent a disciplinary problem.

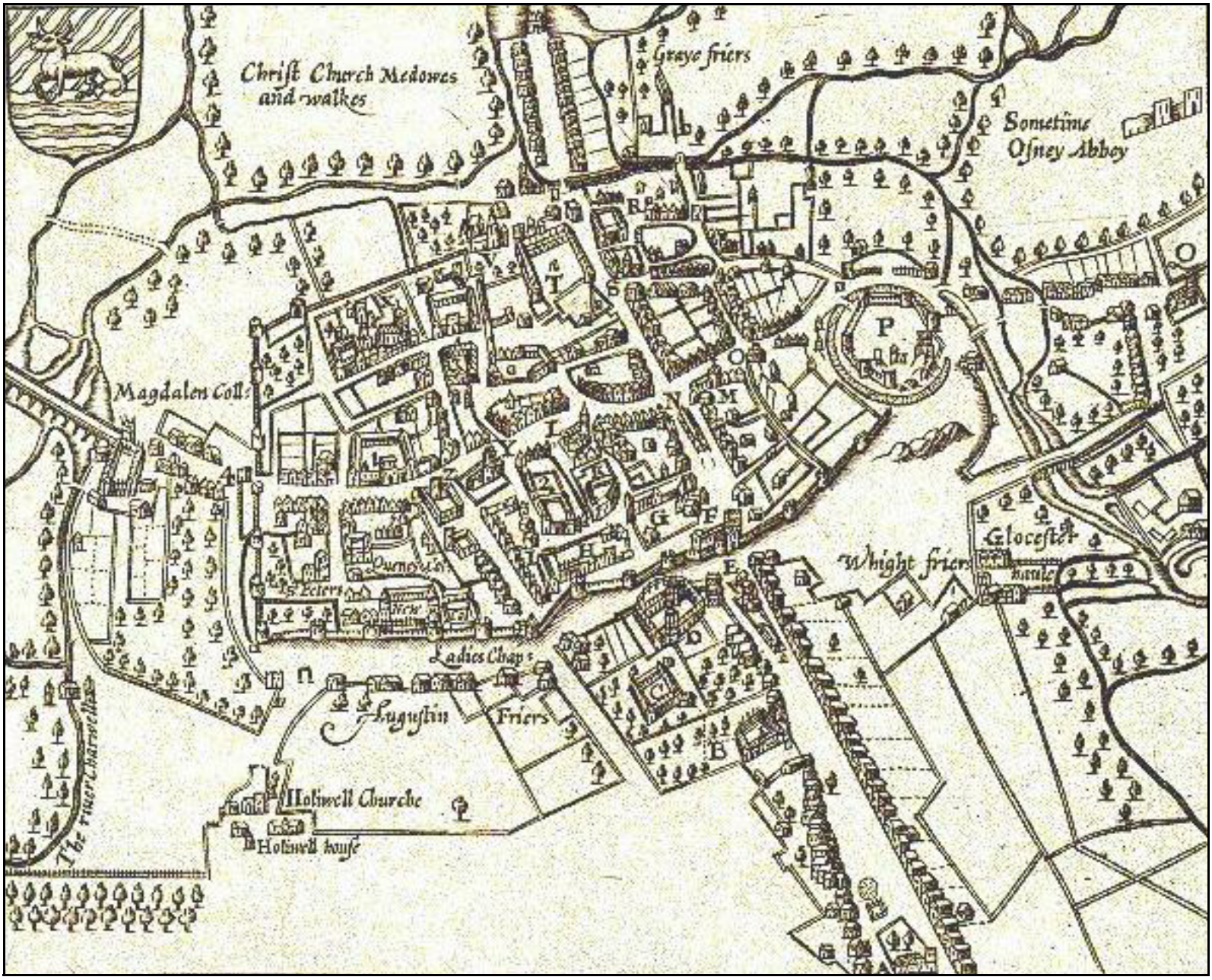
1580

The 7th Round of the eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France (characterized for some ungodly reason by historians as “Wars of Religion”):

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

1583

John Donne matriculated at the University of Oxford at the age of 11, where he would study for three years but take no degree. Presumably that was because a degree would have involved taking an oath of allegiance — which as a Catholic he couldn't do.



1585

This was a poor harvest year in Europe. The beginning of the 8th and final Round of the eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France (characterized for some ungodly reason by historians as "Wars of Religion"):

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

1589

The eight Civil Wars between Huguenots and Catholics in France, characterized for some unknown reason by historians as the "Wars of Religion," at this point came to an end. Was everybody dead?

Civil War	Began:	Ended:
1.)	1552	1563
2.)	1567	1568
3.)	1568	1570
4.)	1572	1573
5.)	1574	1576
6.)	1577	1577
7.)	1580	1580
8.)	1585	1589

Jasper Heywood was sent from the Jesuit College at Dôle in Burgundy to Rome.

1593

Having shortly since been converted from Protestantism to Catholicism, Guy Fawkes enlisted as a mercenary in the Spanish Army in the Netherlands.

1595

Guy Fawkes was at the capture of Calais, and apparently he had somehow distinguished himself in the Catholic army during the siege of this port city.

John Ferne succeeded his brother-in-law Ralph Rokeby as deputy secretary to the Council in the North, at York. In this position Ferne would be more fearful of English Catholicism than of Puritanism (it's the money, stupid), and would seek to focus the energies of the Council on persecution of adherents of the exiled Catholic rebel Charles Neville, 6th earl of Westmorland.

1596

August 19, Thursday (Old Style): An infant was born to King James VI of Scotland and his wife Anne of Denmark at Dunfermline Palace in Fife. This princess would be named Elizabeth Stuart after Queen Elizabeth I of England. One of the objectives of the "Gunpowder Plot" would be to kidnap this child at the age of 9 from Coombe Abbey where she was being reared as a Protestant, and place her on the throne as a nominal monarch in regency (she would then be retrained as a Catholic by those in actual control of the situation and married off to a Catholic bridegroom — or at least that was the fantasy of these airheaded plotters).

1599

BASILIKON DORON, by King James VI.

The Reverend Alexander Hume's HYMNS AND SACRED SONGS, ACCOMPANIED BY AN ADDRESS TO THE YOUTH OF SCOTLAND, including "A Description of the Day Estivall," detailing a summer day, was published by Robert Waldegrave in Edinburgh (this can be found in Sibbald's CHRONICLE OF SCOTTISH POETRY). The Reverend sternly warned young Scots against the reading of "profane sonnets and vain ballads of love, the fabulous feats of Palmerine, and such like reveries" — pointing out that such indulgences might lead them into, horror of horrors, Popery. Two stanzas of this would be included by Henry Thoreau in A WEEK:

Sa ſilent is the ceſſile air,
That everie cry and call,
The hills and daills, and foreſt fair,
Againe repeats them all.

The heards beneath ſome leafy treis,
Amids the flowrs they lie;
The ſtabill ſhips upon the ſeis,
Tends up their ſails to drie.

A WEEK: On the sandy shore, opposite the Glass-house village in Chelmsford, at the Great Bend where we landed to rest us and gather a few wild plums, we discovered the *Campanula rotundifolia*, a new flower to us, the harebell of the poets, which is common to both hemispheres, growing close to the water. Here, in the shady branches of an apple-tree on the sand, we took our nooning, where there was not a zephyr to disturb the repose of this glorious Sabbath day, and we reflected serenely on the long past and successful labors of Latona.

"So silent is the cessile air,
That every cry and call,
The hills, and dales, and forest fair
Again repeats them all.

The herds beneath some leafy trees,
Amidst the flowers they lie,
The stable ships upon the seas
Tend up their sails to dry."

PEOPLE OF A WEEK

1603

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

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

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

JAMES I

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

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

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

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

July 11, Sunday (Old Style): Kenelm Digby was born into a family of gentry that had converted to Catholicism, at Gayhurst in Buckinghamshire.

1605

November 5, Tuesday (Old Style): Guy Fawkes had been recruited with a band of Roman Catholics, perhaps on the basis of his familiarity with explosives and with sapping, to tunnel under the House of Parliament. There is no doubt that, though his name has been fixed to the conspiracy for English Catholics to take over the government, Fawkes had been a mere functionary. It was an advantage that, having for some time been abroad, he was not known in London. Coming to London, he had used the alias Johnson. There is no doubt as to his courage, and the 36 ninety-pound barrels of black powder that they had purchased from a London fireworks maker named Charles Pain were discovered while Fawkes was outside the building else he surely would have fired them.[12]

Thomas Shepard was born at the very hour on which the British Parliament was scheduled to be blown up, with the monarch and a princely son.

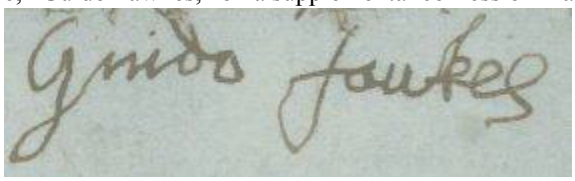
12. In England (and inter alia, some former colonies), November the 5th is still celebrated as Guy Fawkes Night, when bonfires and fireworks are ignited to celebrate the successful detection of this Roman Catholic plot to detonate King and Parliament. At Lewes in County Sussex, the celebration still suggests something of an anti-Catholic animus. In colonial Boston, Pope's Day would be a continuation on this anti-Catholic day of rioting, and the jingoistic parades would continue until one year a small boy would be crushed by one of the "Pope" effigies being wheeled through the streets by firemen (the volunteer fire brigades of athletic, drunken young men were principal leaders in such rioting).

November 8, Friday (Old Style): Upon the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot against King and Parliament, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, Kit Wright, and John Wright were shot dead at Holbeach House. (The recoverable bodies would later be dug up, to be decapitated.) The conspirators taken alive would be interrogated in the Queens House of the Tower of London. This was the 3rd imprisonment in the Tower for Thomas Abington, who would be released (the letter of warning that led to the unraveling of the scheme is said to have been written by his wife). Hugh Owen would live until his old age in Rome. Guy Fawkes was a 36-year-old Catholic convert who had served in the Spanish army before becoming involved in the Gunpowder Plot. He would be racked, probably in the basement of Wakefield Tower.

LONDON
HEADCHOPPING

This is his signature, "Guido," on his confession immediately after the rack:

And here is his signature, "Guido Fawkes," on a supplemental confession made eight days afterward:



Upon the discovery of this plot against King and Parliament, various trusted Protestants were sent out into the nation, to round up the usual suspects. For instance, Sir John Ferne, newly minted knight, got dispatched to York to coordinate the arrest of suspects there. Sir John's manner of suppressing this conspiracy would be not merely to persecute English Catholics but also, tarring with a wider brush, to attack the ecclesiastical establishment — for having been insufficiently diligent in their previous persecutions of these disloyal ones.

Thomas Hariot's patron Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, was one of those imprisoned in connection with the Gunpowder Plot, on account of his being a 2d cousin of one of the conspirators, Thomas Percy (Hariot himself would be briefly imprisoned under interrogation, but would soon obtain a release).

THE POWDER PLOT

1606

The courtier John Lepton obtained a royal grant of the fees that had been the mainstay of the livelihood of the two secretaries of the Council in the North, Sir John Ferne, knight, and William Gee. It's about the money, stupid. They would mount a vigorous protest and would force Lepton into a compromise, recovering for themselves some of these fees.

Nicholas Owen was a Jesuit and a builder, competent in the construction of what were known as "priests' holes" — secret cupboards and passages within the houses of wealthy Catholics in which their priests could hide from King James I's men, Protestants. During this year he wound up in the Tower of London, suspended by his thumbs, being threatened with the rack. The official report of his demise alleges that he committed suicide with a very dull blade.

LONDON

Guy Fawkes and his Roman Catholic friends had their big day. In this contemporary illustration, you can see the stages of the ceremony, with the condemned men being dragged to the gallows tree, and behind that device, the fire for the burning of the ripped-out organs and the pot for the coating of the fresh bodies with hot pitch,

so that they would last longer as objects of warning:[13]

William Camden would prepare for publication at "Londini" a record of this entitled in part *ACTIO IN HENRICVM GARNETVM SOCIETATIS IESUITICÆ IN ANGLIA SVPERIOREM, ET CÆTEROS QUI PRODITIONE LONGÈ IMMANIFSIMA SERENIFS. BRITANNIAE MAGNAE REGEM, & REGNI ANGLIAE ORDINES PULUERE FULMINALI È MEDIO TOLLERE CONIURÂRUNT: VNÀ CUM ORATIONIBUS DOMINORUM DELEGATORUM...*:

WILLIAM CAMDEN'S RECORD

13. The first capital punishment enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment, and in the 7th Century BCE, in the legal code implemented by Draco of Athens, which had specified that the penalty was to be the same, capital punishment, for any crime regardless of what it was (this had been, of course, truly Draconian). In this century, the Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets also made use of capital punishment. Death might be by crucifixion, by burning alive, by being beaten to death, by drowning, or by impalement. In the 10th Century, the British code of laws had also made use of capital punishment, although the usual method of execution was hanging. The arrival of William the Bastard, become William the Conqueror, in the 11th Century, meant no capital punishment whatever of any of his British subjects, regardless of their crime, except in time of war. During the reign of King Henry VIII over England, however, we infer that as many as 72,000 people were executed. The common methods of execution in Henry's time were boiling, burning at the stake, hanging, beheading, and drawing and quartering. Treason was a capital offense — and the crime of trahison might extend even to whispering a jest about the monarch, or failing to raise one's glass during a toast, or having sex with a prince's nursemaid. For a non-Jew to marry a Jew was a capital offense. For an arrested person to refuse to confess to a crime meant that the penalty, if found guilty, regardless of the offense, was to be death. (The lawmakers would continue to add to the list of crimes punishable by death.)

THE POWDER PLOT

January 27, Monday (1605, Old Style): Sir Evard Digby, an occupant of the Tower of London (he had carved an inscription into a wall there), was tried for high treason for the part he had played in the Catholic "Gunpowder Plot" — and pled "Guilty." He had sponsored a "hunting party" at Coughton Court in Warwickshire made up of armed horsemen standing by for the explosion beneath the House of Lords. Their specific role in the plot had been to kidnap 9-year-old Princess Elizabeth Stuart immediately upon the demise in the explosion of her father King James I of England and older brother Prince Henry, so that she could be retrained by them in the Catholic faith and safely married off to a Catholic bridegroom and come out of her period of regency as the Catholic monarch of England, Ireland, and Scotland.

January 30, Thursday (1605, Old Style): Sir Evard Digby, Robert Wintour, John Grant, and Thomas Bates were dragged on hurtles to the west end of the churchyard of Old St Paul's Cathedral in London (as depicted below) and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for the part they had played in the Catholic "Gunpowder Plot." The first to be processed, Sir Evard Digby, after being suspended for a short period, was cut down still conscious, taken to the block, and castrated, then disembowelled, then quartered. At the age of three his son Kenelm Digby would be removed from the custody of his Catholic mother Lady Mary (Maria) Neale Mulshaw Digby, daughter of Francis Neale of Keythorpe in Leicestershire, and reared in a Protestant household as a ward of Chancery.

After litigation, Kenelm Digby would inherit unconfiscated lands that would generate for him the truly enormous personal income of $15,000 a year.

THE POWDER PLOT

January 31, Friday (1605, Old Style): Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, Robert Wintour, Tom Wintour, and Ambrose Rookwood were drawn on a hurdle to the Houses of Parliament and in the Old Palace Yard of Westminster Fawkes was hanged, disembowelled, beheaded, and quartered. The others were merely hanged. Father Henry Garnett and Thomas Garnett, also involved in the plot, for the time being remained alive in the Tower of London.

HEADCHOPPING

Remember, remember the fifth of November
Gunpowder, treason and plot.
I see no reason why gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot.
Guy Fawkes, Guy Fawkes
'Twas his intent
To blow up the King and the Parliament
Three score barrels of powder below
Poor old England to overthrow
By God's providence he was catched
With a dark lantern and burning match.
Holloa boys, holloa boys,
Ring the bells ring
Holloa boys, holloa boys,
Goda save the King!
Hip hip hooray
Hip hip horray.

A penny loaf to feed ol' Pope
A farthing cheese to choke him
A pint of beer to rinse it down
A faggot of sticks to burn him.
Burn him in a tub of tar
Burn him like a blazing star
Burn his body from his head
Then we'll say old Pope is dead.
Hip hip hooray
Hip hip hooray

THE POWDER PLOT

1609

Plantation of Ulster implemented; lowland Scots and English arrived.

IRELAND

Practically on his deathbed, the Reverend Alexander Hume roused himself to issue a final appeal to the clergy of the Kirk of Scotland, “Ane afold Admonitioun to the Ministerie of Scotland, be ane deing Brother.” If they relapse into Prelacy this might lead them into, horror of horrors, Popery.

1613

On some day in about this year Richard Crashaw was born at London, a son of that enemy of all things Catholic, the divine Dr. William Crashaw (1572-1626).

1634

A quaint Catholic village in the Bavarian alps had begun staging, at least by this year, a quaint Christian piece of guerrilla theatre the explicit focus of which was the claim that it had been the Jews, not the Romans, who had offed Christ. This idea would prove so attractive that the piece of theater, in which all Jewish characters (other than Jesus himself, of course) wore horn nubs as part of their costumes, would from this point forward be restaged every ten years with a fresh generation of local actors. The village of Oberammergau dedicated itself to the moral principle of watchfulness, that never again would a filthy Semite be allowed to off a Christian.[14]

ANTISEMITISM

14. Setting the stage for Mel Gibson's "Jesus: The Snuff Movie"

1636

Oliver Cromwell was at Ely.

Sir Kenelm Digby was reconciled to the Roman Catholic faith (this appears to have taken place in France).

1639

Ralph Cudworth took his MA degree and became fellow and tutor of Emmanuel College of Cambridge University.

Andrew Marvell, who had prepared at Hull grammar school, received his BA at Cambridge.

John Birkenhead became a Fellow of All Souls' at Oriel College of Oxford University.

Sir Kenelm Digby was back in England, but his intimacy as a Catholic with the king and queen would rouse suspicions in the Long Parliament.

1641

William Habington's OBSERVATIONS VPON HISTORIE (Printed by T. Cotes for Will. Cooke, and are to be sold at his shop, neere Furnivalls-Inne gate in Holborne), created in collaboration with his father Sir Thomas Habington.

At a meeting in Maidstone, Kent, Richard Lovelace led a group of men who seized and destroyed a pro-Parliament, anti-Episcopacy petition which had been signed by 15,000 Englishmen, for the abolition of Episcopal rule.

The Long Parliament summoned Sir Kenelm Digby. Are you now or have you ever been a Roman Catholic?

Due to the onset of the English Civil War, in Broadwindsor the Reverend Thomas Fuller, his curate Henry Sanders, the churchwardens, and five others needed to certify that each and every adult male of their parish, 242 in total, had sworn the Protestation oath that had been ordered by the speaker of the Long Parliament. Although he would not be formally dispossessed of his living and prebend on the triumph of the Presbyterian party, at about this period he would relinquish both preferments. For a short time he would preach at the Inns of Court and then, at the invitation of Walter Balcanqual, the master of the Savoy, and the brotherhood of that foundation, he would become lecturer at their chapel of St Mary Savoy. Sometimes his hearers there would overflow the structure and stand in the chapel-yard looking in at the windows and doors. In one of his sermons he would set forth the hindrances to peace, and urge the signing of peace petitions directed both to King Charles I at Oxford, and to the Parliament.

1642

Ralph Cudworth took on the Roman Catholics of England with A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE TRUE NOTION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER. He considered this sacrament to be that of a "feast upon a sacrifice," analogous to the feasts which followed the legal sacrifices among the Jews; not itself *sacrificium*, but, in Tertullian's language, *participatio sacrificii*. Soon he would add to this THE UNION OF CHRIST AND THE CHURCH; IN A SHADOW, in which he would attempt to depict marriage as more than a mere family contract.

The Long Parliament packed the influential Roman Catholic court-hanger-on Sir Kenelm Digby off to prison. He would be released only upon his pledge that he would immediately go into exile in France. He went to Paris and his English estate was forfeit.

1643

September 6, Wednesday (Old Style): The royalist forces led by the earl of Essex relieved Gloucester from its siege by the forces of the parliament. William Davenant acquitted himself so well during this military activity that he would be knighted by the king. After the battle of Naseby Sir William would retire to Paris, where he where he would convert to Roman Catholicism and spent some months in the composition of an epic poem, *Gondibert*.

ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

(During this year, also, one of his tragedies was being printed, *The Unfortunate Lovers*.)

1644

In Paris, Sir Kenelm Digby brought out “A Treatiſe of the Natvre of Bodies” and “A Treatiſe declaring the operations and nature of man’s ſovle, out of which the immortality of reaſonable ſovles is evinced.” These profound thingies would soon also be printed in London.

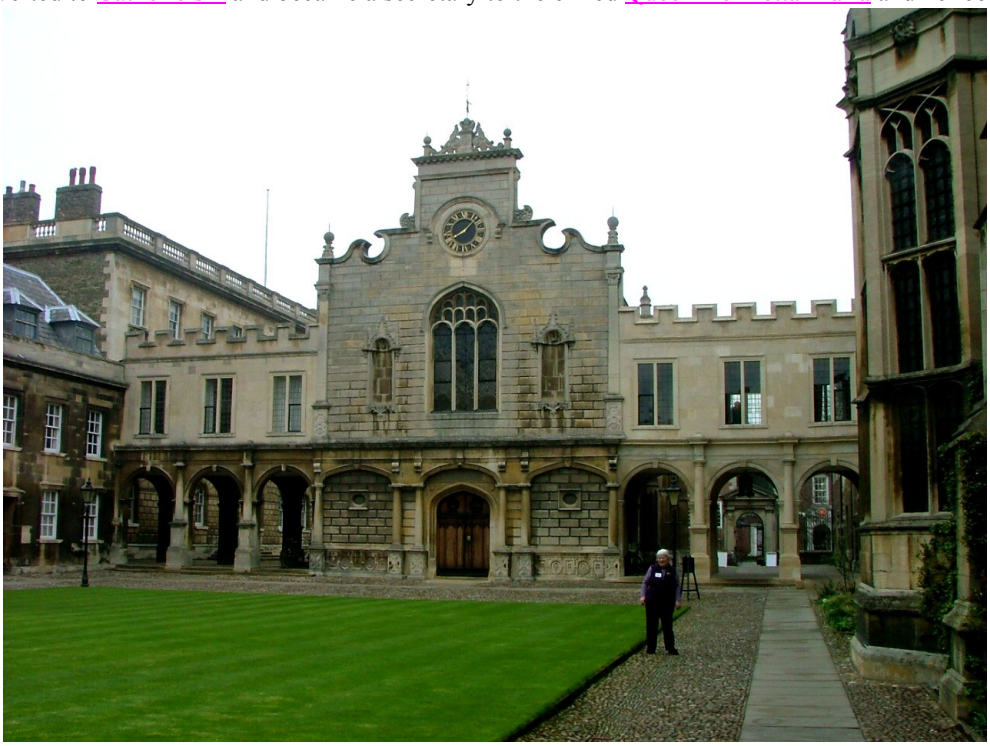
TWO TREATISES:: ... DIGBY

Vicar Robert Herrick would have written his poem “To the King upon his Coming with his Army into the West” in this year.

> WELCOME, most welcome to our vows and us,
> Most great and universal genius!
> The drooping west, which hitherto has stood
> As one, in long-lamented widowhood,
> Looks like a bride now, or a bed of flowers,
> Newly refresh’d, both by the sun and showers.
> War, which before was horrid, now appears
> Lovely in you, brave prince of cavaliers!
> A deal of courage in each bosom springs
> By your access, O you the best of kings!
> Ride on with all white omens ; so that where
> Your standard’s up, we fix a conquest there.

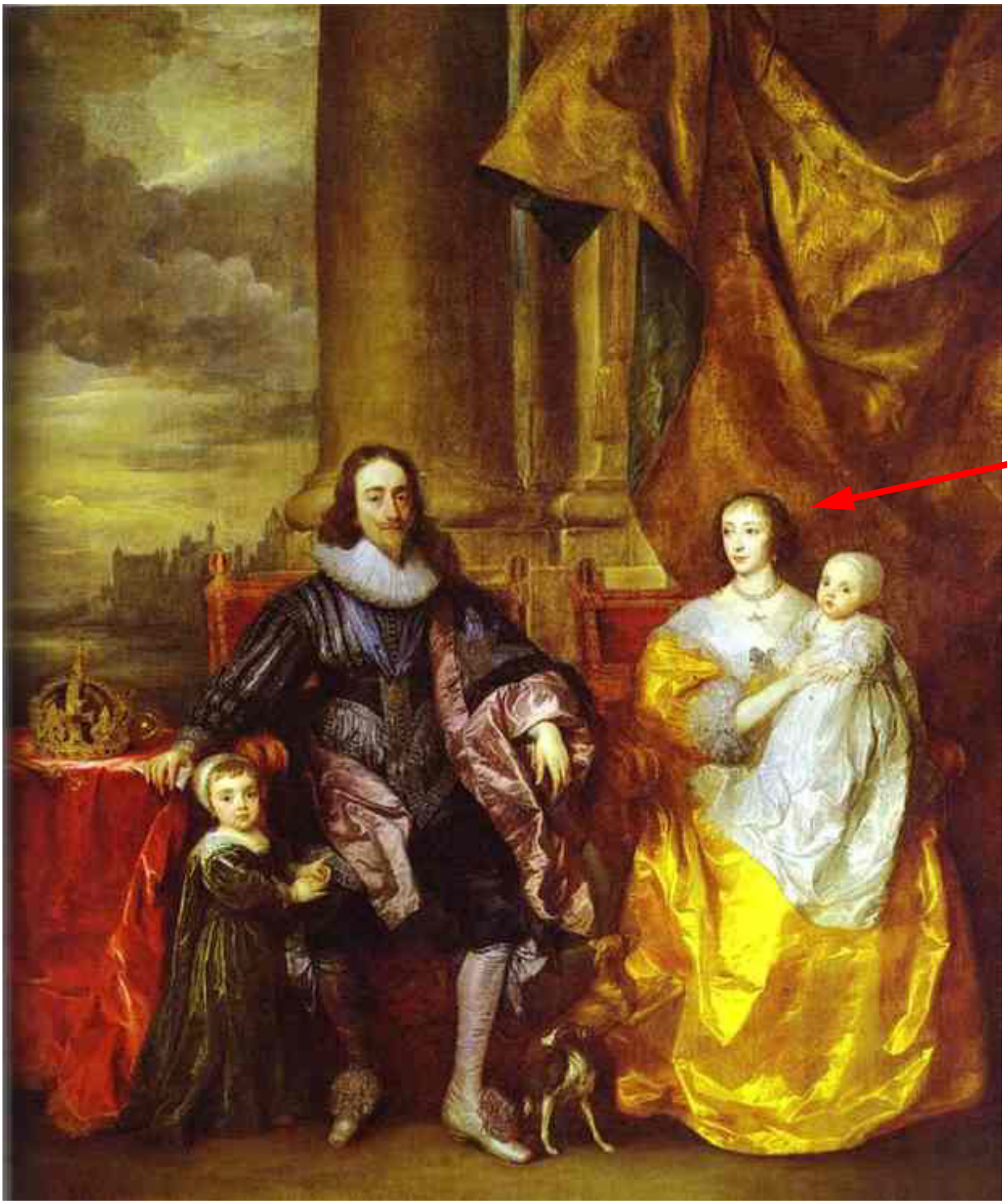
Despite his humble birth, at the age of 16 John Wray or Ray had been sent to study at Trinity College and Catharine Hall in Cambridge University.

After the disintegration in the vicinity of Cambridge of the influence of King Charles I in the ongoing English Civil War, Richard Crashaw refused to take the oath of the Covenant and was forcibly ejected by Parliamentarians from his fellowship at Peterhouse College of Cambridge University. Escaping to Paris, he converted to Catholicism and became a secretary to the exiled Queen Henrietta Maria and her court.



ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM



1645

Sir Kenelm Digby was sent by the English Catholic Committee at Paris upon a diplomatic mission to Rome, whither he would be sent again in 1647 — but on neither trip would he achieve anything of any significance.

In a house called "Whitehall," in Cheam, Surrey, the Reverend George Aldrich began the Cheam School.

Ralph Cudworth was appointed as master of Clare Hall and elected as Regius Professor of Hebrew. From this point he would be recognized as a leader among the "Cambridge Platonists," a group that was more or less in sympathy with the Parliament and more or less at odds with the faction of the royals. He would be consulted in regard to university and government appointments by John Thurloe, Oliver Cromwell's secretary to the council of state.

Parliamentary soldiers were reorganizing the English army. Each regiment of the "New Model Army" was to have 10 companies, and be commanded by a colonel. Line companies were authorized to contain about 100 enlisted men, at the rate of two musketeers (shoulder firearm with matchlock) for each pikeman. Each company had a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign to carry the flag. Sergeants lead the troops on the march, and corporals drilled them in pike and musket coordination. Their drummers controlled the company movement by the use of eight basic calls. Headquarters companies, which included the lieutenant colonel and the sergeant major, were somewhat larger. The dragoons, the cavalry, and the artillery were in other units, and then of course there were the sutlers, following along behind. Cavalrymen, and soldiers assigned to artillery units, carried shoulder firearms that used the wheel-lock or flint-lock mechanisms, in order to avoid accidents with slow matches that could cause powder wagons to explode. The New Model Army would turn out to need only five chaplains, and their sole duty would be to pray for victory in battle and then –if God gave them the victory– offer thanksgiving.

1648

Publication, at Paris, of two hymns in Latin by the Catholic poet Richard Crashaw.

1649

After another venture into England, the Catholic courtier Sir Kenelm Digby was again banished.

Upon the execution of the monarch Charles I, Charles II was recognized as King on the Isle of Jersey. At Elizabeth Castle there, he repaid George Carteret's loyalty by granting him an island off the coast of Virginia –designating this as the colony of "New Jersey" –and appointed Sir William Davenant as treasurer of the colony of Virginia.

Publication of Davenant's *Love and Honour* — although it seems that this play had been enacted years earlier under the title *The Courage of Love*. Also during this year, Davenant's *The Nonpareilles, or The Matchless Maids*.

1650

Père Gabriel Druillettes left Québec on a trip to Boston, as the envoy of the Canadian government to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Puritans of New England, and to arrange for French/English mutual protection against the Iroquois. He was well received both by the Reverend John Eliot and by Governor John Endecott, while residing at the home of Major-General Edward Gibbons.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE

December: There is a likelihood that while Père Gabriel Druillettes was at Boston, he was able privately to hold the ceremony of the Mass.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE

1651

June: Père Gabriel Druillettes was again dispatched from his mission on the Kennebec River as French commissioner, to attend a meeting of representatives of the English colonists that was to take place at New Haven during September.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE

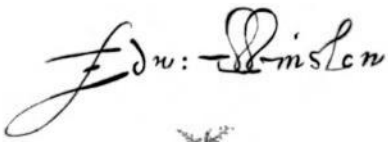
September: At the diplomatic meeting in New Haven, Connecticut, Père Gabriel Druillettes was unable to induce the deputies of the New England colonies to enter into a treaty. He would resume his duties among the Abnaki at his mission on the Kennebec River, until returning finally to Québec during March of the following year.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE

1654

Sir Kenelm Digby got leave to return to England and became an agent for Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell in the hope that this would help English Catholics recover their civil rights.

The Lord Protector, striving to overthrow the Spanish power in the West Indies, fitted out large naval and military forces under Admiral Penn and General Venables and sent them to Jamaica to operate against Hispaniola. He named a board of three commissioners, with controlling authority, of which Edward Winslow became the head.



With Ireland's armies in defeat and exile, the only mounted persons on the island were English soldiers.

> To the English ruling class Ireland was a tabula rasa on which it could inscribe what it would.

At about this point one of these English soldiers, Friend William Edmundson, got on his horse and visited two Quaker families in Rosenallis in county Laois in Ireland, apparently the Cantrill family of Tineil and the Chander family of Ballyhide.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1656

The 1st of two civil wars of Villmergen between Catholic and Protestant regions of Switzerland.

William Marston, Sr. needed to pay a fine of £10 to the county court after being discovered to be in possession of "two Quaker books and a paper of the Quakers."

A Baptist, John Perrot, became convinced as a Quaker after hearing Edward Burrough (1634/35-1663), although it would seem he continued to wear a sword appropriate to his standing in society. He began to preach in the vicinity of Limerick, Ireland. He and John Luffe (Love) went off as missionaries to the Catholics and Jews of the Italian peninsula.

1657

In the period since the Irish Catholic defeat in 1652, the victorious English colonists had brought about the sale by drovers and other intermediaries, of some 35,000 to 40,000 defeated Irish warriors, to the armies of foreign powers. In addition, as these defeated warriors were being transshipped out of Irish ports, some 6,000 Catholic priests, Irish Catholic women, and Irish Catholic boys had been sent along with them for free, in order to be disposed of them locally, without any separate record being maintained. In this year this Irish slave trade was brought to a completion. There was no-one left unabjected, to sell and deport. The remainders of the Irish Catholics would have to stay at home to be oppressed.[15]

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Friends John Perrot and John Luffe (Love) traveled on the Italian peninsula to convert Catholics and Jews to Quakerism. Eventually they would seek an audience with Pope Alexander VII at the Vatican in Rome and be imprisoned.

In this year Friend George Fox is said to have written in reproach to an aged and failing Oliver Cromwell: "O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit, the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary, Germany had given up to have done thy will, and the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf wanting the virtue of God, the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee, the Pope should have withered as in winter, the Turk in all of his fatness should have smoked, thou shouldst not have stood trifling about small things, but minded the work of the Lord as He began with thee at first."

Some Quakers have taken this to mean that Friend George was rebuking Cromwell for not having had English soldiers adorn their armor with the big red cross of the Crusader, and gone off on a 5th Crusade against Islam, and have offered this as a limitation on the early understanding of the Quaker Peace Testimony: that the testimony was at this early point entirely compatible with the use of war as an instrument of the monarch. My own contention would be, however, that when Friend George wrote "O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit," he was writing a phrase that is to us at the very least indefinite, or ambiguous. Precisely what would it be for a person to be faithful as Friend George proposed? Being faithful does not, of course, intrinsically, involve armies and shedding the blood of others, for one can on occasion be faithful even when one has no army at one's disposal and even when one is refusing to shed the blood of others. Exactly what is it for a person to thunder down deceit as Friend George proposed? Thundering down deceit does not, of course, intrinsically, involve the use of cannon and gunpowder, for one can on occasion thunder down deceit, even if one is out of gunpowder and all one's cannon have become Quaker cannon, fallen entirely silent.

15. As a footnote, a pointy reminder by Theodore W. Allen: "It is only a 'white' habit of mind that reserves 'slave' for the African-American and boggles at the term 'Irish slave trade'."

So if one is going to insist that when Friend George told the Lord Protector that "the Turk in all of his fatness should have smoked" what he meant was that that Cromwell should have sent the English army off on a 5th Crusade to kill so many of them that the ones still alive would fear the Lord Protector and do his will,[16] one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, "the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary" would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Hollanders that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, "Germany had given up to have done thy will" would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Germans that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, "the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf wanting the virtue of God" would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Spaniards that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, "the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee" would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Frenchmen that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, "the Pope should have withered as in winter" would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Roman Catholics that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will. What a spasm of 17th-Century conquest and bloodshed and terror this Quaker of today seems to suppose Friend George to have been imagining! But this is preposterous. Friend George certainly was not suggesting to Lord Protector Cromwell that he should have played Alexander the Great and conquered the known world. Had he meant that he would have said that. Where might any Quaker scholar have acquired such a conceit? And why would a Quaker now be furthering such a conceit?

Please notice once and for all that the phrase "O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit" is consistent also with an attitude that if Lord Protector Cromwell had studied to make himself a man of the spirit of God rather than a man of violence, he would have had a greater and more lasting influence upon his fellows, rather than experiencing, as he was, in his declining years, that for all the blood he had caused to be shed his life had produced no lasting benefit.

16. Note that Friend Mary Fisher's missionary voyage to the court of the Great Turk was at this point an entirely unknown and unimagined, because future, event.

1672

The 2d of two civil wars of Villmergen between Catholic and Protestant regions of Switzerland.

1673

June 15, Saturday (Old Style): James, Duke of York's conversion to Roman Catholicism meant that he was obligated under the terms of the Test Act of March 1673 to resign as Lord High Admiral. This was in the middle of the 3d Dutch War, while the English were in dire need of such services; therefore, Samuel Pepys would be appointed secretary to a new commission of Admiralty and, as such, would become the administrative head of the navy. In order to represent it in Parliament he would become a Member, initially for Castle Rising and then for Harwich.

1682

November 5, Sunday (Old Style): English Protestants gathered together in their places of worship for their annual Day of Hate, a solemn celebration of their fear and loathing for Roman Catholics — still automatically presumed to be traitors despite the passage of 76 years (fully three generations of human life).[17] John Evelyn's diary entry was in part as follows:

> *The Anniversarie of the Powder-plot Mr. Bohun preaching on 1. Cor: 10. 7. Comparing Popish Idolatrie, to that of the Heathen: The peril of their doctrine; Their wicked & pernicious Conspiracys, The danger of their late Dissenters least they bring us againe into that corrupt religion, by provoking God to take away the light we have so long abused:...*

GUY FAWKES

November 25, Saturday (Old Style)*: I was invited by Monsieur Lionberg The Swedish Resident, who made a magnificent Entertainement it being the Birth-day of his King: There dined the Duke of Albemarle, D*[uke]*Hamilton, Earle of Bathe, E*[arl] *of Alesbery, Lord Arran, Lord Castlehaven, the sonn of him who was executed 50 yeares before for Enormous Lusts &c: & sevveral greate persons: I was exceedingly afraide of Drinking, (it being a Dutch feast) but the Duke of Albemarle being that night to waite on his Majestie Excesse was prohibited; & to prevent all, I stole away & left the Company as soone as we rose from Table:*

17. Has a study ever been done, to estimate the **average** number of human generations that are required before this sort of binary dichotomization of a population has faded out and become mere "ancient history"?

November 28, Tuesday (Old Style)*: I went to Council of R*[oyal] *Society, for the Auditing the last yeares Accompts, where I was surpriz'd with a fainting fit, that for the present tooke away my sight; but God being mercifull to me, I recovered it after a short repose:*

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

WALDEN: Through want of enterprise and faith men are where they are, buying and selling, and spending their lives like serfs.

O Baker Farm!

"Landscape where the richest element
Is a little sunshine innocent." * *

"No one runs to revel
On thy rail-fenced lea." * *

"Debate with no man hast thou,
With questions art never perplexed,
As tame at the first sight as now,
In thy plain russet gabardine dressed." * *

"Come ye who love,
And ye who hate,
Children of the Holy Dove,
And Guy Faux of the state,
And hang conspiracies
From the tough rafters of the trees!"

Men come tamely home at night only from the next field or street, where their household echoes haunt, and their life pines because it breathes its own breath over again; their shadows morning and evening reach farther than their daily steps. We should come home from far, from adventures, and perils, and discoveries every day, with new experience and character.

Before I had reached the pond some fresh impulse had brought out John Field, with altered mind, letting go "bogging" ere this sunset. But he, poor man, disturbed only a couple of fins while I was catching a fair string, and he said it was his luck; but when we changed seats in the boat luck changed seats too. Poor John Field!–I trust he does not read this, unless he will improve by it,–thinking to live by some derivative old country mode in this primitive new country,–to catch perch with shiners. It is good bait sometimes, I allow. With his horizon all his own, yet he a poor man, born to be poor, with his inherited Irish poverty or poor life, his Adam's grandmother and boggy ways, not to rise in this world, he nor his posterity, till their wading webbed bog-trotting feet get *talaria* to their heels.

JOHN FIELD
GUY FAWKES
ADAM'S GRANDMOTHER

1685

Gabriel Bernon's brother Samuel Bernon converted to Catholicism. "Dans ses lettres écrites de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, il tente de convaincre son frère de se convertir et de rentrer en France."

HUGUENOTS

1686

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet sponsored Père François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon to participate in a great French campaign to bring the Huguenots within the Church of Rome. In his missionary field, would be the Saintogne region of France, he and five other priests would attempt to force these schismatics to be persuaded by the voice of reason, and heed the truth. He would be quite moderate in his use of force, exiling only a few and fining citizens merely five sous for each failure to make themselves available for Catholic indoctrination.[18]

May: Having been held for some seven months in the La Lanterne Tower of La Rochelle on account of his Protestant faith, the Huguenot merchant Gabriel Bernon was released. He would flee with his wife Ester le Roy Bernon and their children Gabriel, Marie, and Esther from France to Amsterdam, eventually arriving in London.

(Note that this was the very month during which, in London, the English Catholic king James II was ordering his common hangman to burn publicly before the Royal Exchange, the Huguenot refugee Jean Claude's anonymous *LES PLAINTES DES PROTESTANS CRUELLEMENT OPPRIMEZ DANS LE ROYAUME DE FRANCE*, 192 pages printed in Cologne chez Pierre Marteau MD.C.LXXXVI, for the offense of describing the persecutions being experienced by French Protestants such as the Bernon family and the Thoreau family.)

LES PLAINTES DES PROTESTANS

May 2, Sunday (April 22, Old Style): The Privy Council ordered the common hangman to burn publicly before the Royal Exchange, one copy in the original French of the Huguenot refugee Jean Claude's anonymous *LES PLAINTES DES PROTESTANS CRUELLEMENT OPPRIMEZ DANS LE ROYAUME DE FRANCE*, 192 pages printed in Cologne chez Pierre Marteau MD.C.LXXXVI, and one copy in an anonymous English translation in 48 pages that had subsequently appeared, AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS AND OPPRESSIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE. When it was brought to the attention of King James II that such an action would be viewed as entirely unprecedented, over the top, he explained his decision most frankly by expressing a kingly circle-the-wagons mindset:

> My resolution is taken. It has become the fashion to treat Kings disrespectfully; and they must stand by each other. One King should always take another's part; and I have particular reasons for showing this respect to the King of France.

According to the above explanation, it seemed necessary that all the kings of the world stand united to keep under control all the non-kingly citizenry of the world — apparently because there was a need to safeguard the powerful against unseemly depredations by the powerless. The matter would be detailed in a following issue of the London Gazette:

> Whitehall, May 8. The French Ambassador [Paul Barillon] having, by a Memorial, complained to His Majesty, That a Book,

18. The Huguenot young people Pierre Thoreau and Jeanne Servant, ancestors to Henry David Thoreau, may well not yet have fled to the Isle of Jersey –may still have been in this region– while Père François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon was conducting this Roman Catholic indoctrination campaign.

> intituled, 'Les Plaintes des Protestants cruellement opprimés dans le Royaume de France,' was sold and dispersed in this Kingdom: in which Book are many Falsities, and scandalous Reflections upon the Most Christian King: And that the said Book was likewise Translated into English, and Printed here. His Majesty was pleased to Order, That diligent Enquiry should be made after the Translator and Printer of the same, that they may be prosecuted according to Law: And that a printed Copy of the said Book in French, and another in English, should be Publickly burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman; which was accordingly put in execution on Wednesday last, before the Royal Exchange. No. 2136. Monday, May 10, 1686.

(By means of this one incident –the callous attitude expressed by this English monarch in the face of the suffering of refugee families such as the Thoreaus– do we not possess a complete historical explanation for the "Glorious Revolution" that would shortly come to the British Isles?)

LES PLAINTES DES PROTESTANS

An understanding that King James II was himself determinedly of the Catholic faith, and some entries in the current diary of Evelyn, may help us understand what had been going on here in the background of this news item. In John Evelyn's entry for March 29th we learn that ministers in English Protestant churches had been using their bully pulpits to protest the cruelties of the French Catholic king toward his Protestant subjects, who (like the Thoreaus) were fleeing in great numbers to Protestant-dominated England:

> March 29, Monday (Old Style)*: I return'd home:*
> *The Duke of Northumberland (a Natural sonn of the late King, by the Dutchesse of Cleaveland, an impudent woman) marrying very meanely, with the help of his bro*[ther] *Grafton, attempted to spirit away his Wife &c:*
> *A Briefe was read in all the Churches for Relieving the French Protestants who came here for protection, from the unheard-off, cruelties of their King:*
>
> April 15, Thursday (Old Style)*: I went to Mr. Cooks funerall, a Merchant my kind Neighbour at Greenewich where our Viccar preach'd the sermon: 2. Tim: 4:- 6.7.8: proper on the Occasion: Little Fr:Godolphin was now sick of the small pox, I pray God be gracious to that precious Chld:*
> *The Arch-Bish*[op] *of Yorke now died of the small-pox, aged 62 yeares, a Corpulent man; My special loving Friend, & whilst our Bish*[op] *of Rochester (from whence he was translated) my excellent Neighbour, an unexpressible losse to the whole Church, & that Province especialy, he being a learned, Wise, stoute, and most worthy prelate; so as I looke on this as a greate stroke to the poore Church of England now in this defecting period:*

April 18, Sunday (Old Style)*: Our Viccar on his former Text & most of it repetition: Afternoone I went to Camberwell to visite Dr. Par: but sate so inconveniently at Church, that I could very hardly heare his Text, which was 5.Heb:9: After sermon I went to the Doctors house, where he shew'd me The life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh, Usher, and among them that letter of Bish*[op] *Bramhals to the Primate, giving notice of the popish practices to pervert this nation, by sending an hundred priests &c into England, who were to conforme themselves to all Sectaries, and Conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us: This Letter was the cause of the whole Impressions being seiz'd on, upon pretence, that it was a political or historical account, of things, not relating to Theologie, though it had ben licenc'd by the Bish*[op] *&c: which plainely shewe'd what an Interest the Popish now had, that a Protestant Booke, containing the life, & letters of so eminent a man was not to be publish'd. There were also many letters to & from most of the learned persons his correspondents in Europ: but The Booke will, (I doubt not) struggle through this unjust impediment.*

April 20, Tuesday (Old Style)*: To Lond*[on] *a seale - & to see little Godolphin now, I blesse God, in an hope full way of Escape: Severall Judges put out, & new complying ones put in.*

April 24, Saturday (Old Style)*: I returned home, found my Coach-man dangerously ill of vomiting greate quantities of blood:*

May 5, Wednesday (Old Style)*: To Lond*[on] *There being a Seale, it was feared we should be required to passe a Doquett, Dispensing with Dr. Obadia Walker & 4 more, wheroff one an Apostate Curate at Putney, the other Master of University Coll*[ege] *Ox: to hold their Masterships, fellowships & Cures, & keepe pub: schooles & enjoy all former emoluments &c. notwithstanding they no more frequented, or used the pub: formes of Prayers, or Communion with the Church of England, or tooke the Test, & oathes of Allegeance & Supremacy, contrary to 20 Acts of Parliaments &c: which Dispensation being likewise repugnant to his Majesties owne gracious declaration at the begining of his Reigne, gave umbrage (as well it might) to every good Protestant: nor could we safely have passed it under the Privy-Seale: wherefore it was don by Immediate warrant, sign'd by Mr. Solicitor &c at which I was not a little glad: This Walker was a learned person, of a munkish life, to whose Tuition I had more than 30 yeares since, recommended the sonns of my worthy friend Mr. Hyldiard of Horsley in Surry: believing him to be far from what he proved, an hypocritical concealed papist, by which he perverted the Eldest son of Mr. Hyldyard, Sir Ed. Hales's eld: son & severall more [&] to the greate disturbance of the whole nation, as well as the University, as by his now publique defection appeared: All engines being now at worke to bring in popery amaine, which God in mercy prevent:*
This day was burnt, in the old Exchange, by the publique Hang-man, a booke (supposed to be written by the famous Monsieur Claude) relating the horrid massacres & barbarous proceedings of the Fr:King against his Protestant subjects, without any refutation, that might

convince it of any thing false: so mighty a power & ascendant here, had the French Ambassador: doubtlesse in greate Indignation at the pious & truly generous Charity of all the Nation, for the reliefe of those miserable sufferers, who came over for shelter:
About this time also, The Duke of Savoy, instigated by the Fr:King to exterpate the Protestants of Piemont, slew many thousands of those innocent people, so as there seemed to be a universal designe to destroy all that would not Masse it, thro[ugh] *out Europ, as they had power, quod avertat D.O.M.*
I procur'd of my L[ord] *president of the Council, the nomination of a son of Mrs. Cock, a Widdow (formerly living plentifully, now falln to want) to be chosen into the Charter-house Schoole, which would be a competent subsistence for him:*

May 7, Friday (Old Style)*: I return'd home:*

May 8, Saturday (Old Style)*: Died my sick Coachman of his feavor, to my greate griefe, being a very honest, faithfull servant: I beseech the Lord, to take-off his afflicting hand, in his good time.*

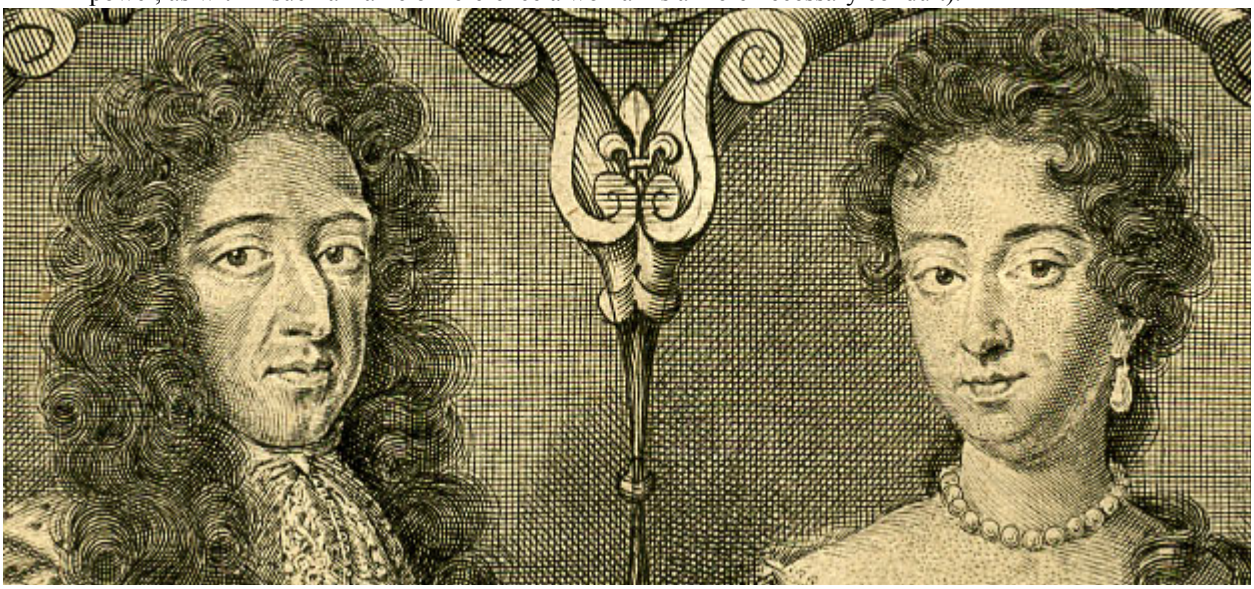
HUGUENOTS

May 9, Sunday (Old Style)*: ... The Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French* [king]*, put to the sword many of his protestant subjects: No faith in Princes.*

1688

According to Bishop Thomas Percy's RELIQUES OF ANCIENT ENGLISH POETRY (4th edition, 1794), the words "Lilli-Burlero-Bullen-a-la" had been "words of distinction used among the Irish Papists at the time of their massacre of the Protestants in 1641." This shibboleth-phrase had become the refrain of a nonsense song satirizing the Earl of Tyrconnel on the occasion of his visit to Ireland in January 1686/1687 as the Catholic vicegerent of King James II. The bad memories resulted at this point in another Irish revolution of "Protestants" who had none of the spirit of Jesus *vs*. "Catholics" who had none of the spirit of Jesus.

In what would become known as the Glorious Revolution, during this year and the following one King James II of England would be being deposed[19] as Mary II, a daughter of James II, and her spouse William, Prince of Orange were being declared joint monarchs (only William, of course, would be the bearer of actual regal power, as within such a frame of reference a woman is a mere necessary conduit).



This was quite a setback for Friend William Penn, who had been a supporter of King James II.

James II took refuge at the French court, and Louis XIV undertook to restore him. General war in the west of Europe. This kingly personnel substitution would help ease the stranglehold that official censorship had been having on British public life and thought. The new British Bill of Rights, however, would still be lacking in any guarantees of freedom of speech or of freedom of the press.

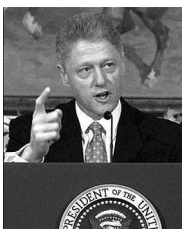
AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

Here are some Evelyn diary entries for the start of this year:

> January 15, Sunday (1687, Old Style)*: Was a solemn & particular office used at our, & all the Churche*[s] *of London, & 10 miles about it, for thanksgiving to God for her Majesties being with child:*

19. This term of art "depose" then had a different meaning from the meaning it has assumed more recently, in connection with Special Prosecutor Kenneth Star and President William Jefferson Clinton. Although Special Prosecutor Star would of course like to depose President Clinton in the manner in which King James II was deposed, it would come to seem as if only President Clinton might depose himself.

Depose this man!



February 12, Sunday (1687, Old Style)*: ... Wednesday before My Daughter Evelyn, going in the Coach to visite in the Citty, a Jolt (the doore being not fast-shut) flung her quite out of the Coach upon her back, in such manner, as the hind-wheles passed over both her Thighes a little above the knees: Yet it pleased God, besides the bruse of the Wheele upon her flesh, she had no other harme: We let her blood, anointed, & made her keepe bed 2 dayes, after which* [s]*he was able to walke & soone after perfectly well: Through God Almightys greate mercy to an Excellent Wife & a most dutifull & discreete daughter in Law:*

February 17, Friday (1687, Old Style)*: After above 12 Weekes Indisposition, we now returned home much recovered:*
I now receiv'd the sad tidings of my Niepce Montagues death, who died at Woodcot the 15th: There had ben unkindnesses & Injuries don our family by my Sister-in-Law, her mother, which we did not deserve; & it did not thrive to the purposes of those who instigated her, to cause her da[u]*ghter to cut-off an Intaile clandestinely: But Gods will be don, she has seene the ill effect of it, & so let it passe:*

In the Languedoc-Dauphine area of southern France where persecution of Huguenots was severe, the first Huguenot "saints" began to appear, shaking, falling down, choking, having convulsions, and announcing that the end of the world would come in the next year, 1689.

MILLENNIALISM

At least the 10th, and possibly the final, shipload of enslaved French Huguenots (ten shiploads, that is, are presently known to historians) arrived from Marseilles in the islands of Guadeloupe, St. Martin, St. Eustatius, and St. Domingo in the Caribbean. The mortality had been about 25% and there were about a thousand left alive to begin tropical labor under Catholic slavemasters.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

"The grandeur of a country is to assume all its history.
With its glorious pages but also its more shady parts."
— President Jacques Chirac of France

SLAVEHOLDING

April: During this month William, Prince of Orange began making his preparations for an invasion of England to save it from the Roman Catholicism of King James II.

Here is one of John Evelyn's diary entries from this period:

> April 15, Sunday (Old Style)*: Easter day, at Deptford ... It was now a very dry, cold easterly windy, backward Spring: The Turkish Empire in greate intestine Confusion: The French persecution still raging, multitud*[e]*s of Protestants & many very Considerable greate & noble persons flying hither, produced a second general Contribution: The papists, (by Gods providence) as yet making small progresse amongst us.*

June: The Huguenot merchant Gabriel Bernon, in his flight from the Catholic persecution in France, arrived at Boston in New England with about £5,500. His intention, formed at meetings with other refugees in London, was to sponsor a Huguenot settlement at New Oxford, Massachusetts. The home being built for him there was to do double duty as one of the little community's fortifications. He would remain, himself, in Boston, while the 40 Huguenot refugees who had come over with him went on to build their homes and work their farms. He quickly established himself in trade in Boston, becoming involved in the construction of ships and in the manufacture of nails, as well as in the commodity market for salt and for pine rosin. He set up a wash-leather manufactory in New Oxford, to make use of the labors of his fellow Huguenot refugees, and began to supply the Boston and Newport glovers and hatters with fine leathers.[20] His success in these enterprises would enable him to obtain contracts from the English government for the provision of naval supplies.

July 8, Sunday (June 28, Old Style): John Evelyn's diary entry had to do with England's struggle over the Roman Catholicism of King James II:

> *... In the meane time more viru*[le]*ntly did the popish priests, in their sermons against the C*[hurch] *of England, raging at the successe of the Bishops, as being otherwise no ways able to carry their Cause against their learned Adversaries confounding them by both disputes & writings:*

July 9, Monday (June 29, Old Style): Trial of the Seven Bishops (refer to 12 HOWELL'S STATE TRIALS 183 [K.B. 1688]).

20. René Grignon, partner of Jean Papineau in this *chamoiserie*, was also a silversmith and goldsmith: a silver porringer he would create in 1692 is now at Yale University. Earlier, Grignon had been a member of the Narragansett settlement at East Greenwich in Rhode Island, which lasted from 1686 to 1691. During 1696-1699 he would be elder of the French church in Boston. After New Oxford would finally be abandoned in 1704, he would become master of a sailing vessel and then settle in Norwich, Connecticut, where he would be a jeweler and merchant until his death in 1715. The church bell from New Oxford would be contributed by him to the church in Norwich.

July 10, Tuesday (June 30, Old Style): The Seven Bishops were acquitted. Later on this day what would become known in England as the "Invitation of the Immortal Seven" was dispatched to William, Prince of Orange: come save England from King James II and his Roman Catholicism.

July 13, Friday (July 3, Old Style): King James II dismissed two more judges.

July 22, Sunday (July 12, Old Style): John Evelyn's diary entry had to do with England's struggle over the Roman Catholicism of King James II:

I return'd home; The Camp now began at Hounslow, but their nation in high discontent: The 2 Judges, who favour'd the Cause of the Bish[op] *had their writ of Ease: greate wroth meditating against the Bish*[op] *Cleargy & Church: Coll*[onel] *Titus, Sir H. Vane (son of him who was executed for his Treason) & some others of the Presbyt: & Indep: party, Sworn of the Privy Council, hoping thereby to divert that party, from going-over to the Bishops & C*[hurch] *of England, which now they began to do: as forseeing the designes of the papists to descend & take in their most hatefull of heretiques (as they at other time believed them) to effect their owne ends, which was now evidently, the utter extirpation of the C*[hurch] *of Eng*[land] *first, & then the rest would inevitably follow:*

August 26, Sunday (Old Style): The final meeting of the Court of High Commission.

Here are some of John Evelyn's diary entries from this period:

August [15, Wednesday] (Old Style)*: ... to Althorp in Northamptonshire, it being 70 miles, which in 2 Coaches one [of 4 horses] that* [tooke] *me & my son up at white-hall & carried us to Dunstaple, where we arived & dined at noone, & another there of 6 horses, which carried us to Althorp 4 miles beyond N-hampton, by 7 a clocke that evening; both these Coaches laied for me alone, by that noble Countesse of Sutherland, who Invited me to her house at Althorp, where she entertaind me & my son with very extraordinary kindnesse, and convey'd us back againe to London in the very same noble manner, both going & coming, appointing a Dinner for us, at Dunstaple, as soone as we came to the Inn: I stayed with her Ladyship 'til the Thursday following.*

August 18, Saturday (Old Style)*: Dr. Jessup the Minister of Althorp, who was my Lords Chaplaine, when Ambassador in France, preached on the shortest discourse I ever heard: but what was defective in the amplitude of his sermon, we found supplied in the largenesse, & convenience of the Parsonage house, which the Doctor (who had in spiritual advancements, at least 600 pounds per Annum) had new-built, fit for any person of quality to live in, with Gardens & all accommodations) according.*

August 20, Monday (Old Style)*: My Lady carried us to [Castle Ashby] my Lord of Northamptons Seate, a very strong large house built of stone, not altogether modern: they were now inlarging the Gardens, in which was nothing extraordinary but the Yron gate, opening into the Parke, which is indeede very good worke, wrought in flowers, painted with blew & gilded; & there is a very noble Walke of Elmes towards the front of the house by the Bowling Greene: I was not in any roomes of the house besides a lobby looking into the Garden, where my Lord, and his new Countesse (Sir St: Foxes daughter, whom I had known from a very Child) entertained the Countesse of Sunderland & her daughter the Countesse of Arran, (newly married to the son of the Duke of Hamilton) with so little good grace, & so dully, that our Visite was very short, & so we return'd to Althorp: which is 12 miles distant:*
The Earle of Sunderlands House, or rather palace at Althorp, is a noble uniforme pile, in forme of an built of brick & freestone, balustred, & a la moderne; The Hale is well, the Staircase incomparable, the roomes of State, Gallerys, Offices, & Furniture such as [may] *become a greate Prince: It is situated in the midst of Gardens, exquisitely planted & kept, & all this in a parke wall'd with hewn stone; planted with rowes & walkes of Trees; Canales &*

fish ponds, stored with Game: & what is above all this, Govern'd by a Lady, that without any shew of solicitude; keepes every thing in such admirable order both within & without, from the Garret, to the Cellar; That I do not believe there is any in all this nation or any other, exceeds her: all is in such exact order, without ostentation, but substantialy greate & noble; The meanest servant lodged so neate & cleanely, The Services at several Tables, the good order & decenccy, in a word the intire Oeconomie perfectly becoming, a wise & noble person, & one whom for her distinguishing esteeme of me from a long & worthy friendship; I must ever honour & Celebrate: & wish, I do from my Soule; The Lord her Husband (whose parts & abilit[i]*es are otherwise conspicuous) were as worthy of her, as by a fatal Apostacy, & Court ambition, as he has made himselfe unworthy: This is what she deplores, & renders her as much affliction, as a Lady of a greate Soule & much prudence is capable of: The Countesse of Bristol her mother, a grave & honorable Lady has the comfort of seing her daughter & Grand-children under the same Oeconomie, especialy, Mr. Charles Spencer, a Youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned for his age & ingenious, & under a Governor of Extraordinary worth: Happy were it, could as much be said,* [of] *the Elder Bro[ther] the Lord Spencer, who rambling about the world, dishonors both his name & family, adding sorrow to sorrow, to a Mother, who has taken all imaginable care of his Education: but vice more & more predominating, gives slender hopes of his reformation: He has another sister very Young, married to the Earle of Clancartie to a greate & faire Estate in Ireland, which* [yet] *gives no greate presage of worth; so universaly contaminated is the youth of this corrupt & abandoned age: But this is againe recompens'd by my Lord Arran, a sober & worthy Gent*[leman] *& who has Espoused the Lady Ann Spencer, a young lady of admirable accomplishments & vertue:*

August 23, Thursday (Old Style)*: I left this noble place, & Conversation on the 23d, passing through Northampton, which having lately ben burnt & reedified, is now become a Towne, that for the beauty of the buildings especialy the Church, & Towne-house, may compare with the neatest in Italy itselfe:*

August 24, Friday (Old Style)*: Hearing my poore wife, had ben ataqu'd with her late Indisposition I hasted home this morning, & God be pra*[i]*sed found her much amended.*
Dr. Sprat: Bish of Rochester, writing a very honest & handsome letter to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical; excuses himselfe from sitting no longer amongst them, as by no meanes approving of their prosecution of the Cleargy who refus'd to reade his Majesties declaration for liberty of Conscience, in prejudice of the Church of England &c:
The French Arme & threaten the Election of the Elect: of Colin: The Dutch make extraordinary preparations both at sea & land which (with the very small progresse popery makes amongst us) puts us to many difficulties:
The popish Irish Souldiers commit many murders & Insolences; The whole Nation dissaffected & in apprehensions: what the event will prove God onely knows:
After long trials of the Doctors, to bring up the little P[rince] *of Wales by hand (so-many of her Majesties Children having died Infants) not succeeding: A country Nurse (the wife of a Tile-maker) is taken to give it suck:*

November 7, Wednesday (October 28, Old Style): The relevant news item, per the journal of John Evelyn:

I din'd with Sir W: Godolphin: [A Tumult in Lond on the rabble demolishing a popish Chapell set up in the Citty.]

November 8, Thursday (October 29, Old Style): The relevant news item, per the journal of John Evelyn:

> *My Lady Sunderland acquainted me at large his Majesties taking away the Seales from her husband, & of her being with the Queene to interceede for them: It is conceiv'd he grew remisse of late in pursuing the Interest of the Jesuitical Counsels, some reported one thing, some another; but there was doubtlesse some seacret betraied, which time may discover:*
> *There was a Council now cald, to which were summon'd the A*[rch]*Bish of Cant. &*[c]*: Judges, Lord Major &c: Q[ueen]Dowager, all the Ladies & Lords, who were present at the Q[ueen]Consorts labour, upon oath to give testimonie of the Pr[ince] of Wales's birth, which was recorded, both at the Council board, & at the Chancery a day or two after: This procedure was censur'd by some, as below his Majestie to condescend to, upon the talke of Idle people: Remark-able on this occasion, was the refusal of the A*[rch] *Bish*[op] *Marq: Halifax, Earles of Clarendon & Notinghams refusing to sit at the Council Table in their places, amongst Papists, & their bold telling his Majestie that what ever was don whilst such sate amongst them was unlawfull, & incurr'd præmunire: if at least, it be true, what I heard:*
> *I din'd with my Lord Preston, now made Secretary of state in place of the E. of Sunderland: Visited Mr. Boile, where came in Duke Hamilton & E. of Burlington: The Duke told us many particulars of Mary Q[ueen] of Scots, and her amours with the Italian favorite &c:*

November 9, Friday (October 30, Old Style): The relevant news item, per the journal of John Evelyn:

> *I dined with the Secretary of the Admiralty, visited Dr. Tenison:*

November 10, Saturday (October 31, Old Style): The relevant news item, per the journal of John Evelyn:

> *My Birthday, being the 68 yeare of my age: — Blessed Lord, grant, that as I advance in yeare*[s]*, so I may improve in Grace: Be thou my protector this following yeare, & preserve me & mine from these dangers and greate confusions, which threaten a sad revolution to this sinfull Nation: Defend thy Church, our holy Religion, & just Lawes, disposing his Majestie to harken to sober & healing Counsels, yet if it be thy blessed will we may still enjoy that happy Tranquility which hitherto thou hast continued to us. Amen: Amen:*
> *I din'd at my sonns:*

November 11, Sunday (November 1, Old Style): On this Thursday William, Prince of Orange's fleet put to sea the 2d time.

The relevant news item, per the journal of John Evelyn:

> *Dined with my L*[ord] *Preston againe, with other company, at Sir St: Foxes:*
> *Continual al'armes of the Pr*[ince] *of Oranges landing, but no certainty; reports of his greate losses of horse in the storme; but without any assurance. A Man was taken with divers papers & printed Manifests, & carried to Newgate after examination at the Cabinet-Council: There was likewise a declaration of the States, for satisfaction of all publique Ministers in their Dominions, the reason of their furnishing the Prince with their Vessels & Militia on this Expedition, which was delivered to all the Ambassadors & publique Ministers at the Hague except to the English & French:*
> *There was in that of the Princes, an expression as if the Lords both Spiritual & Temporal &c had invited him over, with a deduction of the Causes of his enterprise: This made his Majestie Convene my L*[ord] *of Cant*[erbury] *& the other Bishops now in Towne, to* [give] *them an account of what was in the Manifesto: & to enjoyne them to cleare themselves by* [some] *publique writing of this disloyal charge.*

November 12, Monday (November 2, Old Style): The relevant news item, per the journal of John Evelyn:

> *It was now certainly reported by some who saw the Pr[ince] imbarke, and the fleete, That they sailed from Brill on Wednesday Morning, & that the Princesse of Orange was there, to take leave of her Husband,* [3] *& so I returned home.*

November 13, Tuesday (November 3, Old Style): William, Prince of Orange's fleet sailed through the Straits of Dover and entered the English Channel.

November 14, Wednesday (November 4, Old Style): William, Prince of Orange's 38th birthday and 11th wedding anniversary.

The relevant news item, per the journal of John Evelyn:

> *... Fresh reports of the Pr*[ince] *being landed somewher about Portsmouth or Ile of Wight: whereas it was thought, it would have ben north ward: The Court in greate hurry —*

1689

March 4, Monday (February 22, 1688 Old Style): The English news, per the journal of John Evelyn:

> *I saw the new Queene & King, so proclaim'd, the very next day of her coming to White-hall, Wednesday 13. Feb. with wonderfull acclamation & general reception, Bonfires, bells, Gunns &c: It was believed that they both, especialy the Princesse, would have shewed some (seeming) reluctancy at least, of assuming her Fathers Crowne & made some Apologie, testifying her regret, that he should by his misgovernment necessitat the Nation to so extraordinary a proceeding, which would have shewed very handsomly to the world, (and according to the Character give*[n] *of her piety &c) & consonant to her husbands first Declaration, that there was no intention of Deposing the King, but of Succoring the Nation; But, nothing of all this appeared; she came into W-hall as to a Wedding, riant & jolly, so as seeming to be quite Transported: rose early on the next morning of her arival, and in her undresse (as reported) before her women were up; went about from roome to roome, to see the Convenience of White-hall: Lay in the same bed & appartment where the late Queene lay: & within a night or two, sate down to play at Basset, as the Q*[ueen] *her predecessor us'd to do: smiled upon & talked to every body; so as no manner of change seem'd in Court, since his Majesties last going away, save that infinite crowds of people thronged to see her, & that she went to her prayers:*
> *This carriage was censured by many: she seemes to be of a good nature, & that takes nothing to heart whilst the Pr[ince] her husband has a thoughtfull Countenance, is wonderfull serious & silent, seemes to treate all persons alike gravely: & to be very intent on affaires, both Holland, & Ireland & France calling for his care: Divers Bishops, & Noble men are not at all satisfied with this so suddain Assumption of the Crown, without any previous, sending & offering some Conditions to the absent King: or, upon his not returning & assenting to those Conditions within such a day: to have proclaim'd him Regent &c. But the major part of both houses, prevailed to make them King & Q[ueen] immediately, and a Crowne was tempting &c - This was opposed & spoke against with such vehemency by my L*[ord] *Clarendon (her owne Unkle) as putt him by all preferments, which must doubtless,* [have] *been as greate, as could have ben given him:*
> *My L*[ord] *of Rochester his bro*[ther] *overshot himselfe by the same carriage & stiffnesse, which, their friends thought, they might have well spared, when they saw how it was like to be over-ruled, & that it had ben sufficient to have declared their dissent with lesse passion, acquiescing in due time: The AB of Cant, & some of the rest, upon scrupule of Conscience, & to salve the Oathes they had taken, entred their protests, & hung off: Especially the Arch-Bishop, who had not all this while so much as appeared out of Lambeth: all which incurred the wonder of many, who observed with what zeale they contributed to the Princes Expedition, & all this while also, rejecting any proposals of sending againe* [for] *the absented King: That they should now boggle & raise scrupuls, & such as created much division among people, greatly rejoicing the old Courtiers, & Papist*[s] *especialy:*
> *Another objection was the invalidity of what was don, by a Convention onely, & the as yet unabrogated Laws: which made them on the 22, make themselves a parliament, the new King passing the act with the Crowne on his head: This lawyers disputed; but necessity prevailed, the Government requiring a speedy settlement: And now innumerable were the Crowds who*

> *solicited for & expected Offices, most of the old ones turn'd out: Two or 3. White Staves were disposed of some days before, as L*[ord] *Steward to the E. of Devonshire, Tress: of the Household to L*[ord] *Newport, L*[ord] *Cham: to the K, to my L*[ord] *of Dorset &c: but there were yet none in Offices of the Civil government, save Pr[ince] Seale to the Marq: of Halifax: A Council of 30 was chosen, L*[ord] *Danby Presedent: but neither Chancellor, Tressurer, Judges &c not yet declared, A greate seale not yet finished: Thus far went things when I returned home (having visited divers of my old acquaintance &c) which was* [23] *on the Saturday:*

March 5, Tuesday (February 23, 1688 Old Style): King William III of England approved the first statute of his reign, the Parliament Act, 1689, 1 W. & M., ch. 1, transforming the Convention into the Convention Parliament.

March 8, Friday (February 26, 1688 Old Style): In a letter to King William III of England of this date, Sunderland, who was hiding in Holland, for the first time deployed the concept "Glorious Revolution" as a description of this transition from a Roman Catholic monarch over England to a Protestant one.

March 18, Monday (March 8, 1688 Old Style): The Viscount Dundee departed Edinburgh to raise a Highland army to fight for the deposed James II. The English news, per the diary of Evelyn:

> *Dr. Tillotson deane of Cant*[erbury] *an excellent discourse on 5. Matt: 44: exhorting to charity and forgiveness of Enemies; I suppose purposly, The new Parliament now being furiously about Impeaching those who were obnoxious: & as their custome has ever ben going on violently, without reserve or moderation: whilst wise men were of opinion that the most notorious Offenders being named & excepted, an Act of Amnesty were more seasonable, to paciffie the minds of men, in so generall a discontent of the nation, especialy of those who did not expect to see the Government assum'd without any reguard to the absent King, or proving a spontaneous abdication, or that the Pr[ince] of Wales was an Imposture, &c: 5 of the Bishops also still refusing to take the new Oath: In the interim to gratifie & sweeten the people, The Hearth Tax was remitted for ever: but what intended to supply it, besids present greate Taxes on land: is not named: The King abroad furnished with mony & officers by the French King going now for Ireland, Their wonderfull neglect of more timely preventing that from hence, and disturbances in Scotland, gives men apprehension of greate difficulties before any settlement can be perfected here:* [whilst] *The Parliament dispose of the greate Offices amongst themselves: The Gr*[eat] *Seale, Treasury, Admiralty put into commission, of many unexperienc'd persons to gratifie the more: So as, by the present prospect of things (unlesse God Almighty graciously interpose, & give successe in Ireland, & settle Scotland) more Trouble seemes to threaten this nation, than could be expected: In the Interim, the new K*[ing] *referrs all to the Parliament in the most popular manner imaginable: but is very slow in providing against all these menaces, besides finding difficulties in raising men to send abroad, The former army (who had never don any service hitherto, but received pay, and passed the summers in an idle scene of a Camp at Hounslow) unwilling to engage, & many of them dissaffected, & scarce to be trusted:*

April 11, Thursday (Old Style): The “Glorious Revolution” overthrew the English Catholics and King James II, and William, Prince of Orange (and Mary, his wife), with much help from Huguenot exiles in Great Britain, took the throne as the Protestant sovereigns of England.

The deposed king James II would flee to Ireland but in the following year would be defeated at the Battle of the Boyne. The Jacobite War would culminate in a few years, in the defeat of Irish Catholics by the Dutch/ English King William III and expropriation of land owned by Catholics.

Whereupon, an Act of Toleration would close a chapter in Quaker history: the Convention Parliament would issue a Bill of Rights limiting the powers of the monarchy over Parliament.

READ THE FULL TEXT

After many years of guarded privilege, as one of the acts of the Glorious Revolution the government charter of the Merchant Adventurers Company was withdrawn.

This act, ratifying the Revolution of 1688-1689, would incorporate the earlier “Declaration of Rights” offered to William upon his accession. This established a constitutional monarchy in Britain. It barred Roman

Catholics from the throne. William III and Mary II became joint monarchs of England and Scotland (to 1694).

A Toleration Act granted freedom of worship to dissenters in England. This Toleration Act closed a chapter in Quaker history. Although the Religious Society of Friends would still be prosecuted for refusal to pay tithes, the prosecution rate would fall off as and many Friends would connive in the payment of, and in some cases even the receiving of, tithes. By the turn of the century the Quakers would have adjusted to England, and England to them.

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The Huguenot young scholar Abel Boyer ventured from the continent of Europe to England and would there

suffer a period of great economic stress.

"William and Mary" would ally with Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands to engage in what were called in Europe "King William's Wars," to oppose the expansionism of the French under King Louis XIV. In North America these would be referred to as the French and Indian Wars and would be fought between the French and English and their respective Indian allies, the Algonquian and the Iroquois, for control of the colonial lands. These wars will continue off and on in America until 1763:

Numb. 2444

The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

From Thursday April 11. to Monday April 15. 1689.

Whitehall, April 11.

THis Day the Coronation of their Sacred Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* was performed at *Westminster* in manner following.

Their Majesties being come from Whitehall *to* Westminster, *and the Nobility*, &c. *being put in Order by the Heralds, They came down in State into* Westminster-hall, *where the Swords and Spurs were presented to Them.*

After which the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster, *having brought the Crowns and other* Regalia, *presented them severally to Their Majesties; which, with the Swords and Spurs, were thereupon delivered to the Lords appointed to carry them.*

Thus Their Majesties in Their Robes of Crimson Velvet, King with a Cap, and the Queen a Circlet in her Head, the Nobility in Crimson Velvet Robes with their Coronet their Hands, and the rest of the Proceeding in their pr Habits marched on foot upon Blew Cloth to Westminster-A *all the Way and Houses on each side being Crouded with Numbers of Spectators expressing their great Joy and S faction by loud repeated Acclamations.*

Being Entred the Church, and all duly seated, the Bish London, *who performed this great Solemnity, began with Recognition, which ended with a mighty Shout. Then T Majesties Offered, and the Lords who bore the* Regalia, *sented them at the Altar. The* Litany *was sung by Bishops, and after the* Epistle, Gospel, *and* Nicene Creed *Bishop of* Salisbury *Preach'd on this Text,* 2 Sam. 23. 3, 4

After Sermon Their Majesties took the Oath, and Conducted to their Regal Chairs placed on the Theater (they might be more Conspicuous to the Members of the Ho Commons, who were seated in the North Cross) were Anoi

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

1695

In Concord, Thomas Brown continued as Town Clerk.

In Concord, Jonathan Prescott was again deputy and representative to the General Court.

Joseph Smith, who had been born in Concord (his father was Thomas Smith), was graduating from Harvard College on his way to becoming a minister.

> JOSEPH SMITH was graduated [at Harvard] in 1695, ordained in Middletown, Connecticut, first minister of the "Upper Houses," January 5, 1715, and died September 8, 1736, aged 62. His father's name was Thomas.[21]

Candidate for the Master's degree Caleb Cushing maintained, in Latin at the Harvard Commencement in this year, that the Pope in Rome was the Antichrist which scripture had predicted. ("*An Pontifex Romanus sit Ille Antichristus, Quem futurum Scriptura praedixit? Affirmat Respondens Caleb Cushing*.")

CATHOLICS
ANTI-CATHOLICISM

"To understand is not to forgive. It is only to understand. It is not an end but a beginning."

— Rebecca West

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

1696

January 2, Thursday 1695 or 1695/1696 (Old Style): Edward Bulkeley (1) died at Chelmsford MA. The body would be buried at Concord. Upon the reverend's death, the Reverend Joseph Estabrook, who had been his assistant since 1667, would succeed him and would serve the church in Concord until his own death in 1711 while the new Meeting House was in process of construction.

> The Rev. EDWARD BULKELEY was the eldest son of the Rev. Peter Bulkeley and born and chiefly educated in England. He emigrated to this country and was admitted a member of the First Church of Boston in 1634. Having acquired a professional education under the instruction of his father, he was licensed to preach the gospel and ordained in Marshfield in 1642 or 1643. On the death of his father in 1659, he was dismissed and installed over the church in Concord. He died at a great age, in the 53d year of his ministry, at Chelmsford, January 2, 1696, probably on a visit to his grandson, and was buried in Concord. Few records are preserved concerning his ministry or himself. He is represented by tradition to have been lame, and of a feeble constitution. He was, however, greatly respected for his talents, acquirements, irreproachable character and piety. He preached an Election Sermon in 1680 from 1 Sam. ii. 30; and one before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1679, from 1 Peter ii. 11. His only printed work that I have seen, is that noticed in our general history under date of 1676, preached in commemoration of the safe return of Captain Thomas Wheeler and his associates after the battle of Brookfield.
> I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have not learned whom Edward Bulkeley married. [According to Torrey's page 115, he married "Lucian ___, widow, who had a dau. Lucy". According to Torrey's page 447, "John Lake (d. 1677) & 2nd wife, Lucy Bishop (d. 1678) dau. of Lucien, wife of Rev. Edward Bulkeley; Boston."] His children were John, Peter, Jane (who married Ephraim Flint), and Elizabeth, who married, in 1665, the Rev. Joseph Emerson, great grandfather of the Rev. William Emerson hereafter to be noticed, and after Mr. Emerson's death (which took place in Concord, January 3, 1680), for a second husband, John Brown, Esq., of Reading. She was the only child of Mr. Bulkley, it is supposed, who had issue.[22]

(In addition, the Reverend Estabrook's son Benjamin Estabrook, who had graduated from Harvard College in 1690, was in this year becoming the 1st minister in Lexington, which had been known up to that point as "Cambridge Farms" and had not been considered a separate town in need of its own minister. Meanwhile, another son who would become a minister, Samuel Estabrook, was graduating in this year from Harvard.)

> Samuel Estabrook, 3d son of the Rev. Joseph Estabrook was b. Jan

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

> 7, 1674 and grad. 1696. He taught the grammar school in Concord in 1706 to 1710 and assisted his father in the ministry. He was ordained at Canterbury, Conn., June 13, 1711 where he died June 26, 1727 aged 53.[23]

(One of the anecdotes we have received from the period of the Reverend Estabrook in Concord, an anecdote to which we are unable to assign a precise date, has to do with the Reverend's bias against Catholicism. He instructed one of his church deacons to heave one of their communion plates across the room, smashing it, because it was inscribed "IHS" and even worse was marked with a cross and 3 nails of the crucifixion — which he took to be Papist symbolism. This glued-back-together artifact is still on display in Concord, as a sort of warning to the faithful of a spiritual error to which they again might easily succumb.)

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

February (1695, Old Style): Here are the entries for this month in the diary of John Evelyn:

> February 2, Sunday (1695, Old Style)*: Greate Indisposition by paine in my kidnies, thro gravell &c: kept me from church this day also, but we had the Office by Mr. Wye &c:*
> *This was an extraordinary wett season, tho temperate as to cold.*
> *The Parliament intent on reforming the Coine, divers Wracks, at Sea.*
> *The R*[oyal] *Sovraigne burnt at Chattham, that ship, which built 1637 was perhaps the original Cause of all the after trouble to this day:*
> *An Earth quake in Dorset-shire by Portland, or rather a sinking of the ground suddenly for a large space, neere the quarries of stone, hindring the conveyance of that materi*[a]*ll for the finishing of St. Paules:*
> *I was much afflicted with gravell:*
>
> February 26, Wednesday (1695, Old Style)*: There was this weeke a Conspiracy of about 30 Knights, Gent, Captaines, many of them Irish & English Papists & non Jurors or Jacobites (as calld) to murder K*[ing] *William, upon the first opportunity of his going either from Kensington, to hunting, or the Chappell, & upon a signal of fire to be given from Dover C*[l]*iffe to Calis, an Invasion designed, where there were in order to it, a very greate Army in readinesse, Men-of Warr & transport ships innumerable to joyne with a general Insurrection here, The Duke of Barwick being seacretly come to London to head them, & K*[ing] *James attending at Calis with the French Army: but it being discovered by I think the Duke of & other of the Confederats, & by one of their owne party; & a 1000 pounds, to who soever could apprehend any of the 30 named: The whole designe was frustrated, most of the Ingaged taken & secur'd: The Parliament: Citty & all the nation congratulating the deliverance & Votings & Resolutions, that if ever K*[ing] *William should be Assassinated, it should be revenged upon the Papists & Party throout the nation, an Act of Association drawing up to impower the Parliament to sit upon any such Accident, til the Crowne should be dispos'd of according to the late settlement at the Revolution; All Papists in the meane time to be banished 10 miles from London; which put this nation into an incredible disturbance & general Animosity against the Fr: King, & K*[ing] *James: The Militia of the Nation raised, several Regiments sent for out of Flanders, & all things put into a posture to encounter a descent: which was so timed abroad, that, whilst we were already much confused, & discontented upon the greatnesse of the Taxes, and corruption of the mony &c, we had likely to have had very few Men of Warr neere our Coasts; but so it pleased God, the V Admiral Rooke wanting a Wind to pursue his Voyage to the Straites, That*

23. Ibid.

Squadron, with what other forces at Portsmouth & other places, were still in the Channell, & soone brought up to joyne with the rest of the Ships which could be gotten together: so as there is hope this Plot may be broken; It is certaine it had likely have ben very fatal to the [danger of the] whole Nation, had it taken Effect; so as I looke on it as a very greate deliverance & prevention by the Providence of God; for tho many did formerly pitty K[ing] *James's Condition, this designe of Assassination, & bringing over a French Army, did much alienate many of his Friends, & was like to produce a more perfect establishment of K*[ing] *William, it likewise so much concerning the whole Confederacy: What it will yet end in, God onely knows, may he of his Infinite mercy to this sinfull & miserably divided Church & nation, put an end to this bloody unchristian Warr, & restore peace & quietnesse:*

April 3, Friday (Old Style): A wealthy Protestant brewer, Sir John Friend or Freind, who had been knighted by the Catholic monarch James II of England, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn for having refused to betray a Jacobite group plotting to restore that person to the English throne. In his dying speech he declared "that, as no foreign power, so neither any domestic power can alienate our allegiance. For it is altogether new and unintelligible to me that the King's subjects can depose or dethrone him on any account." His quarters were displayed at Temple Bar. Sir William Perkins also was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn for high treason, for his more direct part in the "Assassination Plot."

April 22, Wednesday (Old Style): 10 people were condemned at the April Sessions, with 8 men being later executed and 1 pardoned.

April 29, Wednesday (Old Style): Ambrose Rookwood, Charles Cranburne, and Robert Lowick were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn for high treason for their parts in the "Assassination Plot" (eventually the total of Jacobites so executed would amount to nine).

1697

Adam Winthrop maintained, in Latin at the Harvard College Commencement in this year, that no Jesuit could be a good citizen. ("*An Jesuitae possint esse Boni Subditi? Negat Respondens Adamus Winthrop*.")

CATHOLICS
ANTI-CATHOLICISM

1698

Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Paris.

JESUITS

1698

Simon Willard maintained, in Latin at the Harvard College Commencement in this year, that the modern Church of Rome was no true Church of Christ. ("*An Ecclesia Romana Hodierna sit vera Christi Ecclesia? Negat Respondens Simon Willard*.")

CATHOLICS
ANTI-CATHOLICISM

1704

José de Zuniga y Cerda, Governor of Florida, proclaimed in his Order for Apalachee Province that "Any negro of Carolina, Christian or not, free or slave, who wishes to come fugitive, will be [given] complete liberty, so that those who do not wish to stay here may pass to other places as they see fit, with their freedom papers which I hereby grant them by word of the king."

MANUMISSION

The English forces from South Carolina destroyed most of the Spanish Catholic missions remaining outside the vicinity of St. Augustine in North Florida.

In Ireland, the Penal Law system of religio-racial oppression of Catholics was in effect (until 1829).

In England, the Test Act was passed to limit rights of all dissenters (non-Anglicans): Presbyterians were awarded nearly the same treatment as Catholics. The Penal Code was enacted to bar Catholics from voting, education, and the military.

1709

After his return to Paris, Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix was ordained as a priest and would be teaching the humanities and philosophy at Louis-le-Grand College.

JESUITS

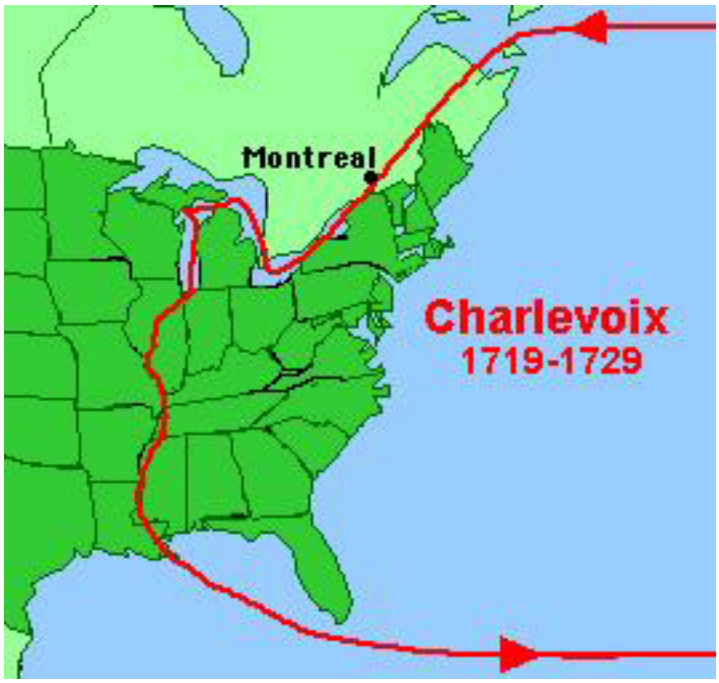
1714

In England, when Queen Anne I died, a rebellion in favor of the Stuarts was put down and a product of the House of Hanover took the throne as George I (although he took little interest). There would be separate Parliaments in Great Britain and Ireland but Poyning's Law would remain in force. Only 7% of the land in Ireland remained in the hands of Catholics.

1720

September: Arriving again in Québec City, from this point into 1729 Père Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix of the Society of Jesus would be traveling up the St. Lawrence River and passing through the Great Lakes, making a portage to the headwaters of the Mississippi River, and traveling downriver to the Gulf of Mexico and to the island of *Saint-Domingue* — where he would survive a shipwreck.

JESUITS



ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

1721

The beginning of a series of famines in Ireland, until 1841. Thousands would die each year of starvation and associated diseases, primarily because of the high rents which could be imposed upon the defeated Irish Catholics. A commentator of the period would remark that “if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it.”

1733

For the following two decades, Père Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix would be an editor of the Journal de Trévoux, a monthly review published by the Jesuits.

JESUITS

1740

Fall: This was a poor harvest year all over Europe. For the 2d year in a row, the potato crop failed in Ireland. There was meanwhile famine in Russia and France, with the people reduced to eating the roots of grass. There was a prison riot in Paris in protest of a cut in the bread ration, and in the putting down of this riot 50 prisoners were killed. Proportionate to the population levels of that era, it is possible that this famine was in Ireland even worse than what has become known to us as the "Great Famine," of 1845-1852. Nearly 400,000 Irish Catholics were dying — which would have been approximately one out of every five. Some parents were blinding their children in order to make them more suitable objects for charity, it being considerably more difficult to ignore, and to allow to slowly starve, psychologically, a blind child than a sighted child.

The famine in northern Ireland was instituting a 3d wave of emigration from Ulster, one made up of one quarter of the population. These Scotch-Irish settlers began moving into the western part of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina.

1741

August 29, Saturday (Old Style): A young white man who was being referred to as John Ury, presumably from Ireland, was hanged in New-York. This probably wasn't his name. He had been charged with being a Catholic priest, which was a crime because General James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, had allegedly uncovered a plot by Spanish priests "to burn every English town in the Colonies," and, also, with having made a practice of aiding and abetting the town's negroes, many of whom were Catholic. This hanging was the culmination of a spasm in which, over a period of a few weeks, a grand total of 21 white New-Yorkers had been interrogated under torture (4 of them then hanged), 14 black New-Yorkers burned at the stake, 20 black New-Yorkers hanged in chains, and 71 black New-Yorkers seized and sold into slavery. How had this spasm of fears of servile insurrections begun? Well, do you remember having learned in school of a poem by Samuel Woodworth, titled "The Old Oaken Bucket"? This poem refers to the Tea Water Pump at the junction of what is now Park Row and Roosevelt Street in New-York. Near this pump with its oaken bucket and its tea-colored water was a groggery and roominghouse for negroes, run by an immigrant shoemaker named Long John Hughson. It was rumored that Long John was a fence who bought stolen goods from the city's negro sneak-thieves. One of the tenants in this boardinghouse was this young white man, and in addition, the Hughsons were harboring, as their servant girl, a 16-year-old white orphan named Mary Burton. The *Flamborough*, an English man-'o-war, had entered New-York harbor with a Spanish prize ship they had captured, and aboard this prize ship were a number of black Catholics who insisted they were not slaves but freeborn sailors. Nevertheless they were of course sold into slavery and flogged repeatedly. Mary Burton, observing the young white tenant washing and bandaging the black men's whip wounds, and giving these enslaved men rum, went to the authorities with a tale which was almost certainly concocted in order to give her some notice. This crew had allegedly been overheard bragging about how, on February 28th, they had gotten some silverware and a little money at the Robert Hogg residence at Broad and South William Streets. The Hughson family and two of the black Catholic sailors, who were being referred to in New-York as "Prince" and "Caesar," were tortured by the police to obtain a confession. Then, suddenly, in March, there was a fire in Governor's House which destroyed a number of structures, including King's Chapel — and fires were breaking out all over the English settlement on Manhattan Island. There was a rumor that a negro had been seen jumping out of the window of a burning building. A woman named Earle was watching three black men walk together down Broadway when she heard one of them exclaim "Fire! Fire! Scorch! Be more mebbe by 'n by!" Soon there were 154 blacks being held in the New-York jail, "every black man who cannot give a satisfactory account of himself." Again Mary Burton stepped forward, this time to seek a reward of £100 which had been offered by the Common Council for evidence regarding this "Negro Plot to burn the city." She swore she had overheard Long John Hughson conspire with these black men to be made King of New-York, with the slave called "Caesar" to become Governor, and Catholic black man, called "Jack," to command a black army. A white prisoner who had been accused of robbing the Lieutenant Governor obtained his freedom by corroborating her story. Hundreds of white families fled the city while white mobs roamed the city looking for blacks to kill and succeeding in finding, and burning at the stake, two black New-Yorkers. On May 11th, "Prince" and "Caesar," having been tried and found guilty, were hanged. On June 12th, it taking longer to try and convict a white family, this Mr. and Mrs. Hughson and an associated Peggy Kerry of the boardinghouse were hanged. They had protested their entire innocence to the last. The body of Long John Hughson was gibbeted and hung in

chains on Battery Point as “a lesson to other conspirators.” Near where the Nathan Hale statue now is in City Hall park, two black New-Yorkers called “Quace” and “Cuffee” were burned simultaneously, on stakes 50 feet apart, while the others were burned not there or collectively but individually, at a site about a hundred yards farther to the north. At this time Mary Burton stepped forward a third time, to identify Mr. Hughson’s mysterious tenant as a Catholic priest in plain clothes and as the ringleader of the Negro Plot to burn the city. And this man confessed that in fact he was a priest, and that he had said Mass many times, and that he had taught black adults and children to read and write. Finally, when after this execution of this priest being referred to as “John Ury,” Mary Burton’s allegations continued, and continued to become more and more preposterous, the authorities turned against her as well. She was stoned in the streets, and it is possible that she committed suicide or was confined in a madhouse.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

1742

Père Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix would be acting as attorney for the Jesuit missions in New France, until 1749.

JESUITS

1749

Père Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix discontinued his work as attorney for the Jesuit missions in New France.

JESUITS

1750

August 14, Tuesday (Old Style): Charles Butler was born in London to an old and well-established Northamptonshire family. The boy would spend two or three years at a private school at Hammersrnith and go on to a preparatory house for the English College at Douai, located at Equerchin in northern France, and would go on, after this, to complete the full course of studies at that college itself. He would upon his return to England devote himself to the study of law although, because he was a Roman Catholic, he would never be admitted to the English bar to practice before the courts. He would need to be content with the lesser duties of a conveyancer, and to conduct this practice only in chambers.

1757

Joseph Wheeler of Concord graduated from Harvard College. He would become a minister.

> JOSEPH WHEELER [of Concord] was graduated [at Harvard] in 1757; ordained at Harvard, December 12, 1759, and dismissed on account of ill health, July 28, 1768. He subsequently relinquished the profession, and resided at Worcester, where he was representative, justice of the peace, and register of probate, from 1775 to his death, February 10, 1793, at the age of 58.[24]

Chief Justice of the Superior Court Paul Dudley (1675-1751) had endowed an annual lecture, the Dudleian Lecture. One of these was designated as an Anti-Catholic lecture "for the detecting and convicting and exposing of the idolatry of the Romish Church, their tyranny, usurpations, damnable heresies, fatal errors, abominable superstitions, and other crying wickednesses in their high places, and finally that the Church of Rome is that mystical Babylon, that Man of Sin, that apostate Church spoken of, in the New Testament," to be delivered at Harvard every four years. In one of the first of these lectures, delivered in about this period, the Reverend Samuel Mather (Class of 1742) instructed the students to aim not toward "a **childish** or blind or **bigotted**" hatred of Popery, but instead toward "an understanding and rational Hatred of it."[25]

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

"To understand is not to forgive. It is only to understand. It is not an end but a beginning."

— Rebecca West

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

25. As of 1909 this Anti-Popery lecture would be dropped from the series. Consequently, in 1984, a lecture by Robert McAfee Brown could be entitled "Protest Catholicism: Our Ecumenical Legacy."

1760

In Ireland in about this period was initiated a mitigation of the Penal Law system of religio-racial oppression of the local Catholics by the Protestant English.

1765

There had been much dispute as to whether the white settlement at what had originally been Penacook on the Merrimack River was to be considered to be under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire authorities, or under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts authorities. Much depended on this not only in the halls of the respective state governments but also locally, where a decision one way or the other would mean that the claims to real property of one group or another could be held to be spurious. The town changed its name, again, this time to "Concord,"[26] with the pious hope that such a name would prevent local whites from coming to blows with one

HISTORY OF CONCORD NH

another. It was not that the local whites lacked a common enemy which could bring them together, for they were united in the hatred and distrust they felt toward persons of the Roman Catholic faith.[27] Those people are engaged in a secret conspiracy to control the planet, and if we let down our guard for an instant they will eat our lunch. There was a restrictive covenant in effect, that no-one could purchase local land or property without the permission of the entire community, and the explanation was that this restrictive covenant was intended to "keep out the Irish," except we may note that being "Irish" in this context, and being kept out, had little to do with originating in Ireland and a whole lot to do with one's religious persuasion.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

26. It had been called, for instance, "Rumford."
27. In point of fact, it would not become legal for Catholics to hold high public office in New Hampshire until 1877.

1774

January 19, Wednesday: The British government had recently, in the Québec Act, granted religious rights to French-Canadian Catholics and their Jesuit priests — religious rights not inferior to those of Canada's Protestants. Rumor had it that King James of England was plotting to return all of England to the control of Rome and that his Royal Governor, Sir Edmund Andros (the original Edmund Andros of the American colonies had died in London in 1714, so presumably this is a grandson or something like that), was plotting to hand the colonies of New England over to French Catholics in order to destroy their Protestant colonial freedom. Bearing in mind that their revered Founding Father, the Reverend Peter Bulkeley, had long ago warned them about the scarlet whore of Rome, bearing in mind that the successor to his son the Reverend Edward Bulkeley, their Reverend Joseph Estabrook, had instructed one of his church deacons to heave one of their communion plates across the room, smashing it, because it was inscribed "IHS" and even worse was marked with a cross and 3 nails of the crucifixion, which he took to be Papist symbolism, the people of Concord, in Town Meeting assembled, approved a proclamation in regard to liberty of conscience, that in Concord town:

> "there should be liberty of conscience to all Christians (Papists excepted)."

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

September 8, Thursday: Anne Catherine Emmerich was born in a poor, pious Catholic family at Flamsche, near Coesfeld, in the Diocese of Münster, Westphalia, Germany.

1775

Charles Butler's HARGRAVE'S COKE ON LITTLETON (by 1831 there would be 8 editions of this). He began to practise as a conveyancer, and would continue in this for more than four decades despite his feeling of deep humiliation in having not been permitted, as a Roman Catholic, to practice before the English bar.

December 31, Sunday: An American expedition under Colonel Benedict Arnold and Brigadier General Richard Montgomery had marched into the province of Québec with the aim of bringing it into the American struggle. It would turn out that French-Canadian Catholics had not forgotten the anti-Catholicism of New England's Protestants or their reaction to the Quebec Act. The American forces were defeated during a snowstorm battle to capture the fortress of Québec and Captain Thomas Theodore Bliss (May 21, 1745-September 1, 1802) along with a number of other Concord militiamen would be held for the remainder of the Revolutionary War.

1779

Joseph Dupas de Valmais received an honorary degree at Harvard College. This was a first of sorts, as de Valmais, the Consul of France in Boston, was at least nominally a Roman Catholic.

At some point during this year, back home from the American battlefields, the young *Marquis de Lafayette* would persuade the government of King Louis XVI to send an expeditionary army of 6,000 soldiers to kill British soldiers on the North American continent, the command of a general named George Washington whom the French had defeated during the previous hostilities, the "French and Indian Wars," on that terrain. Both because this general had made himself the enemy of their British enemies, and because the French had previously been able to oblige him to surrender his army to their superior forces, this American general obviously was in need of such assistance!

1784

By this year in Boston, there was no longer any visible Huguenot presence.
The visible French were such as the *Marquis de Lafayette*, who was revisiting the scene of his triumphs.
Harvard College awarded an honorary LLD to this French tourist in recognition of his services to the American revolution, disregarding the fact that he was at least nominally one of those Papists whom they detested.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

The invisibly Huguenot immigrant Peter Thoreau sold his home on Cambridge Street in Boston.
The expulsion order of 1755 was enforced and the remaining Acadians (Catholics of French origin) departed from Nova Scotia and lower New Brunswick for Maine and Louisiana. During this year, also, the Province of New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia (and Cape Breton was severed from Nova Scotia as a separate colony but would be reunited in 1820).

George Sproule was appointed the 1st Surveyor General of New Brunswick. He would take office in the spring of 1785 and would remain in the position for 33 years. He would create the Surveyor General's Office and maintain essential land records.

CARTOGRAPHY

1786

Anne Catherine Emmerich was bound out to a farmer at the age of twelve. Later she would be bound out as a seamstress for several years.

CATHOLICISM

1789

June 8, Monday: James Madison, Jr. made his speech proposing a Bill of Rights for the Constitution.

Here they are, as they would originally be proposed for ratification, what would become the first 10 Amendments to our Constitution and then in addition, as of 1992, the 27th Amendment to our Constitution:

THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all, or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution: viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

Article the first... [This would not be ratified]

After the first enumeration required by the first Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.

Article the second... [In 1992 this would become our XXVIIth Amendment]

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

Article the third... [This would become our Ist Amendment]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Article the fourth... [This would become our IId Amendment]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

Article the fifth... [This would become our IIId Amendment]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house; without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article the sixth... [This would become our IVth Amendment]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects; against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article the seventh... [This would become our Vth Amendment]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger, nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article the eighth... [This would become our VIth Amendment]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Article the ninth... [This would become our VIIth Amendment]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Article the tenth... [This would become our VIIIth Amendment]

Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article the eleventh... [This would become our IXth Amendment]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article the twelfth... [This would become our Xth Amendment]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ATTEST,
Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Speaker of the
House of Representatives
John Adams, Vice-President of the United States,
and President of the Senate
John Beckley, Clerk of the House of Representatives.
Sam. A Otts, Secretary of the Senate

[for Madison's speech, click here]

Having done what I conceived was my duty, in bringing before this house the subject of amendments, and also stated such as wish for and approve, and offered the reasons which occurred to me in their support; I shall content myself for the present with moving, that a committee be appointed to consider of and report such amendments as ought to be proposed by congress to the legislatures of the states, to become, if ratified by three-fourths thereof, part of the constitution of the United States. By agreeing to this motion, the subject may be going on in the committee, while other important business is proceeding to a conclusion in the house. I should advocate greater dispatch in the business of amendments, if I was not convinced of the absolute necessity there is of pursuing the organization of the government; because I think we should obtain the confidence of our fellow citizens, in proportion as we fortify the rights of the people against the encroachments of the government.

I acknowledge the ingenuity of those arguments which were drawn against the constitution, by a comparison with the policy of Great-Britain, in establishing a declaration of rights; but there is too great a difference in the case to warrant the comparison: therefore the arguments drawn from that source, were in a great measure inapplicable. In the declaration of rights which that country has established, the truth is, they have gone no farther, than to raise a barrier against the power of the crown; the power of the legislature is left altogether indefinite. Altho' I know whenever the great rights, the trial by jury, freedom of the press, or liberty of conscience, came in question in that body, the invasion of them is resisted by able advocates, yet their Magna Charta does not contain any one provision for the security of those rights, respecting which, the people of America are most alarmed. The freedom of the press and rights of conscience, those choicest privileges of the people, are unguarded in the British constitution.

But altho' the case may be widely different, and it may not be thought necessary to provide limits for the legislative power in that country, yet a different opinion prevails in the United States. The people of many states, have thought it necessary to raise barriers against power in all forms and departments of government, and I am inclined to believe, if once bills of rights are established in all the states as well as the federal constitution, we shall find the altho' some of them are rather unimportant, yet, upon the whole, they will have a salutary tendency.

It may be said, in some instances they do no more than state the perfect equality of mankind; this to be sure is an absolute truth, yet it is not absolutely necessary to be inserted at the head of a constitution. In some instances they assert those rights which are exercised by the people in forming and establishing a plan of government. In other instances, they specify those rights which are retained when particular powers are given up to be exercised by the legislature. In other instances, they specify positive rights, which may seem to result from the nature of the compact. Trial by jury cannot be considered as a natural right, but a right resulting from the social compact which regulates the action of the community, but is as essential to secure the liberty of the people as any one of the pre-existent rights of nature. In other instances they lay down dogmatic maxims with respect to the construction of the government; declaring, that the legislative, executive, and judicial branches shall be kept separate and distinct: Perhaps the best way of securing this in practice is to provide such checks, as will prevent the encroachment of the one upon the other.

But whatever may be [the] form which the several states have adopted in making declarations in favor of particular rights, the great object in view is to limit and qualify the powers of government, by excepting out of the grant of power those cases in which the government ought not to act, or to act only in a particular mode. They point these exceptions sometimes against the abuse of the executive power, sometimes against the legislative, and, in some cases, against the community itself; or, in other words, against the majority in favor of the minority.

In our government it is, perhaps, less necessary to guard against the abuse in the executive department than any other; because it is not the stronger branch of the system, but the weaker: It therefore must be levelled against the legislative, for it is the most powerful, and most likely to be abused, because it is under the least controul; hence, so far as a declaration of rights can tend to prevent the exercise of undue power, it cannot be doubted but such declaration is proper. But I confess that I do conceive, that in a government modified like this of the United States, the great danger lies rather in the abuse of the community than in the legislative body. The prescriptions in favor of liberty, ought to be levelled against that quarter where the greatest danger lies, namely, that which possesses the highest prerogative of power: But this [is] not found in either the executive or legislative departments of government, but in the body of the people, operating by the majority against the minority.

It may be thought all paper barriers against the power of the community are too weak to be worthy of attention. I am sensible they are not so strong as to satisfy gentlemen of every description who have seen and examined thoroughly the texture of such a defence; yet, as they have a tendency to impress some degree of respect for them, to establish the public opinion in their favor, and rouse the attention of the whole community, it may be one mean to controul the majority from those acts to which they might be otherwise inclined.

It has been said by way of objection to a bill of rights, by many respectable gentlemen out of doors, and I find opposition on the same principles likely to be made by gentlemen on this floor, that they are unnecessary articles of a republican government, upon the presumption that the people have those rights in their own hands, and that is the proper place for them to rest. It would be a sufficient answer to say that this objection lies against such provisions under the state governments as well as under the general government; and there are, I believe, but few gentlemen who are inclined to push their theory so far as to say that a declaration of rights in those cases is either ineffectual or improper.

It has been said that in the federal government they are unnecessary, because the powers are enumerated, and it follows that all that are not granted by the constitution are retained: that the constitution is a bill of powers, the great residuum being the rights of the people; and therefore a bill of rights cannot be so necessary as if the residuum was thrown into the hands of the government. I admit that these arguments are not entirely without foundation; but they are not conclusive to the extent which has been supposed. It is true the powers of the general government are circumscribed; they are directed to particular objects; but even if government keeps within those limits, it has certain discretionary powers with respect to the means, which may admit of abuse to a certain extent, in the same manner as the powers of the state governments under their constitutions may to an indefinite extent; because in the constitution of the United States there is a clause granting to Congress the power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all the powers vested in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof; this enables them to fulfil every purpose for which the government was established. Now, may not laws be considered necessary and proper by Congress, for it is them who are to judge of the necessity and propriety to accomplish those special purposes which they may have in contemplation, which laws in themselves are neither necessary or proper; as well as improper laws could be enacted by the state legislatures, for fulfilling the more extended objects of those governments. I will state an instance which I think in point, and proves that this might be the case. The general government has a right to pass all laws which shall be necessary to collect its revenue; the means for enforcing the collection are within the direction of the legislature: may not general warrants be considered necessary for this purpose, as well as for some purposes which it was supposed at the framing of their constitutions the state governments had in view. If there was reason for restraining the state governments from exercising this power, there is like reason for restraining the federal government.

It may be said, because it has been said, that a bill of rights is not necessary, because the establishment of this government has not repealed those declarations of rights which are added to the several state constitutions: that those rights of the people, which had been established by the most solemn act, could not be annihilated by a subsequent act of the people, who meant, and declared at the head of the instrument, that they ordained and established a new system, for the express purpose of securing to themselves and posterity the liberties they had gained by an arduous conflict.

I admit the force of this observation, but I do not look upon it to be conclusive. In the first place, it is too uncertain ground to leave this provision upon, if a provision is at all necessary to secure rights so important as many of those I have mentioned are conceived to be, by the public in general, as well as those in particular who opposed the adoption of this constitution. Beside some states have no bills of rights, there are others provided with very defective ones, and there are others whose bills of rights are not only defective, but absolutely improper; instead of securing some in the full extent which republican principles would require, they limit them too much to agree with the common ideas of liberty.

It has been objected also against a bill of rights, that, by enumerating particular exceptions to the grant of power, it would disparage those rights which were not placed in that enumeration, and it might follow by implication, that those rights which were not singled out, were intended to be assigned into the hands of the general government, and were consequently insecure. This is one of the most plausible arguments I have ever heard urged against the admission of a bill of rights into this system; but, I conceive, that may be guarded against. I have attempted it, as gentlemen may see by turning to the last clause of the 4th resolution.

It has been said, that it is necessary to load the constitution with this provision, because it was not found effectual in the constitution of the particular states. It is true, there are a few particular states in which some of the most valuable articles have not, at one time or other, been violated; but does it not follow but they may have, to a certain degree, a salutary effect against the abuse of power. If they are incorporated into the constitution, independent tribunals of justice will consider themselves in a peculiar manner the guardians of those rights; they will be an impenetrable bulwark against every assumption of power in the legislative or executive; they will be naturally led to resist every encroachment upon rights expressly stipulated for in the constitution by the declaration of rights. Beside this security, there is a great probability that such a declaration in the federal system would be enforced; because the state legislatures will jealously and closely watch the operation of this government, and be able to resist with more effect every assumption of power than any other power on earth can do; and the greatest opponents to a federal government admit the state legislatures to be sure guardians of the people's liberty. I conclude from this view of the subject, that it will be proper in itself, and highly politic, for the tranquility of the public mind, and the stability of the government, that we should offer something, in the form I have proposed, to be incorporated in the system of government, as a declaration of the rights

In the next place I wish to see that part of the constitution revised which declares, that the number of representatives shall not exceed the proportion of one for every thirty thousand persons, and allows one representative to every state which rates below that proportion. If we attend to the discussion of this subject, which has taken place in the state conventions, and even in the opinion of the friends to the constitution, an alteration here is proper. It is the sense of the people of America, that the number of representatives ought to be increased, but particularly that it should not be left in the discretion of the government to diminish them, below that proportion which certainly is in the power of the legislature as the constitution now stands; and they may, as the population of the country increases, increase the house of representatives to a very unwieldy degree. I confess I always thought this part of the constitution defective, though not dangerous; and that it ought to be particularly attended to whenever congress should go into the consideration of amendments.

There are several lesser cases enumerated in my proposition, in which I wish also to see some alteration take place. That article which leaves it in the power of the legislature to ascertain its own emolument is one to which I allude. I do not believe this is a power which, in the ordinary course of government, is likely to be abused, perhaps of all the powers granted, it is least likely to abuse; but there is a seeming impropriety in leaving any set of men without controul to put their hand into the public coffers, to take out money to put in their pockets; there is a seeming indecorum in such power, which leads me to propose a change. We have a guide to this alteration in several of the amendments which the different conventions have proposed. I have gone therefore so far as to fix it, that no law, varying the compensation, shall operate until there is a change in the legislature; in which case it cannot be for the particular benefit of those who are concerned in determining the value of the service.

I wish also, in revising the constitution, we may throw into that section, which interdicts the abuse of certain powers in the state legislatures, some other provisions of equal if not greater importance than those already made. The words, "No state shall pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, &c." were wise and proper restrictions in the constitution. I think there is more danger of those powers being abused by the state governments than by the government of the United States. The same may be said of other powers which they possess, if not controuled by the general principle, that laws are unconstitutional which infringe the rights of the community. I should therefore wish to extend this interdiction, and add, as I have stated in the 5th resolution, that no state

I am sorry to be accessary to the loss of a single moment of time by the house. If I had been indulged in my motion, and we had gone into a committee of the whole, I think we might have rose, and resumed the consideration of other business before this time; that is, so far as it depended on what I proposed to bring forward. As that mode seems not to give satisfaction, I will withdraw the motion, and move you, sir, that a select committee be appointed to consider and report such amendments as are proper for Congress to propose to the legislatures of the several States, conformably to the 5th article of the constitution. I will state my reasons why I think it proper to propose amendments; and state the amendments themselves, so far as I think they ought to be proposed. If I thought I could fulfil the duty which I owe to myself and my constituents, to let the subject pass over in silence, I most certainly should not trespass upon the indulgence of this house. But I cannot do this; and am therefore compelled to beg a patient hearing to what I have to lay before you. And I do most sincerely believe that if congress will devote but one day to this subjects, so far as to satisfy the public that we do not disregard their wishes, it will have a salutary influence on the public councils, and prepare the way for a favorable reception of our future measures.

It appears to me that this house is bound by every motive of prudence, not to let the first session pass over without proposing to the state legislatures some things to be incorporated into the constitution, as will render it as acceptable to the whole people of the United States, as it has been found acceptable to a majority of them. I wish, among other reasons why something should be done, that those who have been friendly to the adoption of this constitution, may have the opportunity of proving to those who were opposed to it, that they were as sincerely devoted to liberty and a republican government, as those who charged them with wishing the adoption of this constitution in order to lay the foundation of an aristocracy or depotism. It will be a desirable thing to extinguish from the bosom of every member of the community any apprehensions, that there are those among his countrymen who wish to deprive them of the liberty for which they valiantly fought and honorably bled. And if there are amendments desired, of such a nature as will not injure the constitution, and they can be ingrafted so as to give satisfaction to the doubting part of our fellow citizens; the friends of the federal government will evince that spirit of deference and concession for which they have hitherto been distinguished.

because it is proper that every government should be disarmed of powers which trench upon those particular rights. I know in some of the state constitutions the power of the government is controuled by such a declaration, but others are not. I cannot see any reason against obtaining even a double security on those points; and nothing can give a more sincere proof of the attachment of those who opposed this constitution to these great and important rights, than to see them join in obtaining the security I have now proposed; because it must be admitted, on all hands, that the state governments are as liable to attack these invaluable privileges as the general government is, and therefore ought to be as cautiously guarded against.

I think it will be proper, with respect to the judiciary powers, to satisfy the public mind on those points which I have mentioned. Great inconvenience has been apprehended to suitors from the distance they would be dragged to obtain justice in the supreme court of the United States, upon an appeal on an action for a small debt. To remedy this, declare, that no appeal shall be made unless the matter in controvers amounts to a particular sum: This, with the regulations respecting jury trials in criminal cases, and suits at common law, it is to be hoped will quiet and reconcile the minds of the people to that part of the constitution.

I find, from looking into the amendments proposed by the state conventions, that several are particularly anxious that it should be declared in the constitution, that the powers not therein delegated, should be reserved to the several states. Perhaps words which may define this more precisely, than the whole of the instrument now does, may be considered as superfluous. I admit they may be deemed unnecessary; but there can be no harm in making such a declaration, if gentlemen will allow that the fact is as stated. I am sure I understand it so, and do therefore propose it.

These are the points on which I wish to see a revision of the constitution take place. How far they will accord with the sense of this body, I cannot take upon me absolutely to determine; but I believe every gentlemen will readily admit that nothing is in contemplation, so far as I have mentioned, that can endanger the beauty of the government in any one important feature, even in the eyes of its most sanguine admirers. I have proposed nothing that does not appear to me as proper in itself, or eligible as patronised by a respectable number of our fellow citizens; and if we can make the constitution better in the opinion of those who are opposed to it, without weakening its frame, or abridging its usefulness, in the judgment of those who are attached to it, we act the part of wise and liberal men to make such alterations as shall produce that effect.

It cannot be a secret to the gentlemen in this house, that, notwithstanding the ratification of this system of government by eleven of the thirteen United States, in some cases unanimously, in others by large majorities; yet still there is a great number of our constituents who are dissatisfied with it; among whom are many respectable for their talents, their patriotism, and respectable for the jealousy they have for their liberty, which, though mistaken in its object, is laudable in its motive. There is a great body of the people falling under this description, who as present feel much inclined to join their support to the cause of federalism, if they were satisfied in this one point: We ought not to disregard their inclination, but, on principles of amity and moderation, conform to their wishes, and expressly declare the great rights of mankind secured under this constitution. The acquiescence which our fellow citizens shew under the government, calls upon us for a like return of moderation. But perhaps there is a stronger motive than this for our going into a consideration of the subject; it is to provide those securities for liberty which are required by a part of the community. I allude in a particular manner to those two states who have not thought fit to throw themselves into the bosom of the confederacy: it is a desirable thing, on our part as well as theirs, that a re-union should take place as soon as possible. I have no doubt, if we proceed to take those steps which would be prudent and requisite at this juncture, that in a short time we should see that disposition prevailing in those states that are not come in, that we have seen prevailing [in] those states which are.

But I will candidly acknowledge, that, over and above all these considerations, I do conceive that the constitution may be amended; that is to say, if all power is subject to abuse, that then it is possible the abuse of the powers of the general government may be guarded against in a more secure manner than is now done, while no one advantage, arising from the exercise of that power, shall be damaged or endangered by it. We have in this way something to gain, and, if we proceed with caution, nothing to lose; and in this case it is necessary to proceed with caution; for while we feel all these inducements to go into a revisal of the constitution, we must feel for the constitution itself, and make that revisal a moderate one. I should be unwilling to see a door opened for a re-consideration of the whole structure of the government, for a re-consideration of the principles and the substance of the powers given; because I doubt, if such a door was opened, if we should be very likely to stop at that point which would be safe to the government itself:

But I do wish to see a door opened to consider, so far as to incorporate those provisions for the security of rights, against which I believe no serious objection has been made by any class of our constituents, such as would be likely to meet with the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, and the approbation of three-fourths of the state legislatures. I will not propose a single alteration which I do not wish to see take place, as intrinsically proper in itself, or proper because it is wished for by a respectable number of my fellow citizens; and therefore I shall not propose a single alteration but is likely to meet the concurrence required by the constitution.

There have been objections of various kinds made against the constitution: Some were levelled gainst its structure, because the president was without a council; because the senate, which is a legislative body, had judicial powers in trials on impeachments; and because the powers of that body were compounded in other respects, in a manner that did not correspond with a particular theory; because it grants more power than is supposed to be necessary for every good purpose; and controuls the ordinary powers of the state governments. I know some respectable characters who opposed this government on these grounds; but I believe that the great mass of the people who opposed it, disliked it because it did not contain effectual provison against encroachments on particular rights, and those safeguards which they have been long accustomed to have interposed between them and the magistrate who exercised the sovereign power: nor ought we to consider them safe, while a great number of our fellow citizens think these securities necessary.

It has been a fortunate thing that the objection to the government has been made on the gound I stated; because it will be practicable on that ground to obviate the objection, so far as to satisfy the public mind that their liberties will be perpetual, and this without endangering any part of the constitution, which is considered as essential to the existence of the government by those who promoted its adoption.

The amendments which have occurred to me, proper to be recommended by congress to the state legislatures are these:

First. That there be prefixed to the constitution a declaration--That all power is orginally vested in, and consequently derived from the people.

That government is instituted, and ought to be exercised for the benefit of the people; which consists in the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right of acquiring and using property, and generally of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

That the people have an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform or change their government, whenever it be found adverse or inadequate to the purposes of its institution.

Secondly. That in article 2st. section 2, clause 3, these words be struck out, to wit, "The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative, and until such enumeration shall be made." And that in place thereof be inserted these words, to wit, "After the first actual enumeration, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number amount to after which the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that the number shall never be less than nor more than but each state shall after the first enumeration, have at least two representatives; and prior thereto."

Thirdly. That in article 2st, section 6, clause 1, there be added to the end of the first sentence, these words, to wit, "But no law varying the compensation last ascertained shall operate before the next ensuing election of representatives."

Fourthly. That in article 2st, section 9, between clauses 3 and 4, be inserted these clauses, to wit, The civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, nor shall any national religion be established, nor shall the full and equal rights of conscience by in any manner, or on any pretext infringed.

The people shall not be deprived or abridged of their right to speak, to write, or to publish their sentiments; and the freedom of the press, as one of the great bulwarks of liberty, shall be inviolable.

The people shall not be restrained from peaceably assembling and consulting for their common good, nor from applying to the legislature by petitions, or remonstrances for redress of their grievances.

The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed; a well armed, and well regulated militia being the best security of a free country: but no person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, shall be compelled to render military service in person.

No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor at any time, but in a manner warranted by law.
No person shall be subject, except in cases of impeachment, to more than one punishment, or one trial for the same office; nor shall be compelled to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor be obliged to relinquish his property, where it may be necessary for public use, without a just compensation.
Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
The rights of the people to be secured in their persons, their houses, their papers, and their other property from all unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated by warrants issued without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, or not particularly describing the places to be searched, or the persons or things to be seized.
In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the cause and nature of the accusation, to be confronted with his accusers, and the witnesses against him; to have a compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.
The exceptions here or elsewhere in the constitution, made in favor of particular rights, shall not be so construed as to diminish the just importance of other rights retained by the people; or as to enlarge the powers delegated by the constitution; but either as actual limitations of such powers, or as inserted merely for greater caution.
Fifthly. That in article 2st, section 10, between clauses 1 and 2, be inserted this clause, to wit:
No state shall violate the equal rights of conscience, or the freedom of the press, or the trial by jury in criminal cases.
Sixthly. That article 3d, section 2, be annexed to the end of clause 2d, these words to wit: but no appeal to such court shall be allowed where the value in controversy shall not amount to ___ dollars: nor shall any fact triable by jury, according to the course of common law, be otherwise re-examinable than may consist with the principles of common law.

Seventhly. That in article 3d, section 2, the third clause be struck out, and in its place be inserted the classes following, to wit:

The trial of all crimes (except in cases of impeachments, and cases arising in the land or naval forces, or the militia when on actual service in time of war or public danger) shall be by an impartial jury of freeholders of the vicinage, with the requisite of unanimity for conviction, of the right of challenge, and other accustomed requisites; and in all crimes punishable with loss of life or member, presentment or indictment by a grand jury, shall be an essential preliminary, provided that in cases of crimes committed within any county which may be in possession of an enemy, or in which a general insurrection may prevail, the trial may by law be authorised in some other county of the same state, as near as may be to the seat of the offence.

In cases of crimes committed not within any county, the trial may by law be in such county as the laws shall have prescribed. In suits at common law, between man and man, the trial by jury, as one of the best securities to the rights of the people, ought to remain inviolate.

Eighthly. That immediately after article 6th, be inserted, as article 7th, the clauses following, to wit:

The powers delegated by this constitution, are appropriated to the departments to which they are respectively distributed: so that the legislative department shall never exercise the powers vested in the executive or judicial; nor the executive exercise the powers vested in the legislative or judicial; nor the judicial exercise the powers vested in the legislative or executive departments.

The powers not delegated by this constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the States respectively.

Ninthly. That article 7th, be numbered as article 8th.

The first of these amendments, relates to what may be called a bill of rights; I will own that I never considered this provision so essential to the federal constitution, as to make it improper to ratify it, until such an amendment was added; at the same time, I always conceived, that in a certain form and to a certain extent, such a provision was neither improper nor altogether useless. I am aware, that a great number of the most respectable friends to the government and champions for republican liberty, have thought such a provision, not only unnecessary, but even improper, nay, I believe some have gone so far as to think it even dangerous. Some policy has been made use of perhaps by gentlemen on both sides of the question:

I think, at this point, I'll include some commentary about James Madison's "Article the third," which was to become the 1st Amendment of our Bill of Rights. Nowadays we interpret this amendment as declaring a wall of separation between church and state. However, please retain the information that seven of the original thirteen colonies-becoming-states provided legal support to one or another single Protestant church, and Maryland provided legal support to the Catholic church, and that that situation did not immediately alter, with the approval of the federal constitution, and did not immediately alter, with the approval of the Bill of Rights. Also, it must be pointed out that only about 20% of American adults were sufficiently interested in institutional religiosity, to be members of any church. Gradually, in state after state, these churches with established funding relationships with state governments would be brought low — but they would be brought low not as any matter of principle, not because of any newly created wall of separation between church and state, but simply as a result of political squabbles over tax support and incessant struggles over legislative favoritism.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

1791

John Carroll became the 1st Roman Catholic bishop in the USA. (As the Archbishop of Baltimore he would of course own slaves — but as a regular good guy, before his death in 1815 he would have manumitted the last of them.)

As of this period the center of the human population of the USA was a little town just about a day's travel inland from Baltimore. By the year 1820 this center of population would have relocated some 127 miles, as the result of a general westward expansion almost exactly along the 39th parallel, to an unimpressive glen the woods some 16 miles south of Woodstock VA: more than four miles per year. As of 1860 this center of population would lie in a field 20 miles to the south of Chillicothe OH: about seven miles per year. (Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)

The English Parliament enacted a bill granting Roman Catholics partial relief from the legal discrimination against them. In consequence of this, after many long years as a mere conveyancer, Charles Butler finally was recognized by being called to the Bar.

1792

In Ireland during this period, in an effort to counter Anglo-Irish radicals, the British Protestant overlords were attempting to form alliances with Irish Catholic leaders.

1793

In Ireland, the Protestants granted the Catholics the right to vote.

1795

September 21, Monday: When Catholics and Protestants clashed in County Armagh, Ireland in the Battle of the Diamond, some 20-30 people were sent to their Savior. As a result of this the Orange Order would be established to protect Protestant interests.

1798

François-Auguste-René, *vicomte de* Chateaubriand returned to the faith of his childhood, Roman Catholicism.

1800

Catholic French-Canadians began to migrate down from Québec into mostly New York and Pennsylvania. Some were attracted to the mill towns of New England, as well, and as matters would turn out, more and more would be attracted to these mill towns.

1801

March 14, Saturday: Because King George III was refusing to assent to any emancipation of the Catholics in his realm, William Pitt resigned after 17 years as Prime Minister. (This issue would not be resolved until 1828, when the Tory prime minister, the Duke of Wellington, would sponsor the passage of an act which allowed a Catholic, even an Irish one, to serve his government.)

1802

Anne Catherine Emmerich entered the Augustinian convent at Agnetenberg, Dulmen.

CATHOLICISM

1803

September 16, Friday: Orestes Augustus Brownson and Daphne Augusta Brownson, fraternal twins, were born in Stockbridge, Vermont. The father, Sylvester Augustus Brownson, born in about 1768, would die while these twins were yet in their infancy. We will follow this impressive manchild through Presbyterianism, Universalism, radical humanism, Unitarianism, and Transcendentalism to Catholicism and then the founding of his own "Society for Christian Union and Progress," noting along the way how the unifying thread of all the stages of his vocalization and theorization would amount to self-promotion, would be the coming up with this idea or that idea the effect of which would be to position himself where he truly belonged — at the precise center of everything.

September 23, Friday: Bishop John Carroll came up to Boston from Baltimore, Maryland to dedicate the new Cathedral of the Holy Cross erected on Franklin Street, the design of which had been donated by Bulfinch. At the time about a thousand (order of magnitude) Catholics were living in the Boston area. Approximately a 5th of the money for this edifice had been donated by New England Protestants such as John Adams, John Quincy Adams, John Lowell, Harrison Gray Otis, Joseph Coolidge, David Sears, and Theodore Lyman. This cathedral would be for many years the only Catholic church in the region.

British and Indian troops defeated forces of Sindhia Maratha at Assaye.

British forces took Surinam.

September 26, Tuesday: In the matter of Artaria and Ludwig von Beethoven, the High Police Court of Vienna ruled for Artaria. Beethoven was ordered to publish a retraction.

1804

Sylvestre François Lacroix's *ÉLÉMENS D'ALGÈBRE, A L'USAGE DE L'ÉCOLE CENTRALE DES QUATRE-NATIONS* and *COMPLÉMENT DES ÉLÉMENS D'ALGÈBRE, A L'USAGE DE L'ÉCOLE CENTRALE DES QUATRE-NATIONS* (Paris: Chez Courcier).

President Thomas Jefferson appointed Maryland's Isaac Briggs as Surveyor General of the Louisiana Purchase.

John Lee, son of the Governor of Maryland, matriculated at Harvard College. Since he was Catholic, but well to do, the arrangement made would be that he would simply pay the standard fee for a student who happened to miss morning prayers. His fine for this missing of chapel obligations would thus be the highest possible, amounting to $1.11 per term. Arrangements would be made for this student to conduct his Catholic observances in the Christ Church, the Episcopal edifice across the Cambridge Common, so that he would not need to make a weekly trip into Boston. (It would appear, however, that young Lee, due to "habits of idleness," would miss a number of lectures and recitations and would depart from Harvard degreeless after this one year.)

NEW "HARVARD MEN"

1805

Sylvestre François Lacroix's *ESSAIS SUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT EN GÉNÉRAL ET SUR CELUI DES MATHÉMATIQUES EN PARTICULIER* and *TRAITÉ ÉLÉMENTAIRE D'ARITHMÉTIQUE À L'USAGE DE L'ECOLE CENTRALE DES QUATRE-NATIONS* (A Paris: Chez Courcier, Imprimeur - Libraire pour les Mathématiques, quai des Augustins, n° 71).

After studying theology at Andover, John Farrar became a tutor in Greek at Harvard College.

NEW "HARVARD MEN"

There was a struggle over a professorship at Harvard that had fallen vacant, between the Trinitarians and the Unitarians, and the Unitarians won the nomination. The Reverend Henry Ware, Sr. was elected to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, the first faculty member of Harvard not an avowed Trinitarian and Calvinist. The repugnance the "Hopkinsians" and "Old Calvinists" felt to this theologian's opinions of the original goodness of humankind would lead them to infer that all Harvard had been captured, and they would in response in 1808 create the Andover Theological Seminary.

The leader of the Trinitarians in this struggle had been the conservative Reverend Jedediah Morse of Charlestown. His son Samuel F.B. Morse would become a radical Unitarian and dedicate his life to the eradication of Catholicism.[28] But Professor Ware's conception of man's "natural affections," that they occasioned "error and sin" not by any inherent depravity, but simply because they were susceptible to corruption by a "wrong direction," would not substantially alter over the years.

Master Samuel Hunt of the Boston Latin School was succeeded by William Bigelow, who would resign after nine trying years in 1814. Entering the school during this century would be:

- Edward Everett 1805 who would become President of Harvard College; minister to Great Britain; Secretary of State; governor of Massachusetts
- Thomas Bulfinch 1805 who would become author
- George Hayward 1805 who would become President, Massachusetts Medical Society
- George Eustis 1806 who would become Chief Justice, Louisiana
- Samuel Atkins Eliot 1809 who would become mayor of Boston; philosopher, essayist, and poet
- Waldo Emerson 1812
- Edward Greeley Loring 1812 who would become a judge
- Ellis Gray Loring 1812 who would become an abolitionist and trial lawyer
- Charles Francis Adams, Sr. 1817 who would become minister to Great Britain; member of Congress; President, American Academy of Arts and Sciences
- George Goldthwaite 1818 who would become US Senator from Alabama
- Samuel Francis Smith 1820 who would become Author of "America"
- George Tyler Bigelow 1820 who would become Chief Justice, Massachusetts; Member of Congress
- Dr. Jonathan Mason Warren 1820 who would become physician
- James Freeman Clarke 1821 who would become Minister, Church of Disciples; author
- Charles Sumner 1821 who would become US Senator

28. Be aware that the name "Unitarian" was not in use until 1815, and that it originated in the Reverend Jedediah Morse's attempt to associate his theological enemies with the heretical notions of the Reverend Joseph Priestley and Belsham.

- Robert Charles Winthrop 1821 who would become Speaker, US House Of Representatives; US Senator; President, Massachusetts Historical Society
- Francis Gardner 1822 who would become author; Head Master, Latin School
- Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff 1822 who would become physician; mayor of Boston
- Wendell Phillips 1822 who would become orator and anti-slavery leader
- George Stillman Hillard 1822 who would become US District Attorney
- George Edward Ellis 1824 who would become President, Massachusetts Historical Society
- John Lathrop Motley 1824 who would become minister to Austria and England; historian
- John Bernard Fitzpatrick 1826 who would become Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston; "Second Founder" of the College of the Holy Cross
- Henry Ward Beecher 1826 who would become minister; abolitionist
- Frederic Octavius Prince 1827 who would become mayor of Boston
- William Maxwell Evarts 1828 who would become Secretary of State; US Attorney General; US Senator
- Charles Devens 1829 who would become judge; US Attorney General; General, US Army
- Richard Saltonstall Greenough 1829 who would become sculptor
- Charles Smith Bradley 1830 who would become the Chief Justice of Rhode Island
- Edward Everett Hale 1831 who would become minister of South Congregational Church; orator; usher in the School; author
- Thomas Ruggles Pyncheon 1832 who would become President, Trinity College
- Charles Keating Tuckerman 1834 who would become minister to Greece; author
- The wealthy Joseph Tuckerman (1778-1840), distant relative to Abba Alcott, who would become an aristocratic minister-at-large in Boston, a servant of the poor and supporter of Bronson Alcott
- Benjamin Apthorp Gould 1835 who would become an astronomer
- Francis James Child 1840 who would become author; orator; collector, English and Scottish ballads
- Freeman Joseph Bumstead 1841 who would become a physician
- Charles William Eliot 1844 who would become a President of Harvard College; educational philosopher
- Samuel Pierpont Langley 1845 who would become physicist; pioneer in aviation
- Justin Winsor 1845 who would become historian; librarian
- Phillips Brooks 1846 who would become orator; Episcopal Bishop of Boston
- Henry Lee Higginson 1846 who would become a banker and a founder of the Boston Symphony Orchestra
- Cyrus Cobb 1849 who would become artist; sculptor
- Darius Cobb 1849 who would become artist
- Horace Elisha Scudder 1853 who would become author; editor
- Edward Charles Pickering 1857 who would become astronomer
- Martin Milmore 1859 who would become sculptor
- Matthew Harkins 1859 who would become Roman Catholic Bishop of Providence, Rhode Island
- George Santayana 1878 who would become philosopher; author
- John Lewis Bates 1878 who would become Governor of Massachusetts
- John F. Fitzgerald 1880 who would become member of congress; mayor of Boston
- Bernard Berenson 1881 who would become art critic

1809

Dr. Stephen Cleveland Blyth, who had been in the Harvard College class of 1790 but had not graduated, at this point converted to Catholicism. Later he would publish a narrative of his spiritual journey.

No Catholic had ever previously received the nomination of Tammany Hall for political office in New-York — but in this year, this amazing event did occur.

1812

When King Jerome Bonaparte of Westphalia closed the convent at which she was living, Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich took refuge in a poor widow's house.

CATHOLICISM

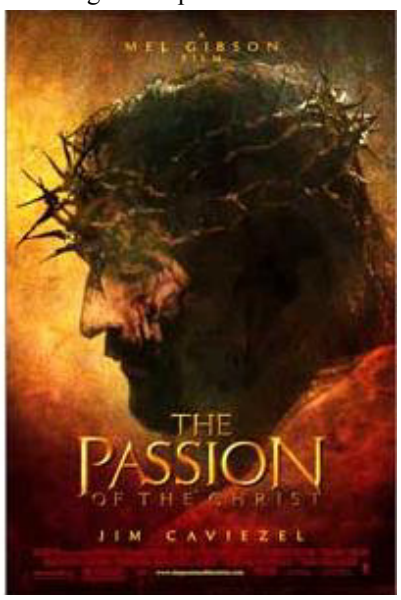
Father Francis Xavier Brosius came from Philadelphia, to teach in Boston beginning in the fall. In a few years he would be residing in Cambridge and tutoring Harvard College students in mathematics. He would earn $10 per quarter per student.

CATHOLICS

1813

As she imagined and re-imagined the Passion of Christ, Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich became bedridden. Soon she was exhibiting a row of scratches about her head, and then crosses impressed upon her breast, and then bleeding stigmata on her hands and feet. She was examined by a vicar-general and three physicians.

We can understand how someone can become fixated on the details of Jesus's life just at the point at which events spun out of control, as this sort of fixation occurs even in our own enlightened postmodern era:



According to the enlightened view, offered during this year, of a divinity professor, the Reverend John T. Kirkland, who was also the president of Harvard College, the Pope of Rome was **not** to be equated in any simplistic manner with the Biblical "Man of Sin."

CATHOLICISM

1814

Daniel O'Connell opinioned that the group which he was seeking to represent, the Catholic Irish, "had ceased to be whitewashed negroes, and had thrown off ...[as far as the Whigs were concerned] all traces of the colour of servitude."

SLAVERY

At this point there were small pockets of Catholic French-Canadians in Winooski, Vermont and in Woonsocket, Rhode Island.

As she imagined and re-imagined the Passion of Christ, Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich began to subsist, long-term, according to her claim,[29] solely on communion wafers and water.

CATHOLICISM

29. By my own estimate we have about as much reason to credit this self-propaganda as we do to credit, for instance, the repetitive insistences later by Thomas Edison, that he subsisted on merely 3 to 4 hours sleep, "regarding sleep as a waste of time."

1815

By the time Archbishop John Carroll of Baltimore, the 1st such Roman Catholic prelate in the USA, had died during this year, he had manumitted each of his black slaves.

June 24, Saturday: A dead child was removed from the womb of 17-year-old Angiolina Cavanna. It is said that "medical evidence" indicated that Nicolò Paganini had not fathered this child (I personally have no idea what that "medical evidence," in this year 1815, might have amounted to, since this was a long, long lifetime prior to the discovery of blood typing by Karl Landsteiner).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *7th day 14th of 6 M 1815 / Considering the jar of yesterday I feel remarkably well this morng with the exception of my elbow which was scraped considerably & felt little or nothing of the exrcise while Walking which I took immediately —?— it produced a profusion of perspiration & I believe carried off the other bad effects — Our again after breakfast, walked thro' many streets stoped at Isaac Wrights store. At Wanton Engs & bought 26 Dollars worth of Coffee for D Buffum — went through Foly Market again & called at Caleb Coggeshalls Store. Caleb I believe was very glad to see me, asked many questions about his friend at R I & urged my taking tea with him — Called at many other stores & took a turn down Courtland Street & went on board Albany Steam boat viewed the machinery & the Cabins at each end - which for elegance exceed any Parlour I have seen in this place Visited & inspected the Patens Bakery where the fire is kept in the oven the whole time & yet the buiscuit are baking as fast as they can be out in at one end & brown out at the other, This walk was rather extensive, the heat & the distance overcame me & in Courtland street I felt faint, expressed a Wish to return which we did & after a little refreshing drink, returned to my chamber, rested & am now writing — I omitted to insert that this morng* [illegible] *visited in neighboring Chocolate Mill, which is a curious operation carried by two horses, the Coacoa is first broken then the shells sifted out, then ground fine put into pans - the horses move a great wheel at least 15 feet in diameter, this wheel communicates force to Smaller ones by which at one time the Coacoa is sifted & ground*
> *After dinner took leave of Wm S Burling who dined with us, he intending for Albany this Afternoon in the Steam Boat — Then walked our towards the Bowery & all round that part of the Town -Made an agreeable call on Ann Freeborn who lives in Elizabeth Street This part of the City looks more like Newport than any I have seen — visited at Thos Collins but saw only the child - he was at the store. — While in this part of the City we went to the new Roman Catholic Church this building is a curiosity it is of Gothic structure & the Arched Walls is supported*[?] *must*

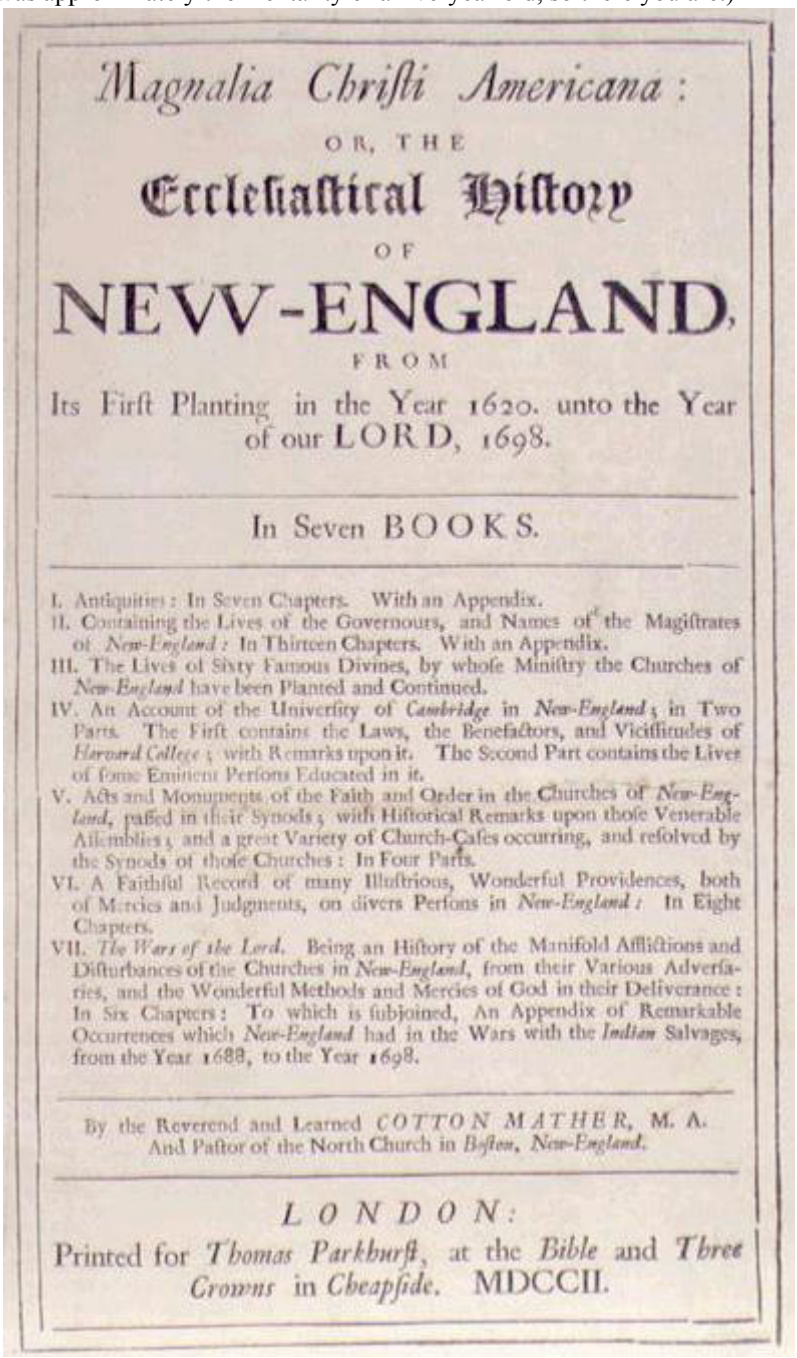
be in the plan of the whispering Gallery in London the least sound of the voice echos, & re echos astonishingly - & to stamp on the floor sounds like Throngs [?] *The painting on the Walls & arches have a beautiful appearance — After tea Uncle took me to the Museum where I saw many curiosities natural & artificial among which was the* [last three lines illegible] [?] *several kinds of Deer, Monkeys Snakes * numerous species of Birds - all look very natural the* [?] *of industry is a curiiosity all kinds of Work & play are going on at once by means of machinery In the upper story we saw various Wax figures, some* [—?] *are exceedingly natural — the representation of Samuel, Saul & the Withch of Endor is not* [—?—] *Indian Chiefs are said to be striking likeness but alal that struck me the most forcilby & as the best worh seeing, was the wman sitting in a bower with twins* [?] *one on each Knee, beautifully sufused with every aimiable countenances To appearance about 6 months, on the right of her was wamon reposing in sleep in bed with the most speaking little countenance sitting up by her side that I ever saw It* [illegible] *it seemed as if the little* [- —?] *ready leap from its unconscious Mothers arms to those who stood by -there was also a representation of numerous Daniel Lamberts, the Goddess of Liberty &c &c From the Museum we went to Benj Marshalls where Aunt Patty had previously gone to set the evening & about 1 {?} OC returned home - & I must not omit to mention that when arrived I found a letter had been left for me from my dear H which was much like a brook by the Way notwithstanding* [—] *the great variety I have seem thro'* [——] *I have often hear say there was an indescribable pleasure in receigving letters when abroad from friends at home but I never before so fully realized it*

1816

Charles Butler's SYMBOLS OF FAITH OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC, GREEK, AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

The preaching of Thomas Oxnard in Baltimore led to the organization of the Unitarian church there, at which the Reverend William Ellery Channing would deliver his famous 1819 sermon. He met every two weeks with about 20 liberal ministers in the Boston area, mostly Congregational, for discussions relating to religion, morals, and civic order. Freeman was appointed to a committee charged with considering the creation of a formal body. The work of this committee led, in 1825, to the founding the American Unitarian Association.

Little Harriet Beecher, five years old, was fascinated with the Reverend Cotton Mather's *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA*; OR THE ECCLEFIASTICAL HIFTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND, FROM ITS FIRFT PLANTING IN THE YEAR 1620, UNTO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1698. IN SEVEN BOOKS. (Well, the mentality of the reverend author of this tome was approximately the mentality of a five-year-old, so there you are.)



Magnalia Chriſti Americana:

OR, THE

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory

OF

NEVV-ENGLAND,

FROM

Its Firſt Planting in the Year 1620. unto the Year of our LORD, 1698.

In Seven BOOKS.

I. Antiquities: In Seven Chapters. With an Appendix.
II. Containing the Lives of the Governours, and Names of the Magiſtrates of *New-England*: In Thirteen Chapters. With an Appendix.
III. The Lives of Sixty Famous Divines, by whoſe Miniſtry the Churches of *New-England* have been Planted and Continued.
IV. An Account of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in *New-England*; in Two Parts. The Firſt contains the Laws, the Benefactors, and Viciſſitudes of *Harvard College*; with Remarks upon it. The Second Part contains the Lives of ſome Eminent Perſons Educated in it.
V. Acts and Monuments of the Faith and Order in the Churches of *New-England*, paſſed in their Synods; with Hiſtorical Remarks upon thoſe Venerable Aſſemblies; and a great Variety of Church-Caſes occurring, and reſolved by the Synods of thoſe Churches: In Four Parts.
VI. A Faithful Record of many Illuſtrious, Wonderful Providences, both of Mercies and Judgments, on divers Perſons in *New-England*: In Eight Chapters.
VII. *The Wars of the Lord.* Being an Hiſtory of the Manifold Afflictions and Diſturbances of the Churches in *New-England*, from their Various Adverſaries, and the Wonderful Methods and Mercies of God in their Deliverance: In Six Chapters: To which is ſubjoined, An Appendix of Remarkable Occurrences which *New-England* had in the Wars with the *Indian* Salvages, from the Year 1688, to the Year 1698.

By the Reverend and Learned *COTTON MATHER*, M. A. And Paſtor of the North Church in *Boſton*, *New-England*.

LONDON:

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapſide*. MDCCII.

Meanwhile, her daddy the Reverend Lyman Beecher, who had done so much to safeguard Boston against the spiritual errors of the Unitarians, was urging that to counter the threat of Roman Catholicism there should be created a Protestant school for each district of the community, and that there should be at least one Protestant minister available for each 1,000 residents, and that –since Roman Catholicism feared the common man with his Holy Bible and his ability to read and understand it for himself– **there must be a copy of the Holy Bible in each and every home**. The Reverend, it is to be mentioned, was not a member of the Know-Nothing Party: he approved of their objectives but he thought of himself nevertheless as standing aloof from the "hatreds" which that political group tended to nurture and he thought of himself as standing aloof from the "violence and secrecy" of the means they tended to employ.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

(I think it is important for me here to emphasize this for you, because my sense of the matter is that very few of us now think of the development of 19th-Century "bible societies" as in any sense prejudicial or partial or sectarian. This was the year in which, in New-York, the American Bible Society was being founded and of course that was righteous. Of course it was. This was the year in which Noah Webster not only was helping found and write the constitution for a "charitable society," but also was becoming a director of the New Hampshire Bible Society, and of course that was righteous. –It is relevant for you to recognize that what you are gazing at is the kindly countenance of American anti-Catholic prejudice.)

1817

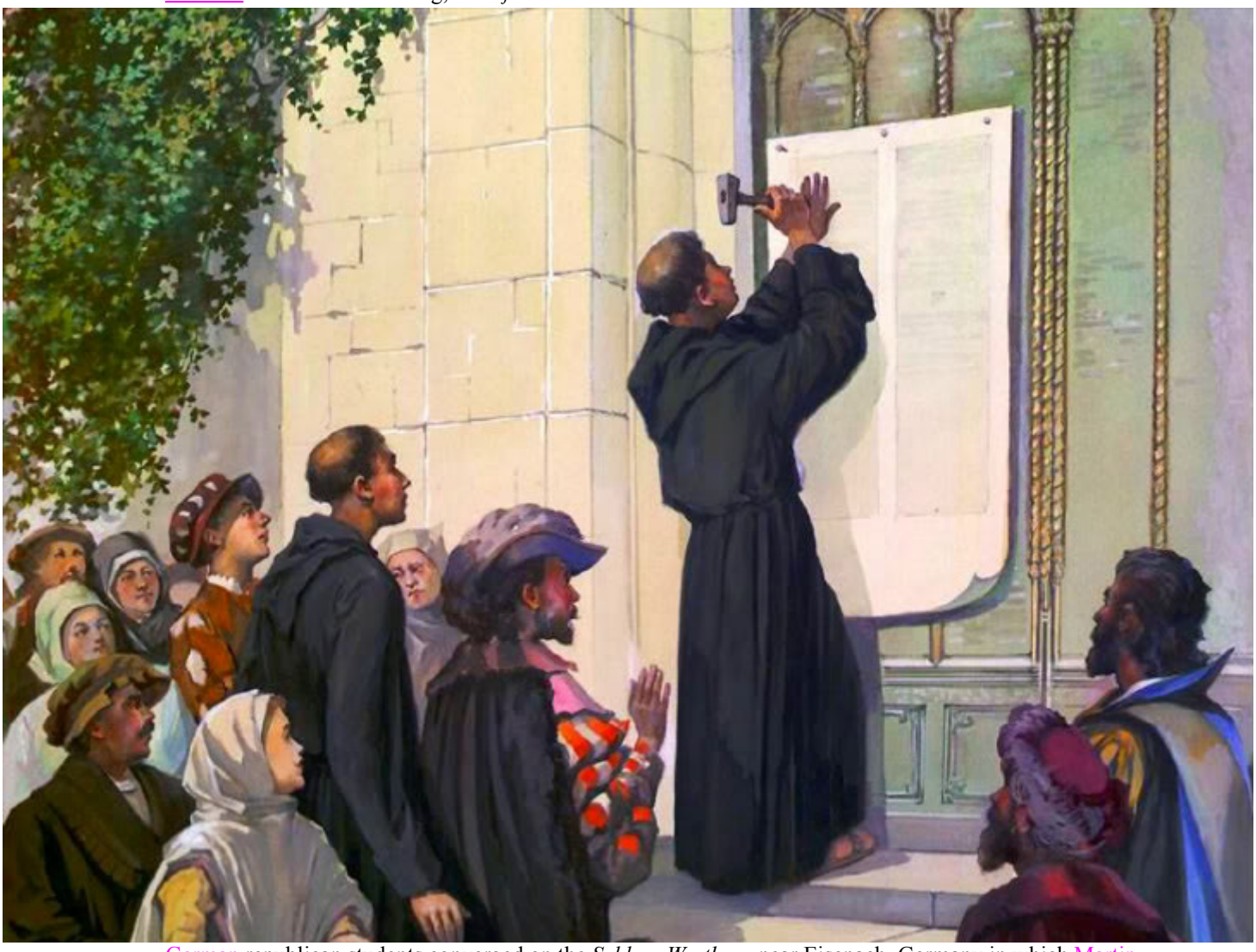
February: Father Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus reported to the Vatican that “The Socinian heresy has many followers here, under the name of Unitarians, among the Protestant ministers, in the University of Cambridge [Harvard College], etc.”

CATHOLICS

CATHOLICISM

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

October 18, Saturday: This year was the 300th since the nailing of the 95 theses to the door of the Roman Catholic edifice in Wittenberg, *Schloßkirche*:



German republican students converged on the *Schloss Wartburg* near Eisenach, Germany in which Martin Luther had sought refuge while translating the Bible into the German language.

Inside that castle was preserved the authentic whale vertebra that Luther had used as a footstool!

What this Wartburg Festival in Jena to commemorate the anniversaries of Luther's death and the Battle of Leipzig demonstrated was the revolutionary sentiments of these German students. Here were 400 students from a dozen universities listening to impassioned political speeches and swearing deep oaths. They lighted an enormous bonfire into which they cast various symbolic objects.

This castle had since become a symbol of German nationalism, associated with the black-red-gold color scheme of the uniforms of the *Königlich Preußisches Freikorps von Lützow* — that would eventually be adopted as the flag of a unified Germany. At the castle on this day, the students assembled around a cheery bonfire of all the reactionary books they could easily get their hands upon, such as August Freidrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue's *GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN REICHES VON DESSEN URSPRUNGE BIS ZU DESSEN UNTERGANGE* (a gesture that in a later timeframe would come to be considered more problematic than it had seemed for that event :-). They pitched symbols of everything they hated into this bonfire, such as the Police Statute Book of the notorious Prussian Minister of Justice, Herr von Kamptz, the Code Napoleon, and especially the final act of the Congress of Vienna.

Etienne-Nicolas Méhul died of tuberculosis in Paris, aged 54 years.

La clochette, ou Le diable page, an opéra féerie by Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold to words of Théaulon de Lambert, was performed for the initial time, at the Théâtre Feydeau, Paris.

CATHOLICISM

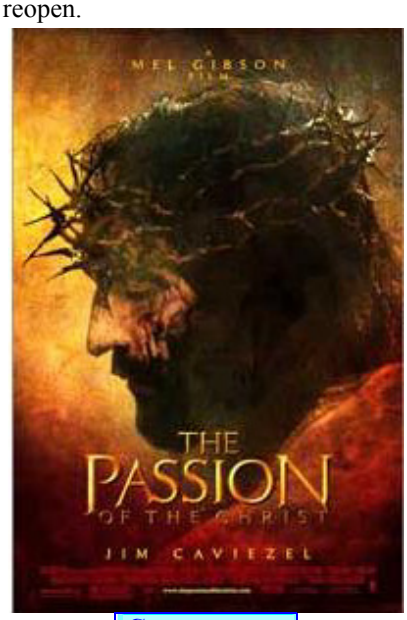
ROMAN CATHOLICISM

1. F. Ancillon—On Sovereignty and Organization of States.
2. Fr. Von Cölln—Confidential Letters.
3. " " Candid Pages.
4. Crome—Germany's Crisis and Rescue.
5. Dabelow—The 13th Article of the Act of the German Union.
6. K. L. Von Haller—Restoration of Political Science; or, Theory of the Natural Social Condition, opposed to the Chimæra of the Artificial-civic.
7. The German Red and Black Mantles.
8. J. P. Harl—On the Universally harmful Consequences of the Neglect of a Police corresponding to the Necessities of the Times, especially in University Towns, and particularly for the Supervision of the Students.
9. Immerman—A Word of Encouragement.
10. Janke—The Constitution-shrieking of the New Preachers of Freedom.
11. Von Kotzebue—History of the German Empire, from its original to its destruction.
12. L. Theob. Kosegarten—Address on Napoleon's day, 1809.
13. Same—History of my 15th year.
14. Same—Patriotic Songs.
15. K. A. Von Kamptz—Code of Gensd'armerie.
16. W. Reinhard—The Acts of the Union upon Whether, When, and How, German Deputies.
17. Schmalz—Correction of a passage in the Bredow-Venturinian Chronicle for 1808.
18, 19. Two later works of the same, on the same subject.
20. Saul Ascher—Germanomania.
21. Chr. Von Benzel-Sternau—Jason; a periodical.
22. Zach. Werner—The Consecration of Power.
23. " " The Sons of Thales.
24. K. Von Wangenheim—The Idea of Constitutions; with reference to the ancient Constitution of Würtemberg.
25. The Code Napoleon, and Zachariä upon it.
26. Wadzeck, Scherer, and others, against the *Turners*.
27. The Statutes of the Chain of Nobility.
28. The Allemannia, and some other newspapers.

1818

Christmas: At the Church of St. Nikolaus in Oberndorff, Austria –the organ being kaput– part-time organist and choir master Franz Gruber and associate pastor Joseph Mohr put their heads together and came up with "*Silent Night*" — for voice and guitar.

By this point the stigmata of Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich had closed, but the other signs remained and on Good Friday would be wont to reopen.



1819

From this year into 1822, Charles Butler's HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, AND IRISH CATHOLICS (there would be 3 editions of this).

A sceptical government committee of investigation forcibly removed Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich to a large room in another house and kept her under the strictest surveillance day and night for three weeks, away from all her friends except her confessor, to detect if her wounds were self-inflicted. Shortly after this examination, a poet, Klemens Brentano, visited her and took down her testimony.

CATHOLICISM

1820

Some Catholic French-Canadians had migrated at this point to Worcester.

Four sisters of the Catholic Ursuline teaching order came to inhabit a convent set up near the Boston cathedral.

July 12, Wednesday: Pope Pius VII pronounced the separation of the Count and Countess Guiccioli. The wife Teresa would go to live with her father Count Gamba while the husband George Gordon, Lord Byron would continue for 15 months to reside at the Palazzo Guiccioli.

Mass had been first performed in the port city of Charleston on the eastern coast of the American colonies in 1786 by an Italian priest on his way to South America, for a congregation of merely a dozen persons. By a year or two later the local congregation had risen to several hundred and was being tended to by an Irish priest in an abandoned Methodist meetinghouse (in 1789 this property was purchased by the Reverend Thomas Keating and the building repurposed as "St. Mary's"). In 1791 the Roman Catholic Church of Charleston had been incorporated by Act of the Legislature. The Diocese of Charleston was established on this day to include both what is now Georgia and what is now North Carolina. The first Bishop of Charleston, the Right Reverend John England, would be consecrated in Cork, Ireland on September 21, 1820 and would arrive on this coast during December (Georgia would in 1850 be separated off as the territory of the new Diocese of Savannah, and North Carolina would in 1868 become a vicariate Apostolic).

Fall: In spiritual travail, the grieving Sarah Moore Grimké was sent by her family to North Carolina for a breather:

> I cannot without shuddering look back to that period. How dreadful did the state of my mind become! Nothing interested me; I fulfilled my duties without any feeling of satisfaction, in gloomy silence. My lips moved in prayer, my feet carried me to the holy sanctuary, but my heart was estranged from piety. I felt as if my doom was irrevocably fixed, and I was destined to that fire which is never quenched. I have never experienced any feeling so terrific as the despair of salvation. My soul still remembers the wormwood and the gall, still remembers how awful the conviction that every door of hope was closed, and that I was given over unto death.

During her stay at the slave plantations of her relatives along the Cape Fear River, she would worship with the Methodists who mostly occupied that place, and would not be more impressed with this style of worship than she had previously been with her family's Episcopalianism, or her subsequent Presbyterianism. On her return from this trip to her home in Charleston, South Carolina, she would reassure her mother that she was not at all tempted by Quakerism or Catholicism:

> "Anything but a Quaker or a Catholic!"

Then, however, her brother Thomas picked up, at some sale, a volume of Quaker writings:

> "Thee had better turn Quaker, Sally; thy long face would suit well their sober dress."

Reading in this volume, whatever it was, raised some questions in her mind, and she began a correspondence with the Quakers whom she had met in her travels, the ones who had presented her with the Woolman volume. In particular her correspondence would be with Friend Israel Morris. Eventually she would begin to attend the silent worships at the Friends meetinghouse in Charleston.

December 30, Saturday: Bishop John England arrived in Charleston from Ireland. His diocese would consist of small groups of Catholics scattered across North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and a portion of Florida. In the South he would, of course, offer separate Mass and Vesper services for persons of color.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *7th day 30th of 12th M / I am this day 39 Years of Age, & am sensible of it, & feel the necessity of greater dedication of heart, yet am in hopes my Spiritual account is no worse than last Year*
> *This Afternoon recd a pleasant letter from Uncle Stanton. —*
> *Took tea with my H & John at Br John Rodmans. —*

1821

January 17, Wednesday: A lead-mine operator from Missouri who had been ruined during the collapse of 1819, Moses Austin, was granted a large tract of territory in the Mejican province of Tejas by the government of New Spain, with permission to bring in a party of some 300 settlers provided that they were all Catholics, and all descended exclusively from Europeans. (Moses would die, but his son Stephen F. Austin would be allowed by the government of Mexico to inherit his grant and lead this group of acceptable Catholic white folks into Texas. They would of course bring with them their black slaves.)

Governor Clinton of New York accused Martin Van Buren of bartering states rights for patronage in Washington DC.

May 31, Thursday: Formal dedication of the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Baltimore, the first Roman Catholic cathedral in the USA. The construction, designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, had begun in 1806.

The Reverend Edward Hitchcock got married with Orra White, who had been one of his teachers at the Deerfield Academy (this union would produce six surviving children).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *5th M 31st 1821 5th day / In our Moy* [Monthly] *Meeting this Day Anne Greene appeared in testimony with much sweetnes - there were two other short testimonys of the Authority for which I can say but little —*
> *In the last we had considerable buisness & among it was the weighty appointment of a female Elder which resulted (I trust) to her encouragement & (I hope) & believe to the satisfaction of the Meeting. —*
> *Ruth Mitchell, Adam Anthony & Doctor Wadswroth dined with us. —*
> *This evening between 7 OClock DIED JONATHON ALM, Town Clerk, Aged 76 years he had been Town Clerk about 20 years*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

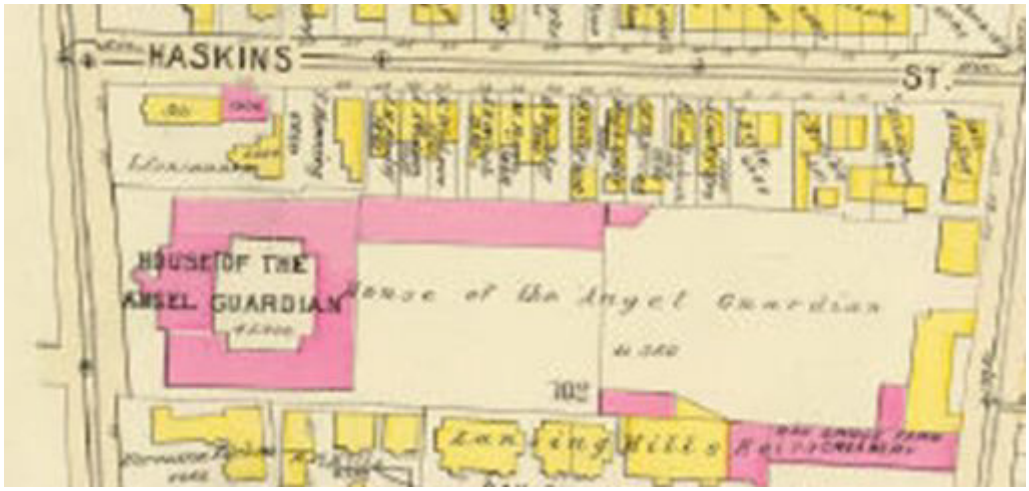
Summer: Properly preparation for the tour of a museum during the summer of 1821:

The Irish countryside was consumed in a lower-class Catholic millennialism that was anticipating that all Protestantism would be destroyed by 1825 (this was founded on a 1771 prophesy based upon the interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John, by Bishop Charles Walmsley Pastorino). On the estates, in fear of these "Rockites," as they were called because of their tendency to express their outraged righteousness through the throwing of stones, a Protestant family would fortify itself in its main house every evening among its Protestant attendants — dispatching its Catholic servants to spend the night isolated in an outbuilding.

1822

Galileo Galilei's treatise *DIALOGO SOPRA I DUE MASSIMI SISTEMI DEL MONDO, TOLEMAICO E COPERNICANO* (published in 1632 and banned in 1633), which had over the centuries become a considerable embarrassment, finally was erased from the Roman Catholic Church's Index of prohibited books.

A Catholic graduated from Harvard College, the very first one to do so: the Reverend George F. Haskins, who would in 1851 found the "House of the Angel Guardian," at 85 Vernon Street in the Highlands district of Roxbury, the 1st Catholic reform school in New England (amounting to America's 1st "Boys Town").



The first printed Harvard classbook. At the Divinity School, the following gentlemen commenced their studies:

George Smith
George Tyng
Nathanael Gage
Samuel Presbury (Brown University)

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

April 8, Monday: An anti-Catholic riot took place in Philadelphia.

Late June: John Wedderburn Halkett, John McLoughlin, and the new governor of the Red River colony, Andrew H. Bulger, arrived when the settlers were in a demoralized state. Their crop had been consumed by grasshoppers and bison were hardly to be found. Dakota warriors had murdered ten settlers near Pembina in North Dakota to their south. Halkett assured the settlers that they were going to receive a supply of farm animals and would be paid fixed prices for their production. He arranged a reduction in the interest rate they were being charged on their loan and made concessions in rent. To reduce costs he closed the Red River administrative buildings and terminated the Hudson Bay Company post at Pembina. He asked Bishop Joseph-Norbert Provencher to recall Father Severe Dumoulin (the Roman Catholic mission at Pembina would close in the following year).

CANADA

July 12, Friday: The food crisis in Ireland was continuing, although this famine was not turning out to be so severe as the ones of 1800/1801 and of 1816/1819. In Dublin, “Orangemen” (supporters of English rule) were as usual peaceably decorating the statue of their King William on College Green when the Catholic population began to riot against them.

POTATO

The Sydney, Australia Gazette posted an alert that Thomas Brooks off the transport *Grenada*, John Heyburn off the transport *Minerva*, and John Creardon off the transport *Lord Sidmouth* were unaccountably absent from their posts of obligation and presumably at large among the public using false documents.

Gullah Jack and others were hanged in Charleston, South Carolina for having assisted Denmark Vesey in his ill-fated conspiracy to create a servile insurrection (the total of those hanged was rising to 34).

It had come to be reward-yourself time. The economist David Ricardo, accompanied by his wife, two younger daughters, a couple of maidservants and a courier, departed from London on a 5-month broadening “Grand Tour of the Continent.” They would pass through Calais and Brussels into Holland, stay at the Hague and Amsterdam, journey up the Rhine River to Bâle and tour Switzerland, cross from Geneva into Italy for excursions to the Mer de Glace and the Great St Bernard, and go over the Simplon pass to the Italian Lakes, Milan, Venice, and Florence. On their return they would pass through Pisa, Genoa, and Turin on their way to Paris. The trip would be memorialized and it is clear that a good time had been had by all.

WALDEN: If I wished a boy to know something about the arts and sciences, for instance, I would not pursue the common course, which is merely to send him into the neighborhood of some professor, where any thing is professed and practised but the art of life; –to survey the world through a telescope or a microscope, and never with his natural eye; to study chemistry, and not learn how his bread is made, or mechanics, and not learn how it is earned; to discover new satellites to Neptune, and not detect the motes in his eyes, or to what vagabond he is a satellite himself; or to be devoured by the monsters that swarm all around him, while contemplating the monsters in a drop of vinegar. Which would have advanced the most at the end of a month, –the boy who had made his own jack-knife from the ore which he had dug and smelted, reading as much as would be necessary for this, –or the boy who had attended the lectures on metallurgy at the Institute in the mean while, and had received a Rodgers' penknife from his father? Which would be most likely to cut his fingers? –To my astonishment I was informed on leaving college that I had studied navigation! –why, if I had taken one turn down the harbor I should have known more about it. Even the **poor** student studies and is taught only **political** economy, while that economy of living which is synonymous with philosophy is not even sincerely professed in our colleges. The consequence is, that while he is reading Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Say, he runs his father in debt irretrievably.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

ADAM SMITH
DAVID RICARDO
JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY

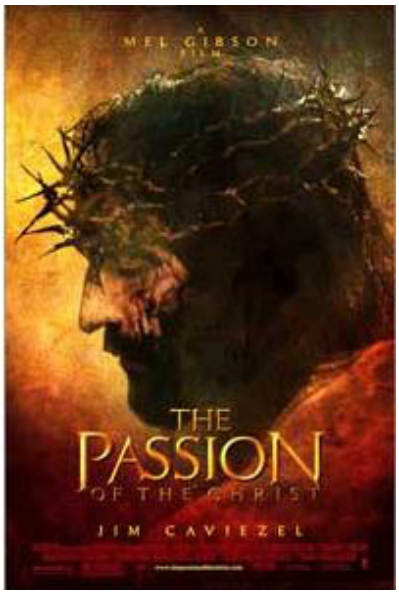
1823

In Ireland, the foundation of the Catholic Association by Daniel O'Connell (this would be dissolved and then reconstituted in 1825).

A Catholic parish, St. Mary's in Charlestown, Massachusetts, was created for those worshipers who lived north of the Charles River.

1824

February 9, Monday: Finally Anne Catherine Emmerich got her reward (which is to say, she died, with no more needing to subsist on communion wafers and water while picking at bleeding skin sores, no more recreating and recreating the passion of Christ in her imagination).



CATHOLICISM

She would be able to see her triumphant Lord face to face (next screen):

March: Friend Mary Rotch was "frozen out" of the group of elders by the New Bedford, Massachusetts meeting of Quakers despite the fact that 19 of the members of this monthly meeting were in disunity with such a shunning.[30]

When, in this timeframe, the grave of the recently buried Anne Catherine Emmerich was opened for inspection, her body was characterized as still fresh and without any visible signs of corruption.

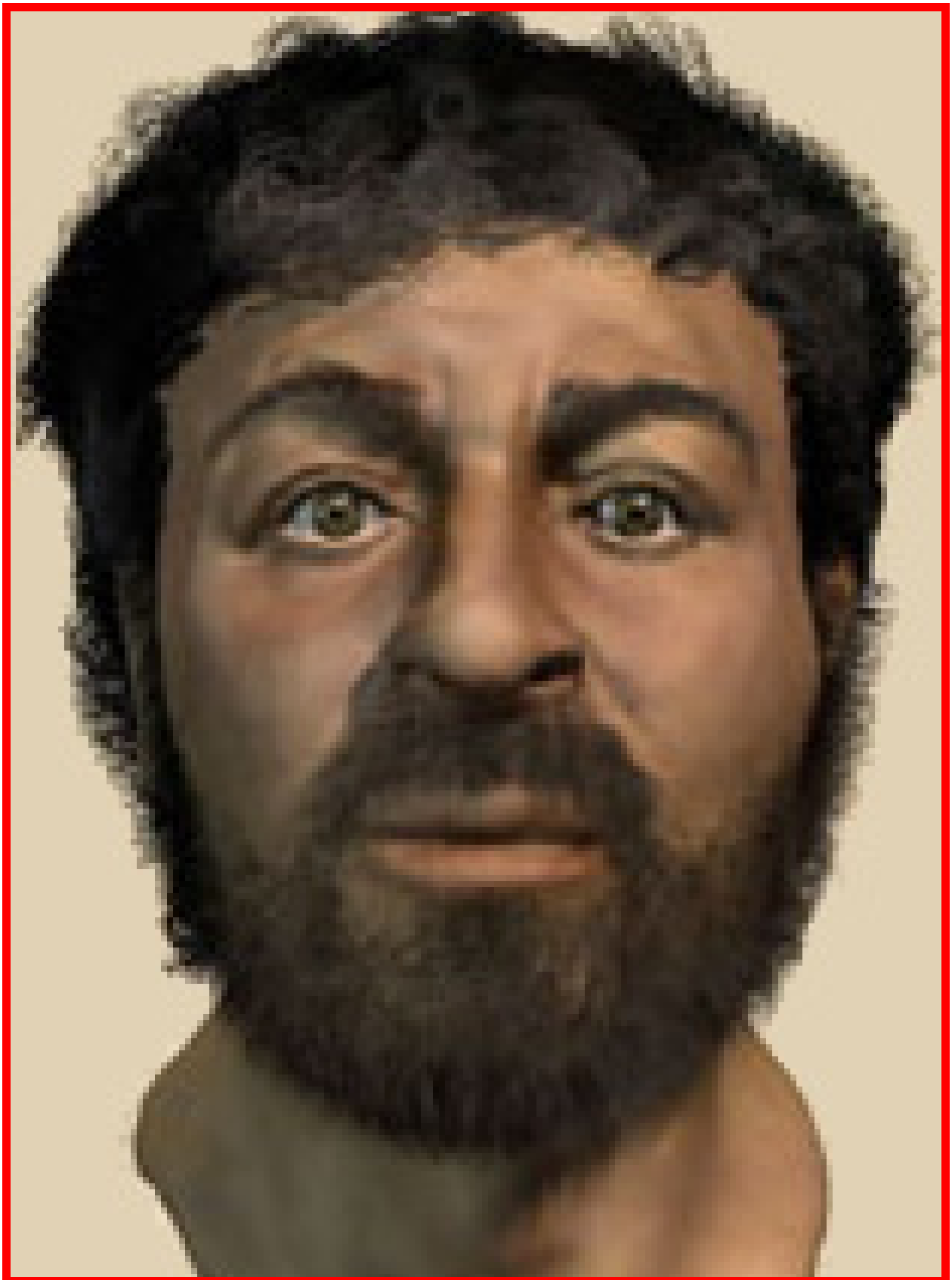
Was this miracle a sign of God's favor? Was God discovering a way to pass along to us from "the other side" a coded message about Sister Anne's specialness?

CATHOLICISM

30. To have become effective, a "disownment" would have needed to be approved by the Quarterly Meeting and I have found no record of any such action.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM



1825

Charles Butler's BOOK OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. Also, his THE LIFE OF ERASMUS; WITH HISTORICAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF LITERATURE BETWEEN THE 10TH AND 16TH CENTURIES (London: J. Murray).

(This LIFE would be consulted by David Henry Thoreau in 1833.)

LIFE OF ERASMUS

Publication in London, also, of the four volumes of David Henry's required textbooks, that would eventually be found in his personal library, Horace's *QUINTI HORATII FLACCI OPERA OMNIA EX EDITIONE J C ZEUNII CUM NOTIS ET INTERPRETATIONE IN USUM DELPHINI VARIIS LECTIONIBUS NOTIS VARIORUM RECENSU EDITIONUM ET CODICUM ET INDICE LOCUPLETISSIMO ACCURATE RECENSITI*. This variorum edition contains all the then-known variants of the texts, with notes by Johann Carl Zeune (1736-1788). It had been part of a large series of Latin classics prepared originally for Louis, le Grand Dauphin, in the 17th century, and was republished in London by Abraham John Valpy (1787-1854).

HORACE'S *OPERA*

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The millennialism of the Irish "Rockites" would be absorbed because the 1771 prophesy based upon the interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John by Bishop Charles Walmsley Pastorino, that God would destroy all Protestantism by this year 1825 –a prophecy that had been credited by these lower-class Catholic rock throwers since 1821– had become no longer functional.

In England, the Catholic Relief Bill was defeated in the House of Lords.

The Catholic pro-cathedral was opened in Marlborough Street, Dublin. Some 50,000 Irish were applying for some 2,000 assisted places on shipping to America, in a British Colonial Office scheme to depopulate the southern counties.[31]

More than a hundred periodicals had appeared by this point in the United States, three out of every four religious in nature. Of these roughly 75 American religious periodicals, fully half were anti-Catholic. During the first half of the 19th Century, American Know-Nothing nativists would produce a vast amount of propaganda against the Roman Catholic Church, propaganda which focused on the same core reason why the Nazis would be so hostile to Jews. Just as the Nazis would consider themselves to be inherently nationalistic and patriotic and Jews to be essentially internationalists and therefore implicitly disloyal and the most deadly enemy of the Fatherland, so also these American nativists were considering themselves to be patriotic nationalists and considering Roman Catholics to constitute our most mortal threat, any Catholic being essentially internationalistic, and merely another sworn servant of a foreign potentate — the Pope in Rome. The great number of Catholic immigrants, mostly German and Irish, who were finding new homes in what we now refer to as "the Midwest," caused the Know-Nothings and other nativists to fear that the power of the Pope might be able to find a new homeland there.

31. By the end of the potato famine, 1/3rd of the surviving Irish population would be in the USA.

Benjamin Wade switched from the study of medicine in Albany to the study of law in Ohio.

The National Road reached St. Clairsville.

Propaganda would spread, that the Pope was about to land an army to set up a New-World Papal State. Rumor had it that this was to be centered upon Cincinnati, Ohio.[32]

The Ohio legislature authorized the construction of an Ohio and Erie canal and a Miami and Erie canal. David Stanhope Bates was made Chief Engineer of the Ohio River canal around the falls at Louisville. In Ohio, between this year and 1842, there would be an influx of settlers accompanying the construction and completion of the Erie Canal, the Ohio canal between Cleveland and Portsmouth, and the Miami-Erie Canal between Toledo and Cincinnati.

32. “Gosh, Larry, how many divisions does the Pope have?”

1826

At this time about 97,000 people lived in Rhode Island, about 600 of them Roman Catholics, but by 1865 after the Irish Famine and emigration, there would be 50,000 Catholics (by 1885 the population of the state would have risen to 304,000 of whom at least 92,000 had an Irish parent).

RHODE ISLAND RELIGION

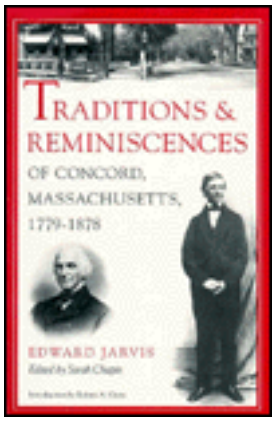
Upon the "Ploughed Hill" of Revolutionary fame in Charlestown MA, there was installed the brick convent of the Ursuline Sisters, a Catholic teaching order. The place would be burned to the ground by a Catholic-hating mob in 1834, and would then become a popular pic-nic spot. This mound is now known as Mount Benedict in East Somerville, Massachusetts.

URSULINE CONVENT
ANTI-CATHOLICISM

By invitation, Bishop John England of Charleston, South Carolina delivered a sermon before the Congress of the United States. (It was the first time a Catholic priest had addressed this body.)

According to Dr. Edward Jarvis's TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878, this was the year of the death of his mother:

> My parents were married in 1793. My father had been successful in his business and bought the house very near to and north of the meetinghouses, where they lived until my mother died in 1826, and until my father moved to the Col. Buttrick farm, north of the river, in 1832.



In this year Jarvis, son of the Concord baker and farmer Deacon Francis Jarvis, graduated from Harvard College. Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte II, a descendant of Napoleon Bonaparte's youngest brother and a Catholic, and George Washington Hosmer, son of the Concord farmer Deacon Cyrus Hosmer, also graduated.

> EDWARD JARVIS [of Concord], son of Deacon Francis Jarvis was

> grad[uated at Harvard in] 1826. He studied physic and practised at Northfield but removed to Concord in 1832.[33]
>
> GEORGE WASHINGTON HOSMER [of Concord], son of Cyrus Hosmer, was graduated [at Harvard] in 1826, and at Cambridge Theological School [Harvard Divinity School] in 1829. He was ordained at Northfield June 9, 1830.[34]

During this year and the following one, Jarvis would be teaching in the old schoolhouse in beautiful downtown Concord:

> The old schoolhouse, as I first knew it, was of wood, two stories high, and 30 by 40 feet. It stood where now stands the engine house, next to the house of Mr. W[illia]m Heard. The school room was in the second story, 30 feet square. The door opened in front, upon and open floor, about 9 feet wide which ran to the Master's desk, on the opposite end. On each side the floor was raised on an inclined plane from the level floor in the centre to the wall on each side. There were four rows of seats for the accommodation of ten scholars in each row. The end seats against the wall were single and between these were four pairs of seats for two each with alleys running between the seats to the back or upper seats. Every seat had a box with a lifting lid. The architecture and joining of the room was coarse and imperfect and commanded little respect from the boys. Many boys had a lock on their boxes with the idle fear that their books were unsafe. Some boys had two locks on their boxes of which they were very proud, and one boy had three locks on his box. These duplicate locks gave their owners great satisfaction, and [upon] coming in, they took out their keys from their pockets and ostentatiously turned the locks and opened their boxes apparently thinking that thereby they manifested their superiority to other (and little) boys who had no locks. If the boy changed his seat or left the school, he took off his locks and left the box much cut in front. Very many boys had pocket knives, which they freely used cutting paper on their boxes, thus the boxes became very much scratched. Some cut out their initials and some their entire names on their boxes, so that the lids became so rough that it was not always easy to write without several layers of paper laid on the box. Even the seats were subject to the wanton depredations of the boys' pocket knives.... The room below was used as [a] woman's school, and it was here that, as spoken of before, the Master taught dancing. There was a bell in the belfry to notify the scholars the time for school hours. This building was burned in the winter of 1819-20, having caught from the stove, and another was built of the same size and on the same place of brick with the school room below and Masonic hall above. There was no ventilation nor means

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

34. Ibid.

> of purifying the air in any schoolhouse in Concord in my early day, nor even as late as 1837, when I was on the school committee. Then the most painful part of my official visits was in breathing the foul and oppressive atmosphere of the school room. The grammar school room was 30 ft. square and about 10 ft. high, making 9000 cubic feet. There were seats for 80 scholars. The district schoolhouses were about 20 ft. to 25 feet square and 8 feet high. They offered 3000 to 5000 feet of air for 30 to 50 children. When they entered the house, the air was fresh and healthy. But as the air became foul, it vitiated their sensibility, and neither they nor their teachers perceived the difference and did not complain. But when one entered from the fresh air abroad into this corrupted atmosphere it was very oppressive and offensive. It must have been equally injurious to those who had been in it and breathed it during the hours of the school session.

> The first town *School* [in Acton] was kept in 1741, when it was voted to have a "reading, writing, and moving school for six months." In 1743 a similar one was established and £18 old tenor, equal to about £3 lawful money, was raised for its support. Whether this afforded the only means of education does not appear. It is probable some schools might have been supported by private subscription. Several youth, as was then customary, resorted to the clergyman, for their education. People, however, enjoyed few other opportunities than were afforded in their own families. In 1760, the town [of Acton] was divided into six school districts, and in 1771 into seven. In 1797 the town [of Acton] was divided into four districts, East, West, South, and Middle, and several new houses were built. This division has since been continued. The money is divided among the districts in proportion to the taxes. From the return made to the state in 1826, it appears, that the aggregate time of keeping the schools was 28 months, and that they were attended by 412 pupils, of whom 227 were males, and 185 females. 139 were under 7 years of age, 160 from 7 to 14, and 113 from 14 upwards.[35]

According to Jarvis, there were different attitudes about the ways to improve the comprehension of schoolboys:

> In the purpose then of exercising his proper authority when he began school, every master armed himself with a ferule. This was an instrument of mahogany, walnut, oak, maple or thin strong wood, eighteen to twenty-four inches long, one and a half to two

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

inches wide, three-eights to four-eights inches thick. For each of my four winter schools and my town school in Concord, I provided myself with this instrument of discipline. The ferule was used by striking the boy on the palm of the hand, which, like the Turkish bastinade on the sole of the feet, inflicts very great suffering. There were other means of punishment resorted to by various masters to whom I will refer hereafter. When the master came into the school daily, he took out and laid upon his desk such books and other matters as he wanted, including the ferule, which was plainly, conspicuously on the desk in sight of the scholars.... In earlier times of this (and in the last) century, there were traditions of masters being turned out of the schoolhouse by combinations of the larger and insubordinate boys. I never heard of such an instance in Concord; nevertheless feruling, and flogging, and other means of punishment which we should now call cruel, were resorted to as means of government during all my experience as a scholar.... My earliest recollection was of Elijah F. Paige, who graduated at Cambridge in 1810 and came immediately to the Concord school. He taught one year. I was then seven years old and went to his school all that year. He was a man of great force of character and an excellent scholar and teacher. He was a magnetizer and inspired the school with a love of study and they made great progress under his care, but his great reputation was as a disciplinarian, which was justly founded, for he punished very frequently and severely. He seemed to be very hard on the dull scholars and the bad boys, and his management did not improve them. He was very tall — six feet and several inches high. His desk was on the platform two steps (about sixteen inches) above the main floor, but he had another desk made and placed on the top of this desk, at which he could stand and write. The top of this must have been six feet or more from the floor. There was a large boy, whose name I have now forgotten, who lived with Dr. Hurd. He was willful, disobedient, and it seemed to me the object of Mr. Paige's especial desire to flog him into good behavior. I have seen Mr. Paige take this boy, take off his coat, then tie him by his hands to the top of the desk with a rope so high that his feet could not touch the floor. Then with rods which he had sent for, to be cut from the willow trees back of the schoolhouse on the borders of the brook, he flogged him with many blows while thus suspended. I have seen him take William Mann, who was not a good boy and whom the master endeavored to convert by similar ungentle means, sit him down on the dirty floor in the presence of all the scholars, make him draw his knees up to his breast and his heels to his hips and bend his head down to his knees and thus reduce him to as compact a mass as possible, then in this condition he took a very long cord and wound it around him in every direction, so that he was hardly more than a ball that might be rolled over, helpless and [with his] limbs immobile. Nevertheless, Mr. Paige was very popular and acceptable to the town authorities and people, and when he left I recollect no one whose departure was more regretted than his.

Next followed Mr. Simeon Putnam.... He was strict indeed but not severe. He taught a good school but had not the power either for good or evil of his predecessor. Mr. John Brown, a native of Concord, taught in 1813 and 1814. He was not a man of personal dignity and failed to interest the school as some of his predecessors had.... Nevertheless some of the earlier severity was practised —feruling and flogging— and sometimes the erring boy was compelled to go to the willows and cut the rod for his own punishment.... Besides the feruling and flogging, there were many other means of corporeal punishment practiced by the masters in the schools. Sometime a boy was required to stand on the floor and hold out [one arm] horizontally, at extreme length, with a heavy book in his hand, and if from weariness the arm should fall from its horizontal position, the master with a blow of his ferule would remind him of his delinquency. Sometimes the boys were taken by the collar and shaken about the floor with great violence. Sometimes the master would box the ears a hard blow. Another form — boys were required to stand on the platform of the master's desk and bow the head under the desk and hold it there, with his legs from the hip to the foot erect. This was a very painful position, but the boys were required to continue it as long as they could possibly bear it.... These severe punishments were supposed to be in obedience to the Law of Solomon [Proverbs 13:24] and were in accordance with the general spirit of the times. There was occasional complaint from parents of the severe punishment of their sons but the community generally imputed this to the parental partiality and sustained the master. Nevertheless, with the progress of the age, the ideas of the government at home and at school were gradually ameliorated. Punishment became more and more mild and less frequent. I taught this school in 1826-7. I was not quite ready to discard corporeal punishments, and yet I made some use of these means of government. I corrected with a ferule, yet mildly, for I was not then perfectly satisfied with the principle that the infliction of pain upon the human body was a proper way of gaining love and respect from the scholars, or creating in him a willingness to obey the law. I well remember the case of one boy who was willful and unyielding. It seemed my duty to compel him to conform his habits to the requirements of the school, but all in vain. It had no good effect but rather the contrary on his feelings and conduct. Another boy of 14, ordinarily of unquestionable propriety of life, once with several smaller boys transgressed a rule which was necessary for the administration of the school. Doubtless he did this from forgetfulness. I did not want to punish him, but as it seemed necessary for the good of the school that I should punish the others, I could find no way of escaping punishing him with the rest, but he bore the infliction with such mild and dignified submission as if he concurred in the propriety of it that I was glad when it was over. He is now a respectable citizen of Concord, and I never see him without sorrow for the pain I inflicted. And looking back from my later point of view upon

this part of my administration, I recollect no instance in which with my later sentiments I might not have produced a better influence on the boy's mind and character without resorting to the infliction of bodily pain. And now looking over the whole, I think the good order of the school was not in proportion to the multiplicity of the number and severity of the punishments. But where physical force was used the least, where tact took the place of force, where the Masters appealed to the self-respect of the scholars rather than their fears, when the scholars were treated with the most courtesy and affection as was the case when Mr. Samuel Barrett taught the school in 1818-19, there was the best order, the greatest propriety of conduct, and the best development of character.

John Nelson Darby was elevated to the priesthood in the Church of England and assigned a curacy in remote County Wicklow, Ireland. There, by Darby's own account, due to the effectiveness of his ministrations, Catholic peasants would be "becoming protestants at the rate of 600 to 800 a week."

What a fisherman this guy was! –I bet he could sell iceboxes to Eskimos!

1827

Father Robert D. Woodley was sent to Providence, Rhode Island by Benedict Fenwick, Bishop of New England, and began to conduct Catholic services in Mechanics' Hall. (His congregation would not rise higher than about 200, and he would be succeeded after about 3 years by Father John Corry. They would move their worship services from Mechanics' Hall to the "Old Town House," and would erect SS. Peter and Paul Church in 1837. The Right Reverend T.F. Hendricken would be consecrated as the 1st bishop of Providence on April 28, 1872.)

1828

In England at this point, the "levelers" and "nonconformists" and "dissenters" and "disestablishmentarians" and "latitudinarians," non-Catholic groupings such as the Quakers and the Unitarians and the Baptists and the Methodists who were refusing to conform to the strictures of the Church of England, were beginning to be allowed to perform minor governmental functions — at least at the borough level. (They would not be able, however, to obtain an Oxford or Cambridge degree until the 1850s, and even into the 1860s they would be being forced to pay local church "rates" in support of the local Church of England's parish parson.)

A year earlier Jemmy Butler had won a boxing match in Darlaston, England, after which the audience had carried him on their shoulders four miles to the nearest pub, where all that night he had been given drinks and adulation. This year in the prize-ring Jemmy was beaten to death.

In about this timeframe William Henry Brisbane was accepted as a new convert at the Pipe Creek Baptist Church, and went off to study at the Furman Academy and Theological Institution in Edgefield, South Carolina. His church would ordain him as its pastor and, successively, he would become pastor at several planter churches in the low country of South Carolina.

Daniel O'Connell was elected for Clare to the British Parliament, but of course could not be seated as he was Catholic and therefore could not be trusted.

IRELAND

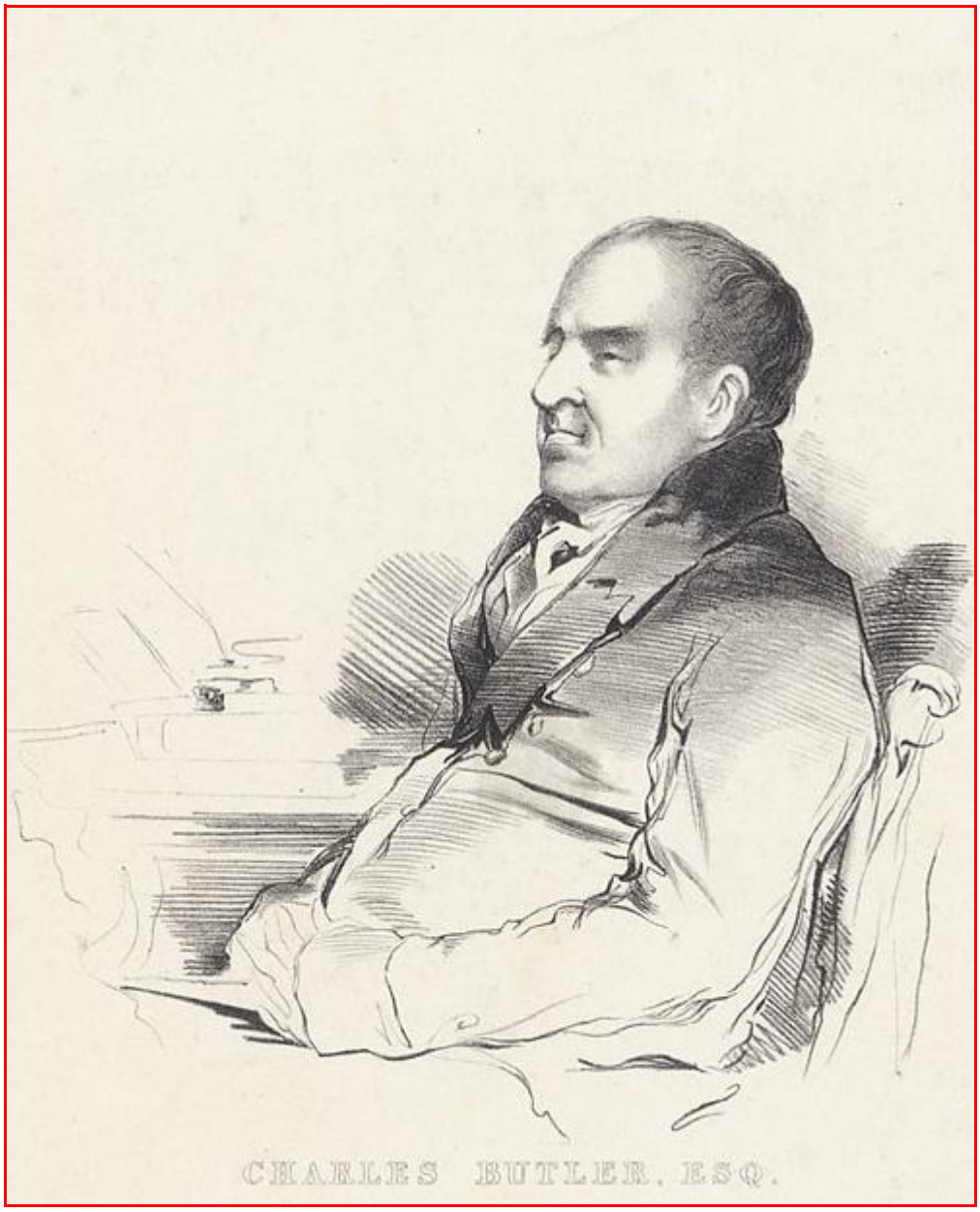
August 8, Friday: St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church began in Newport (this is therefore the oldest Catholic Parish in Rhode Island). Friend Stephen Wanton Gould, who never mentions in all the pages of his journal the existence of Catholics in his home town, typically took no notice the opening of this church.

> *6th day Spent this day at the School House on committee buisness - Our visit to the Schools were favoured opportunities - lodged at my kind friend Moses Browns —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1829

The English Parliament enacted the emancipation of the Roman Catholics of Britain. Upon the passage of this act the King of England dispatched to the conveyancer Charles Butler a special message of congratulations. Soon he would be elevated to the dignity of King's Counsel! At this point a drawing of him was created:



1830

Bishop John England established in Charleston, South Carolina the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy “to educate females of the middling class of society; also to have a school for free colored girls, and to give religious instruction to female slaves; they will also devote themselves to the service of the sick.” Branches of this Catholic society would later be established at Savannah, Wilmington, and Sumter.

1832

Rebecca Theresa Reed, a charity pupil of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict, ran away and began to retail self-justifying stories to receptive Protestants of girls held there against their will. Soon the Reverend Lyman Beecher would be lecturing on the topic.

"To understand is not to forgive. It is only to understand. It is not an end but a beginning."

— Rebecca West

Harriet Beecher, a daughter of the Reverend Lyman Beecher, pastor of the Church of St. John the Evangelist on Bowdoin Street in Boston, who had lived since 1826 at 42 Green Street and had there experienced her religious conversion, followed her reverend father to Cincinnati and began to teach at her sister's newly founded Western Female Institute. The Reverend Beecher, father also of Henry Ward Beecher, had been made the president of Lane Theological Seminary. In a Nativist or Know-Nothing magazine, the Reverend would confess that he had relocated in order "to battle the Pope for the garden spot of the world." The need was to grow a crop of young Protestant ministers who would protect the western United States from becoming a colony of Catholics.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

Nicholas Marcellus Hentz and his wife the novelist Mrs. Caroline Lee Whiting Hentz relocated from Covington, Kentucky to Cincinnati, where they would conduct a female academy. The wife would become friends with Harriet Beecher, although they would differ considerably in their politics (Caroline was decidedly

pro-slavery).

- Some Catholic French-Canadians had migrated at this point to Manchester, New Hampshire.
- The first Redemptorists landed in the USA, primarily to care for the needs of German Catholic immigrants.
- In Charleston, Bishop John England estimated the Catholics of his diocese at 11,000: 7,500 in South Carolina, 3,000 in Georgia, 500 in North Carolina.

1833

The notes made by Klemens Brentano of the testimony of Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich appeared as THE DOLOROUS PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST ACCORDING TO THE MEDITATIONS OF ANNE CATHERINE EMMERICH (never mind that this writing seemed Antisemitic).

CATHOLICISM
ANTISEMITISM

Some Catholic French-Canadians had migrated at this point to Lewiston, Maine and Southbridge, Massachusetts.

CANADA

January: Rebecca Theresa Reed's SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT sold 10,000 copies in its first week and, in all, would sell some 200,000 copies. The Catholic Mother Superior of the Ursuline Convent would issue her own book in rebuttal of the allegations made.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

December: Sam Houston joined the Roman Catholic Church as required by Mexican law.

TEXAS

1834

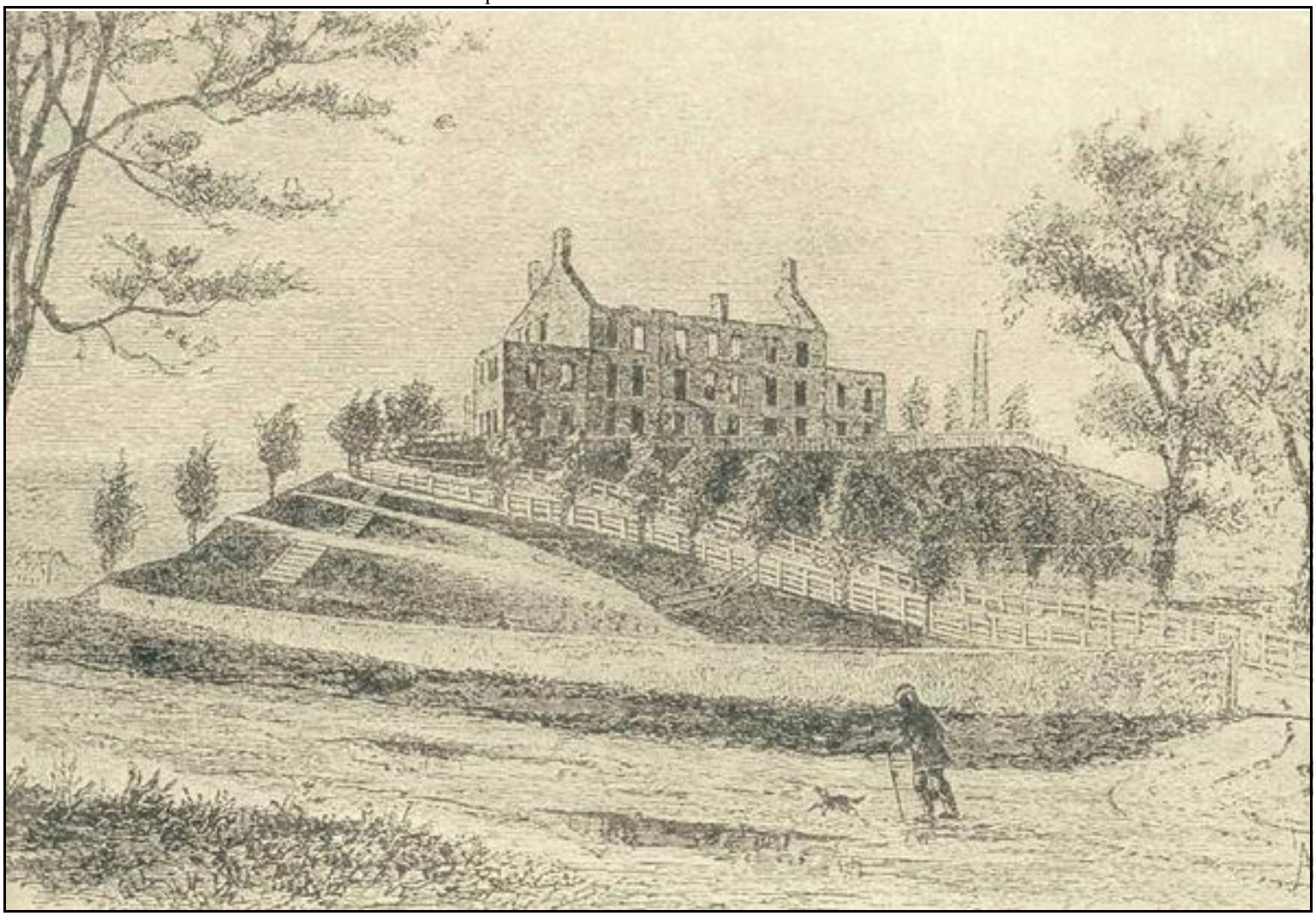
Summer: The Reverend Lyman Beecher returned from his presidency of Lane Theological Seminary near Cincinnati, Ohio to Boston to deliver three anti-Catholic sermons in various churches on a single day. He succeeded in rallying the Protestants together and the next day a mob gathered at the Ursuline Convent school in Charlestown, carrying banners which said, "Down with Popery" and "Down with the Cross."

THE URSULINE CONVENT

At Charlestown, Massachusetts, previous to its destruction by the Know-Nothing mob on the night of August 11 1834.

While the sisters and their charges were being rescued and sheltered by farmer neighbors, 50 men broke down the doors of the Catholic convent and set everything on fire. The mob was led by people such as a local brickmaker and teamster, but also present were at least two of the selectmen of Charlestown, and their complicity went at least to the extent of failing to call out the militia.

Also present in the mob which watched the Ursuline Convent burn to the ground were members of Charlestown's volunteer fire department:



Although the arsonists made no secret of their identity, none would ever be found guilty. They would be tried in Concord in Middlesex County Court in 1836 but would declare that they were attempting to free young girls who were being held captive inside the convent by the Papist nuns and would all be acquitted.[36] Mob attacks on Catholic churches in New England would soon become so frequent that insurance companies would refuse

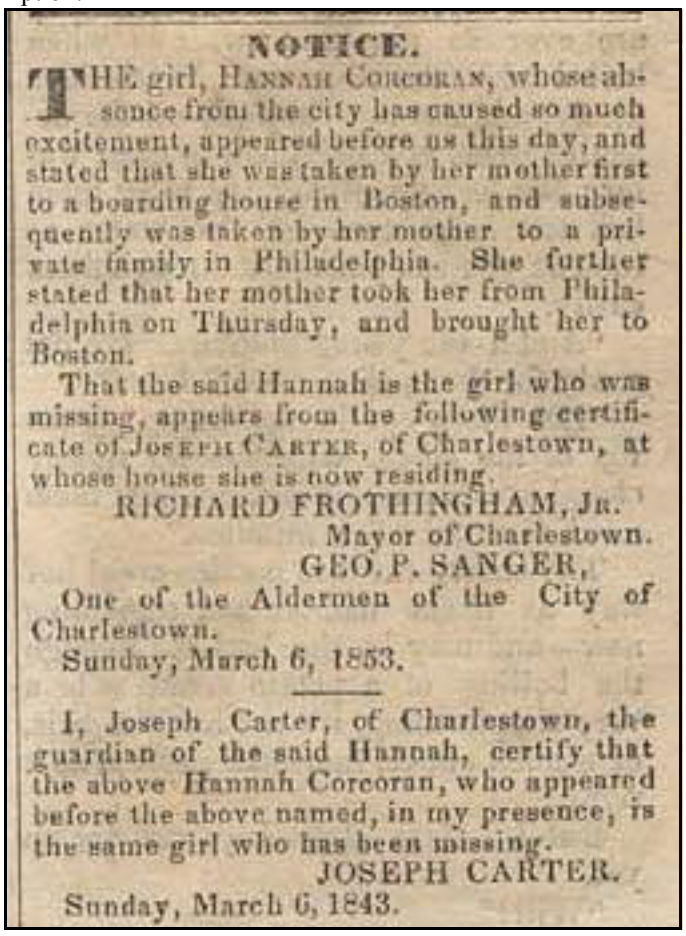
36.There was one particular woman who was being given shelter in the convent, who was having some sort of mental difficulties, and this act of consideration by the sisters may have been just the thing that was needed to inflame the active imaginations of the righteously malicious Beast-of-Rome haters in the Protestant Boston area. In fact the mob made no particular effort to identify and retrieve this woman, who was fleeing with the sisters and taking refuge at a neighboring farm. Refer to:

Whitney, Louisa G. THE BURNING OF THE CONVENT. Boston, 1844.

Lord, Robert H., John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington. HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON IN THE VARIOUS STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1604 TO 1943. New York, 1944.

to insure Catholic buildings. The Reverend Beecher would return to Cincinnati and publish his rabble-rousing sermon as a pamphlet titled PLEA FOR THE WEST. He amplified the papal plot envisaged by Samuel F.B. Morse, maintaining that Catholic schools would win converts who would ally themselves with Catholic immigrants to control the west. Many would join the Reverend Beecher, allying themselves against immigrant Catholics. The Nativist presence under the leadership of Beecher in Cincinnati would prompt the Catholic bishop of that city, in erecting a new cathedral which would become the tallest building west of the Allegheny River at the time, to design the structure without any windows at all in the lower walls. The circumference of the building is solid stone all the way up to 45 feet, in order to protect against anyone throwing incendiaries into the building as had been happening in New England church burnings.

The missing Protestant girl whose absence had triggered the mob turned up safe and sound. It had all been a mistake or a presumption:



NOTICE.

THE girl, HANNAH CORCORAN, whose absence from the city has caused so much excitement, appeared before us this day, and stated that she was taken by her mother first to a boarding house in Boston, and subsequently was taken by her mother to a private family in Philadelphia. She further stated that her mother took her from Philadelphia on Thursday, and brought her to Boston.

That the said Hannah is the girl who was missing, appears from the following certificate of JOSEPH CARTER, of Charlestown, at whose house she is now residing.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR.
Mayor of Charlestown.
GEO. P. SANGER,
One of the Aldermen of the City of Charlestown.
Sunday, March 6, 1853.

I, Joseph Carter, of Charlestown, the guardian of the said Hannah, certify that the above Hannah Corcoran, who appeared before the above named, in my presence, is the same girl who has been missing.

JOSEPH CARTER.
Sunday, March 6, 1843.

Subsequently, there were rumors going around that enraged Papists were going to exact their revenge by attacking Harvard College, and the selectmen of Cambridge responded by creating a "patrol watch" around

Harvard Yard and stationing men at alarm bells.

There were "criars" (*sic*) sent into the streets of Cambridge to summon the populace to an indignation meeting, and this meeting created a committee which was charged with having at least two of its members "in session through the night," so that it could promptly summon "military power" from Boston if this were needed to defend the edifices of their College. This committee, with its "patrol watch" and official bell-ringers, would evolve over the course of years into the first municipal police force and the first alarm system of the city of Cambridge.

Here is a portion of the report of the committee of investigation:

> At the time of this attack upon the Convent there were within its wall about sixty female children and ten adults; one of whom was in the last stages of pulmonary consumption, another suffering under convulsion fits, and the unhappy female, who had been the immediate cause of the excitement, was by the agitation of the night in raving delirium.
>
> No warning was given of the intended assault, nor could the miscreants, by whom it was made, have known whether their missiles might not kill or wound the helpless inmates of this devoted dwelling. Fortunately for them, cowardice prompted what mercy and manhood denied: after the first attack, the assailants paused awhile from the fear that some secret force was concealed in the Convent or in ambush to surprise them; and in this interval the Governess was enabled to secure the retreat of her little flock and terrified sisters into the garden. But before this was fully effected, the rioters, finding they had nothing but women and children to contend against, regained their courage, and ere all the inmates could escape, entered the building.

July 28, Monday: Elijah Pierson of The Kingdom was having spells which sometimes –when he became intensely lonely for his lost wife Ann, and disoriented– caused him to reach into his trousers in public to play with himself. He had asked Isabella Van Wagenen (Sojourner Truth) and the others to restrain him whenever these devils appeared. That evening, for supper, in a display of rage, the Reverend Robert "The Prophet Matthias" Mathews spooned out plates of blackberries for Pierson but then himself ate only dry toast and coffee. It turned out that he had become enraged because when the dish of blackberries had been placed on the table, it had not been placed directly in front of him.

Sister Mary John sought shelter with Protestants.[37] While the Catholic sisters of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown and their charges were being rescued and sheltered by farmer neighbors, a mob of Protestants from Boston and Charlestown destroyed the convent building. The mob was led by people such as a local brickmaker and teamster, but also present were at least two of the selectmen of Charlestown, and their

37. She would voluntarily return to her Catholic context after getting her wits about her.

complicity went at least to the extent of failing to call out the militia. Also present in the mob which watched the Ursuline Convent burn to the ground were members of Charlestown's volunteer fire department. The mobs were prevented from marching to burn down Harvard Library on Tuesday night. The mobs were kept out of Boston on Wednesday night by raising the draw of the Charlestown bridge. Nothing would ever be done to punish the members of this protesting mob, who were tried in Concord in Middlesex County Court in 1836 but were acquitted, which operated under the declaration that they were attempting to free young girls who were being held captive inside the convent by the Papist nuns.[38] Subsequently, there would be rumors going around that enraged Papists were going to exact their revenge by attacking Harvard College, and the selectmen of Cambridge would respond by creating a "patrol watch" and stationing men at alarm bells. There were "criars" (*sic*) sent into the streets of Cambridge to summon the populace to an indignation meeting, and this meeting created a committee which was charged with having at least two of its members "in session through the night," so that it could promptly summon "military power" from Boston if this were needed to defend the edifices of their College. This committee, with its "patrol watch" and official bell-ringers, would evolve over the course of years into the first municipal police force and the first alarm system of the city of Cambridge MA.

Here is the after-mob Ursuline convent, and a portion of the report of the committee of investigation:

38. There was one particular woman who was being given shelter in the convent, who was having some sort of mental difficulties, and this act of consideration by the sisters may have been just the thing that was needed to inflame the active imaginations of the righteously malicious Beast-of-Rome haters in the Protestant Boston area. In fact the mob made no particular effort to identify and retrieve this woman, who was fleeing with the sisters and taking refuge at a neighboring farm. Refer to:

Whitney, Louisa G. THE BURNING OF THE CONVENT (Boston, 1844).

Lord, Robert H., John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington. HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON IN THE VARIOUS STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1604 TO 1943 9New York, 19440.

At the time of this attack upon the Convent there were within its wall about sixty female children and ten adults; one of whom was in the last stages of pulmonary consumption, another suffering under convulsion fits, and the unhappy female, who had been the immediate cause of the excitement, was by the agitation of the night in raving delirium.

No warning was given of the intended assault, nor could the miscreants, by whom it was made, have known whether their missiles might not kill or wound the helpless inmates of this devoted dwelling. Fortunately for them, cowardice prompted what mercy and manhood denied: after the first attack, the assailants paused awhile from the fear that some secret force was concealed in the Convent or in ambush to surprise them; and in this interval the Governess was enabled to secure the retreat of her little flock and terrified sisters into the garden. But before this was fully effected, the rioters, finding they had nothing but women and children to contend against, regained their courage, and ere all the inmates could escape, entered the building.

1835

Rebecca Reed, a nun who had escaped from the Ursuline Convent in 1832, left little to the imagination when she described her SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT.

SURVEY OF AMERICAN ANTI-CATHOLICISM

What sort of person would be impressed by this sort of literature? Well, for one thing, a person who had helped burn down this convent in Charlestown would be impressed, very impressed. “Hey, we did the right thing!”

To Henry C. Wright, of course, Rebecca Read’s SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT bore “the impress of Truth.” Damn those Catholics anyway.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

1836

Politics were a little strange. Protestant rioters who had torched the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown in the summer of 1834 were tried in Concord, and despite the most overwhelming evidence, were acquitted.[39]

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

In this year the Reverend William Nevins was producing his THOUGHTS ON POPERY. The most infamous of the many Know-Nothing propaganda works created during this year, however, would be Maria Monk's AWFUL DISCLOSURES OF THE HÔTEL DIEU NUNNERY OF MONTRÉAL, which we suspect was ghostwritten by Theodore Dwight, Jr., a nephew of the Reverend Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, and a great-grandson of the Reverend Jonathan Edwards. It seemed that Catholic nuns were under orders to "obey the priests in all things," and that their illegitimate babies were being baptized and then stifled in the cradle so that their souls would ascend innocent at once to Heaven. This book created a sensation despite the testimony of the Protestant mother of this girl, that her daughter, never having been in a convent, had not escaped from one, but had simply been paid by a Protestant minister to sign her name to an utterly fictitious story. According to Maria's mom, since she had rammed a pencil into her skull as a child, she should perhaps be excused for this fantasy. (This "pornography for the Puritan" would sell more than 300,000 copies. In 1849 Maria, having been detained on charges of having picked the johns' pockets in a brothel, would die in prison.)

SURVEY OF AMERICAN ANTI-CATHOLICISM

39. In order to understand how rioters who had committed an anti-Catholic arson could be acquitted in the Middlesex County courts, it is necessary to understand a great deal about the political ferment and the group hatreds of the time, and I can't get into this here. For now just receive it as a surd — something to marvel at and wonder about.

AWFUL DISCLOSURES OF MARIA MONK

OR THE SECRETS OF THE BLACK NUNNERY REVEALED.

MARIA MONK

1838

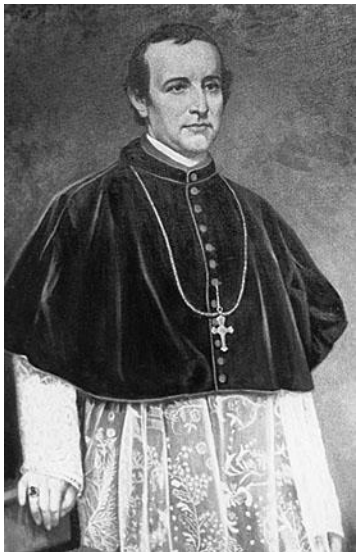
Much of Ansonborough in Charleston, South Carolina was destroyed in a fire.

The Holy See issued a statement condemning the international slave trade, but most of the Catholic bishops in America interpreted this as of course not applying to slavery itself.[40]

40. Clearly, there's a terminology problem here. In an effort to resolve this terminology issue, at the Republican National Convention in New-York during August 2004 –at which the Republican Party would for four days make an effort to strip from its face its mask of hostility to the plight of the downtrodden and reveal its true countenance of benevolent conservatism and concern– these people would be sensitively referred to by a Hoosier Republican running for the US Senate as "involuntary immigrants."

So, perhaps, this is a good point at which to insert a story about involuntary immigrants that has been passed on to us by Ram Varmha, a retired IBM engineer whose father had briefly served as Maharaja after the independence of Cochin. He relates the story as narrated to him by his paternal grandmother who lived in Thripoonithura, Cochin: "When my grandmother (born 1882) was a young girl she would go with the elder ladies of the family to the Pazhayannur Devi Temple in Fort Cochin, next to the Cochin Lantha Palace built by the Dutch (Landers = Lantha), which was an early establishment of the Cochin royal family before the administration moved to Thripoonithura. My grandmother often told us that in the basement of the Lantha Palace, in a confined area, a family of Africans had been kept locked up, as in a zoo! By my Grandmother's time all the Africans had died. But, some of the elder ladies had narrated the story to her of 'Kappiries' (Africans) kept in captivity there. It seems visitors would give them fruits and bananas. They were well cared for but always kept in confinement. My grandmother did not know all the details but according to her, 'many' years earlier, a ship having broken its mast drifted into the old Cochin harbor. When the locals climbed aboard, they found a crewless ship, but in the hold there were some chained 'Kappiries' still alive; others having perished. The locals did not know what to do with them. Not understanding their language and finding the Africans in chains, the locals thought that these were dangerous to set free. So they herded the poor Africans into the basement of the Cochin Fort, and held them in captivity, for many, many years! I have no idea when the initial incident happened, but I presume it took place in the late 1700s or early 1800s. This points to the possibility that it was, in fact, a slave ship carrying human cargo from East Africa to either the USA or the West Indies. An amazing and rather bizarre story. Incidentally, this is not an 'old woman's tale'! Its quite reliable. My grandmother would identify some of the older ladies who had actually seen the surviving Kappiries."

The Bishop of New-York, John Joseph Hughes, who was Irish and had been superintendent of a slave plantation in Maryland in his youth, spoke of slavery as “an evil” rather than as “evil,” because this arrangement of human society had positive consequences — it allowed blacks who would otherwise remain mired in darkness to benefit from contact with good white Christians.



During this year 19 American negreros would clear from Havana on their way to the coast of Africa in order to rescue blacks who would otherwise have remained mired in darkness and allow them to benefit from contact with us good white Christians (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, page 221).

The negrero *Prova* spent three months refitting in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. When it sailed out of this harbor it was intercepted by a British warship and discovered to be carrying a cargo of 225 slaves (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 27th Congress, 1st session, No. 34, pages 121, 163-6).

During this year (or possibly during the subsequent year) the American-built negrero *Venus*, although owned by Spaniards, would be manned by a crew that was made up in part of American citizens (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 20-2, 106, 124-5, 132, 144-5, 330-2, 475-9).

1841

François-Auguste-René, *vicomte de* Chateaubriand provided a Christian "spin" for the revolutionary motto *LIBERTÉ ÉGALITÉ FRATERNITÉ*, alleging in the concluding section for his autobiography that:

> Far from being at its term, the religion of the Liberator is now only just entering its third phase, the political period, liberty, equality, fraternity.

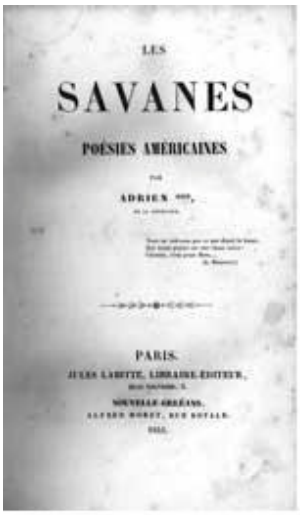
Adrien Rouquette published a collection of poems, *LES SAVANES, POÉSIES AMÉRICAINES* (Paris: J. Labitte & Nouvelle-Orléans: A. Moret). He so admired the romantic poetry of Chateaubriand that he dedicated a number of his pieces to him. The French critic Sainte-Beuve praised his work:

> I took great pleasure in your Savanes at smelling many youthful and sincere fragrances. It seemed to me that I was in a country that was friendly but that had not lost the charm of the unexpected. It is a great accomplishment, dear sir, for you to have experienced this vast wilderness and to have captured it

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

in your heart.



LES

SAVANES

POÉSIES AMÉRICAINES

PAR

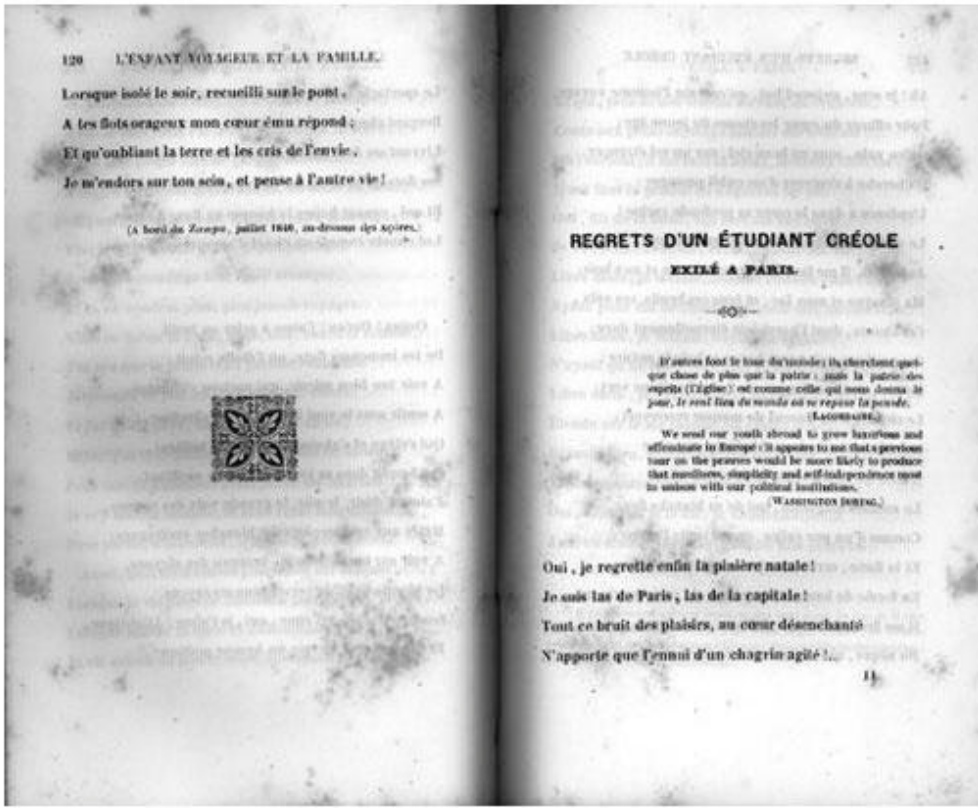
ADRIEN ***,

PARIS.

JULES LABITTE, LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR,

NOUVELLE-ORLÉANS.

ALFRED MOREAU, RUE ROYALE.



120 L'ENFANT VOYAGEUR ET LA FAMILLE.

Lorsque isolé le soir, recueilli sur le pont,
A tes flots orageux mon cœur ému répond ;
Et qu'oubliant la terre et les cris de l'envie,
Je m'endors sur ton sein, et pense à l'autre vie !

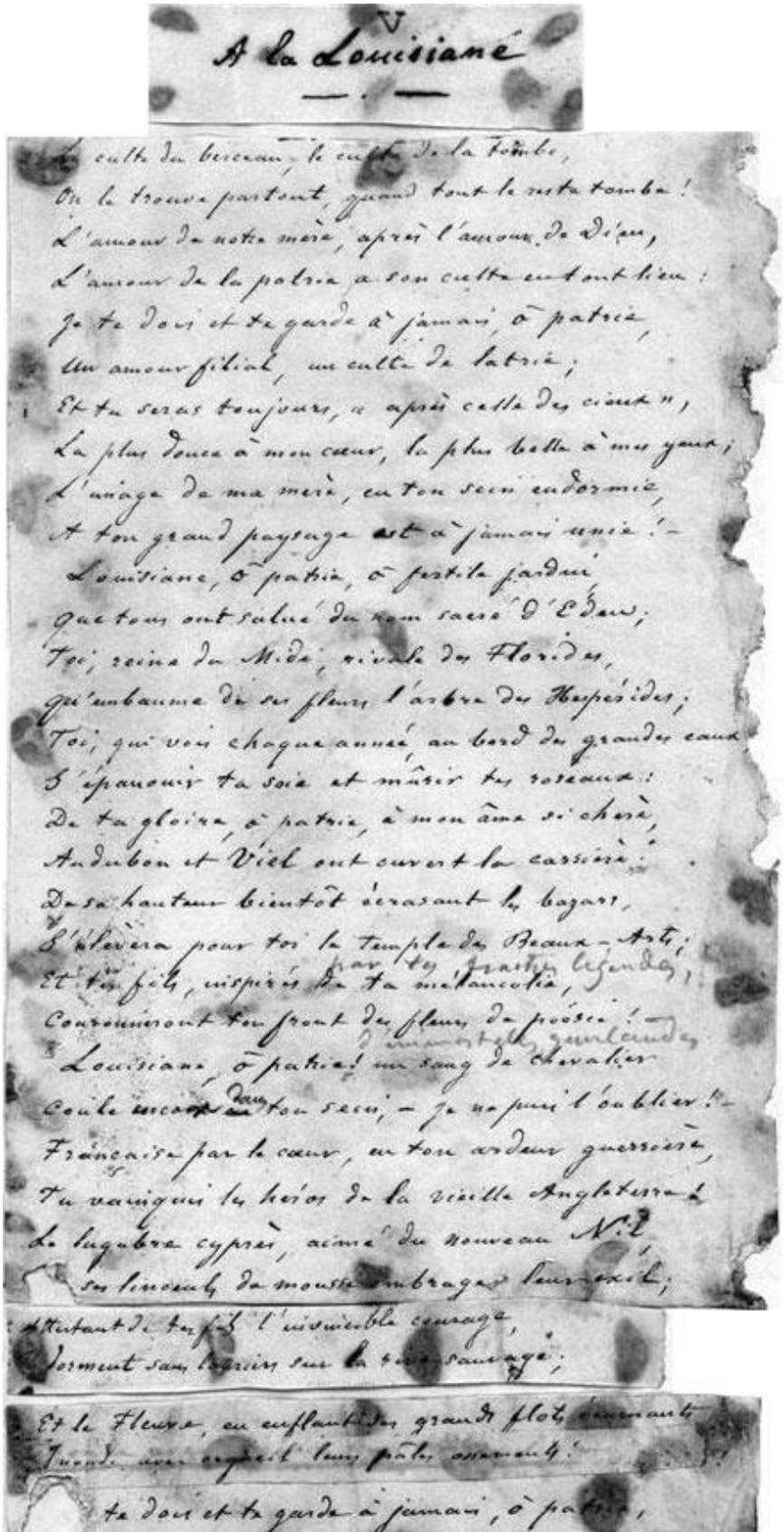
(A bord du *Zampa*, juillet 1840, au-dessous des Açores.)

REGRETS D'UN ÉTUDIANT CRÉOLE

EXILÉ A PARIS.

Oui, je regrette enfin la plaière natale !
Je suis las de Paris, las de la capitale !
Tout ce bruit des plaisirs, au cœur désenchanté
N'apporte que l'ennui d'un chagrin agité !..

11



A la Louisiane

— . —

Le culte du berceau, le culte de la tombe,
On le trouve partout, quand tout le reste tombe !
L'amour de notre mère, après l'amour de Dieu,
L'amour de la patrie a son culte en tout lieu :
Je te dois et te garde à jamais, ô patrie,
Un amour filial, un culte de latrie ;
Et tu seras toujours, « après celle des cieux »,
La plus douce à mon cœur, la plus belle à mes yeux ;
L'image de ma mère, en ton sein endormie,
A ton grand paysage est à jamais unie ! —
Louisiane, ô patrie, ô fertile jardin
Que tous ont salué du nom sacré d'Eden ;
Toi, reine du Midi, rivale des Florides,
Qui embaumes de tes fleurs l'arbre des Hespérides ;
Toi, qui vois chaque année, au bord de tes grands eaux
S'épanouir ta soie et mûrir tes roseaux :
De ta gloire, ô patrie, à mon âme si chère,
Audubon et Viel ont ouvert la carrière ;
De sa hauteur bientôt écrasant le bazar,
S'élèvera pour toi le temple des Beaux-Arts ;
Et tes fils, inspirés de tes mélancolies,
Couronneront ton front de fleurs de poésie ! —
Louisiane, ô patrie ! un sang de chevalier
Coule encore dans ton sein, — je ne puis l'oublier ! —
Française par le cœur, en ton ardeur guerrière,
Tu vaincus le héros de la vieille Angleterre !
Le lugubre cyprès, aimé du nouveau Nil,
Sur tes eaux de mousse embrasse leur exil ;
Attestant de tes fils l'invincible courage,
Dorment sans regrets sur la terre sauvage ;
Et le fleuve, en enflant ses grands flots écumants,
Jusque aux cieux emporte leurs pâles ossements !
Je te dois et te garde à jamais, ô patrie,

Rouquette entered the Plattenville seminary in Assumption Parish near New Orleans. He would be ordained as a Catholic priest in 1845.

April 30, Friday: Pope Gregory XVI took the opportunity to point out once again (in a letter *Quas Vestro*) what a very bad idea mixed marriages had always been and would ever be. Such unions are not only illicit, they are destructive. No Catholic should ever ever marry a Protestant. No, don't go there. This is an abuse of the sacrament of marriage. It is far too likely that the Catholic party to such a marriage would fall victim to "perversion" — and then just think of what ghastly things might happen to the children of such a union! Oh, I know, I know, we don't always have complete control of such a situation, but yet.... "Given in Rome at St. Peter's under the fisherman's ring on 30 April 1841, in the eleventh year of Our Pontificate."

April 30. Where shall we look for standard English but to the words of any man who has a depth of feeling in him? Not in any smooth and leisurely essay. From the gentlemanly windows of the country-seat no sincere eyes are directed upon nature, but from the peasant's horn windows a true glance and greeting occasionally. "For summer being ended, all things," said the Pilgrim, "stood in appearance with a weather-beaten face, and the whole country full of woods and thickets represented a wild and savage hue." Compare this with the agricultural report.

1842

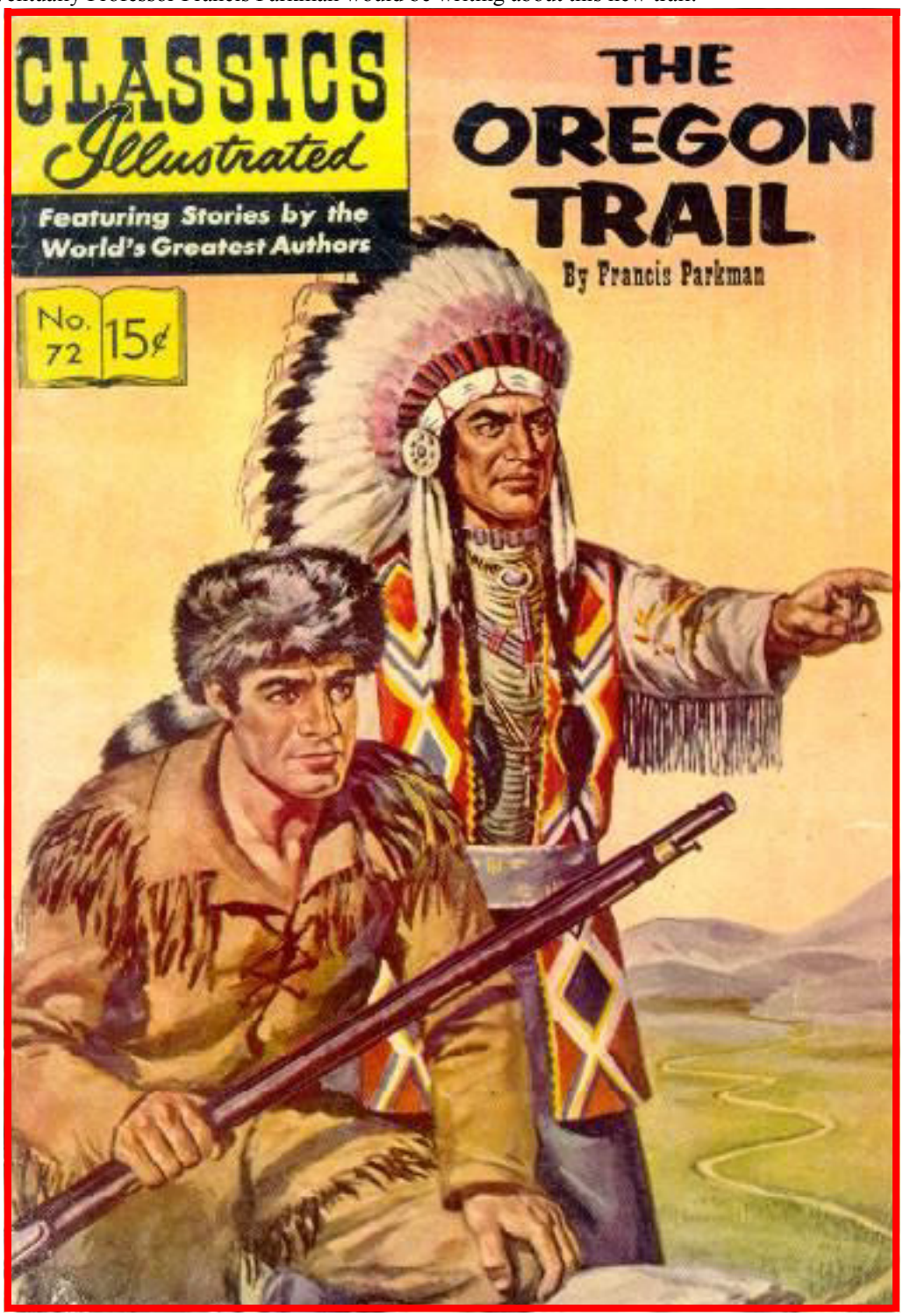
With both Anne Catherine Emmerich and Klemens Brentano dead, church examiners discovered in Brentano's library detailed guidebooks to the city of Jerusalem — this might explain how it had been possible for the writings about the Passion of Christ to have been so rich in local detail!

CATHOLICISM

Early in this year Kit Carson decided to return to Missouri, taking his daughter Adeline to live with relatives near the Carson family's former home of Franklin, so that she would be able to obtain an education. Then during this summer he would meet with John Charles Frémont, a lieutenant in the US Army, aboard a steamboat on the Missouri River. Frémont was preparing to lead his 1st expedition across the Wild West and was looking for a guide who could take him through the South Pass at the Continental Divide. Carson had in fact spent a good deal of time in that region. The 5-month journey, made with 25 men, would be a success, and Fremont's report about an "Oregon Trail" would be published by the US Congress. This report would create "a wave of wagon caravans filled with hopeful emigrants," heading toward the West.

By this point 33-year-old Kit had become engaged with Josefa Jaramillo, 13-year-old daughter of a prominent family of Taos in the New Mexico territory, had been instructed in the Catholic faith by Padre Antonio José Martínez, and had undergone baptism.

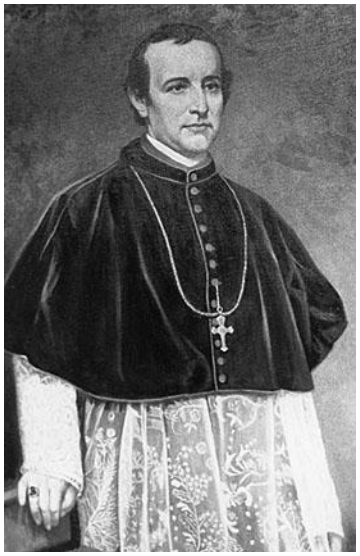
Eventually Professor Francis Parkman would be writing about this new trail:



Distress in Ireland, particularly in the west.

IRISH POTATO FAMINE

For so long as Daniel O'Connell lived, he spoke endlessly for the principled abolition of the "hideous system" of human enslavement. In fact he had probably been the most active and prominent advocate of abolition, in the entire world. From Ireland, the leader Daniel O'Connell sent an appeal that Americans of Irish extraction should all become abolitionists. "They are the only consistent advocates of Liberty." He simply refused to comprehend how this amounted to his whistling into the wind, as Irish Americans had become by this point, almost to a man –under the lash of direct economic competition with free Americans of color– dedicated Democrats and "nigger haters." Hard squeezed between his racist parishioners and the teachings of Jesus, the Catholic prelate of New-York, Archbishop John Joseph Hughes, would find his "out" in the principle of local sovereignty:



"I am no friend to slavery, but I am still less friendly
to any attempt of **foreign origins** to abolish it."

The official repeal organization in Ireland, the Loyal National Repeal Association, had worked hand in hand with the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society. When O'Connell's Irish Address urged Irish-Americans to unite with the abolitionists, the majority of the signers of that petition were Catholics, the hierarchy of the Church in Ireland being very much in sympathy with abolition, but none of this meant diddly-squat to the Irish who had managed to establish themselves in America. If they were not in favor of slavery because they hated black people, they were in favor of slavery because they were in favor of the US Constitution, which accommodated slavery. It was for these curious reasons that the Irish-American abolitionist James Canning Fuller, very much on the outs with all his compeers, commented sadly in this year that "however true to liberty an Irishman's heart is, when it beats on his own soil, ... on his emigration to America, circumstances and influences by which he becomes surrounded, in too many cases warp his judgment, and bias his heart." We need to take into careful consideration precisely how it came about that the Irish, in transiting from Ireland to America, were able so readily to transform themselves from the most abject haters of ethnic oppression into the most abject of white supremacists. The experience of ethnic oppression in Ireland, rather than creating in these people a principled

opposition to oppression, caused them at their first opportunity to affiliate on the new continent with the oppressors, and participate in the abuse of the racially oppressed. The Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland had been equivalent to the doctrine of White Supremacy in the United States, and despite this the starving Irish Catholic immigrants immediately sold out. For instance, a Young Irelander by the name of John Mitchel declared that Daniel O'Connell, next to the British Government, was "the worst enemy that Ireland ever had, or rather the most fatal friend." Because, Mitchel's racist Citizen newspaper expounded:

> We deny that it is a crime, or a wrong, or even a peccadillo, to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to keep slaves to their work by flogging or other needful coercion.... [W]e, for our part, wish we had a good plantation, well-stocked with healthy negroes.

What a long long way for the Irish spirit to come! O'Connell's attitude, that while any person of color remained unfree the Irish would not be free, was an attitude which flows directly out of the religious injunction "What ye do unto the least of these my brethren, ye do unto Me," an attitude supposedly acceptable even to a Catholic bearing a cudgel, and yet what the American Irish were saying to their leader at home was in effect that while any American of color remained unenslaved, the American Irish would not yet be freed.

> Following the defeat of the Irish-Jacobite cause in the brief war of 1689-1691, the Protestant Parliament of Ireland embarked on a 70-year program of Penal Law enactments to rivet the Protestant Ascendancy in place. In due historical course, Edmund Burke analyzed and arraigned Protestant Ascendancy as a "contrivance," an invention unexcelled in the history of statecraft "for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people."

> The America to which these Irish immigrants came was already constructed on the principle of racial oppression, including the white-skin privileges of laboring-class European-Americans. If Irish-Americans rejected the heritage represented by O'Connell and the Address, and if they were frequently identified with the most hostile actions against Negroes in the Northern cities, it was basically because they —like immigrants from Germany, France, England, Scotland and Scandinavia— accepted their place in the white-race system of social control and claimed the racial privileges entailed by it.... The presumption of liberty distinguished the poorest of European-Americans from the free African-American. Under the white-race system of social control, even the most destitute of European-Americans were expected to exercise this racial prerogative by supporting the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law. The United States Constitution implicitly made immigration a white-skin privilege, when in Article I, Section 9, Europeans were classed as migrants whilst Africans were classed as imports.

It would seem that the two options open in such circumstances, to either a.) make common cause or b.) seek an invidious distinction, are on more of an equal footing, from a standpoint of political practicality, than any understanding of the situation based merely upon principle would ever be prepared to grasp!

May: Catholics established St. John's Church, under the Reverend John B. Fitzpatrick, serving worshipers in Cambridge, Somerville, and points west. (This would become the Sacred Heart Parish.)

The minister to Concord's Universalists, Addison Grant Fay, was ordained, and in a small structure on newly opened Bedford Street, a Universalist society was organized. They agreed to pay their new minister a salary of $450.$\underline{00}$ per year. However, this religious grouping would persist for only a few years and the building they constructed would be recycled by Concord's Catholics. Fay would go on first into the pencil-making business and then into gunpowder, and eventually would meet his maker as the result of one of the series of explosions at the powder mills of Acton.

In his "autobiography," John Shepard Keyes reminisced about this period in the life of Concord, inclusive of the remarkable event of July 28, 1842, when Horace Brown, Jr. robbed and then torched the store of Phineas How (resulting in How's bankruptcy and resulting also in Brown needing to spend the rest of his life in confinement):

> There was some religious excitement too a new minister at the Universalest Church Mr Fay, afterwards a politician and powder maker and I think some Methodist interest started Dr Ripley had died the fall before while the old church was undergoing a thorough alteration, the old spire was with much effort pulled over, the building turned round and raised up, a vestry made underneath and new pews, pulpit, frescoes & hymn books and Mr. Frost freed from the restraint of the old Dr. started up some new life in the old parish. I became interested and not only went very regularly but took a Sunday school class, and read good books, and talked seriously with my friend of these things. That season we were greatly excited and alarmed by the burning of Phineas Hows new store, where my cousin Henry Fuller tended, who was my most intimate friend of the Concord boys. I worked hard on the engine to save the other houses, and as it was discovered that the store had been robbed and set on fire, helped watch and patrol the town for some nights afterwards to try to catch the thieves. It was soon found out that an old school mate Horace Brown had broken in plundered and burnt the store some of the property was recovered from Merrills blacksmith shop where it was stored by Brown, and he arrested examined and sent to prison. It was exciting enough for a quiet village and as How failed and was found hopelessly bankrupt it made more than a nine days wonder.

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

October 2, Sunday: The Reverend George Gilfillan preached on the subject of "Hades, or the Unseen" (the Unseen State of the soul after separation from the body), and would soon publish that sermon, causing himself to come to be popularly known as "Gilfillan the Hades Minister." This contained such novel thoughts before their time as to bring him under the scrutiny of his co-presbyters — and ultimately it would need to be withdrawn from circulation as having been somewhat too adventurous (Thomas Carlyle would comment "How he contrives to hold such notions, and be a Burgher Minister, one cannot well say").

The Reverend William Ellery Channing died at sundown in Old Bennington, Vermont. When news of the event was circulated, the Unitarian churches of course all tolled their funeral bells, but every other Protestant church was very noticeably silent. On this occasion, in Boston, only the bells of the Catholic cathedral chimed in with the bells of the Unitarians. Although his statue stands today at the Arlington Street and Boylston Street entrance to the Public Garden, the gravestone which bears his name is behind the Old First Church that fronts on the green in Old Bennington. It happens to be one of the few gravestones ever to refer to the hour of a person's death:

"In this Quiet Village
Among the Hills
William Ellery Channing
Apostle of Faith and Freedom
Died at Sunset
October 2, 1842"

1844

The 1st public and unafraid Catholic mass ever was celebrated in Concord, by a priest who visited on this occasion specifically for this purpose.[41] (This would have had to do with the great number of Irish laborers at work on the new railroad track, rather than with long-term Catholic residents of the area, as regular masses would not begin, for Concord's Irish, French Canadian, and other Catholic citizens, for another full decade, until 1854.)[42]

Lucerne called upon the Jesuit Order to strengthen the conservative ideology in its educational system.

January: An event of which Henry Thoreau was surely aware was that the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson, the Unitarian minister with whom Thoreau had resided, and studied the German language, who had sort of made a career of being converted from one thing to another, made one final conversion, to Roman Catholicism, and revived his Boston Quarterly Review under the title Brownson's Quarterly Review (published until 1875, the year before his death, with a gap during the years 1865-1872 due evidently to depression).[43]

February 14, Wednesday: In Providence, John Gordon was hanged for the unexplained murder of Amasa Sprague. Because it was so entirely doubtful that John was guilty of anything at all (other than being a Catholic, and a recent immigrant from impoverished Ireland), this would become hopefully the very last hanging ever to take place above the soil of Rhode Island.

41. The Reverend John B. Fitzpatrick, the priest of St. John's Church serving Catholic worshipers in Cambridge, Somerville, and points west, in this year became coadjutor-bishop of the diocese, so it was very likely him who came to Concord for this 1st public and unafraid celebration of the mass.

42. Notice that Anti-Papist sentiment has from time to time been alive and hearty in Concord. For instance, when during the ministry of the Reverend Joseph Estabrook between 1667 and 1711 one of his elderly deacons had noticed that a collection plate had the Papal cross and three nails on it, he had had the man heave it across the church with such force that it smashed. The pieces of that plate, more or less glued back together, are even now on display, hopefully as a warning against religious bigotry.

Notice also that Thoreau, despite knowing full well that his father's family of origin had been driven out of France by the Catholics, never participated in the slightest manner in any such Anti-Papist sentiment.

43. Notice that there is a possible linkage here with proslavery, which needs to be carefully investigated — since there was in fact only one antebellum American Catholic leader who was clearly sympathetic with the antislavery cause (Bishop John Purcell of Cincinnati) whereas there were very many who were very clearly sympathetic with the proslavery cause.

March: Isaac Hecker had made his pitiful short list: he would choose between Rome and Canterbury. Accordingly, he set out to interview such Episcopal divines as Samuel Seabury and Benjamin Haight and such Roman Catholic divines as the powerful Irish-born prelate John J. Hughes, the bishop of New York. But while preparing himself for his ministry he was also stalling, and hoping for word from the Oxford Movement. He considered accepting the Reverend William Norris, an Episcopal priest, as a tutor, but would finally decide on a course of classical studies under George Partridge Bradford in Concord, Massachusetts.

May 6, Monday: Frederick Douglass spoke in New-York's Broadway Tabernacle and Concert Hall, at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society (this would continue into the 11th, Saturday).

Fighting broke out again in Philadelphia between Irish and nativists. Four people were killed and a convent and several dwellings of Catholics were attacked.

May 8, Wednesday: Brigham Young "got married with" Clarissa Decker.

Felix Mendelssohn once again arrived in London to direct a series of concerts.

Giuseppe Verdi purchased Il Pulgaro, a farm near Bussetto (this would be his parents' primary home).

In Philadelphia, nativists torched two Catholic churches, a convent, and several more Irish homes. Over this week of rioting, 14 people had been killed in communal violence.

May 16, Thursday: Charles Francis Adams, Sr. again aboard a steamer, the *Hibernian* from Nauvoo to Davenport:

> Quincy did not tell me of his discovery of the cockroaches assembled on the coverlet of our bed, drawn out probably by the fire, which was lighted to warm us. So I slept in happy ignorance upon the outside, expecting the call of the steamer every moment. It was in fact five o'clock in the morning before the Hibernian came along. We hastened to get on board for the sake of dressing a little more comfortably — this being the first time such a change has ever been deemed by me an improvement....

Isaac Hecker wrote to the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson describing the difficulty he was having in studying religion while staying at the Thoreau boardinghouse in Concord, standing "alone in the pitiless storm of the world" during the May-June period:

> *I thought before I came here that I should be interested in Xt. history, especially of the Church, and the languages, and such like studies, but such is not the case, all my life is within, and as it were in constant conversation and communion within an unseen world; and all attempts at study are fruitless. To make effort against this would be to throw me on the bed less than three days, notwithstanding the desire I have to learn the languages. You see my position, and my only course is to be quiet and wait peacefully until a change of some kind takes place.… There is no half way house between the Church and atheism, that Germany has clearly demonstrated.*

May 25, Saturday: Waldo Emerson's 41st birthday.

The 1st news dispatch was sent by telegraph, to the Baltimore Patriot.

Isaac Hecker went into Boston to see his spiritual adviser Orestes Augustus Brownson but was unable to get with him because this was in conflict with an appointment Brownson had made with the Catholic bishop of Boston, Benedict Fenwick, for the purpose of discussing his acceptance into the Roman Catholic Church.

May 29, Wednesday: Frederick Douglass spoke again in Boston's Marlboro Chapel at the annual meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

Isaac Hecker returned from Brook Farm outside Boston to the Thoreau boardinghouse on Main Street in Concord to prepare for his move to New-York.

At some point at the end of this month of May, Orestes Augustus Brownson was finalizing his determination to convert to Catholicism, making his declaration, and being entrusted to Bishop Bernard Fitzpatrick for instruction in the faith.

June 4, Tuesday: The last two documented individuals of the **Great Auk** ***Pinguinis impennis***, a flightless seabird, were clubbed near Iceland, to be sold to a taxidermist. This bird has been being hunted aggressively for years, its feathers selling primarily in Europe (first, but not last, North American native species to fall victim to the European intrusion).

Weavers in Silesia revolted against the Prussian authorities in protest of very bad economic conditions, unemployment, and hunger.

Antonio López de Santa Anna y Pérez de Lebrón replaced José Valentín Raimundo Canalizo Bocadillo as President of Mexico.

Isaac Hecker wrote to the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson:

> *On wednesday afternoon I returned [from Boston] to this retired and quiet spot now called my home.... Here my time is occupied in reading a little, studying less, and thinking and contemplating the remainder part of the time, which is the most.... Man rules his destiny only by perfect submission to God; or by perfect cooperation with His will ... never have I been conscious of living such an earnest deep effectual life as I am now conscious of living. My very existence seems to be one perpetual act.... My sense of nothingness increases upon me, and I trust Abraham's hand will not be said as of old.*

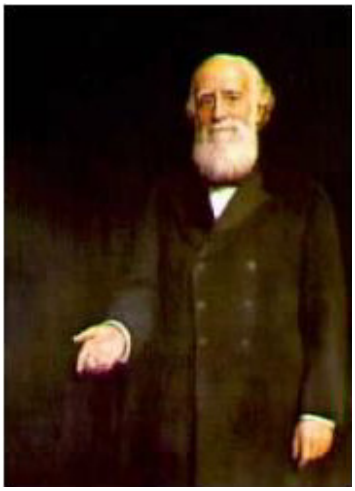
June 6, Thursday: Prussian authorities brutally suppressed a weavers' revolt in Silesia.

The Factory Act was passed by the British Parliament, limiting women to a 12-hour workday and limiting children between 8 and 13 years of age to no more than a 6 1/2-hour workday.

Jacques Offenbach's performance at Windsor Castle before Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, Tsar Nikolai I, King Ludwig I of Bavaria and other illustrious people was well received.

In London, a dozen young men led by George Williams, an employee at and eventually the head of a drapery house, met in St. Paul's Churchyard to form a club for the "improvement of the spiritual condition of young men in the drapery and other trades." Similar clubs would be spreading rapidly in the United Kingdom and would reach Australia in 1850, and the such first clubs in North America would be founded in Montreal and

Boston in 1851.



This effort would come to be known as the Young Men's Christian Association, the YMCA. However, when during the 1850s the YMCA would expand across the pond into the United States and Canada, its leaders would discover that Bible study did not attract as many young men as the gymnasiums of the Swiss and German Turners. To overcome this problem most YMCA buildings built in the US after 1880 would feature weight rooms, gymnasiums, and swimming pools. Even so, older YMCA leaders such as G.M. Martin would encourage the instructors to foster drill and calisthenics rather than athletic games — because as Christians they needed to "crush as largely as possible" the lust for victory. On the other hand, younger YMCA leaders such as Alonzo Stagg, Luther Gulick, and James Naismith saw nothing wrong with physical playfulness so long as it was properly supervised — which would lead to the creation in 1891 of the game known as basketball.

The Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson wrote his disciple Isaac Hecker that the Holy Roman Catholic Church was "the appointed medium of salvation":

> You cannot be an Anglican, you must be a Catholic, or a mystic.

Why was it that his beloved guide was failing so utterly to recognize that his condition was that of a profound spiritual thirst, and failing so utterly to recognize that this thirst was leading him likewise toward a consumption of the institutional product? The pejorative remark about Hecker's "mystical" nature greatly disturbed Hecker in his precarious condition.

June 8, Saturday: Isaac Hecker was received by Bishop Fenwick, who forwarded him to Bishop Fitzpatrick. Per Bishop Fitzpatrick's advice, Isaac would soon journey to the Jesuit College of the Holy Cross in Worcester MA and there was able to observe and experience the sort of piety into which he was venturing. Then he returned home to New-York and went to the office of the coadjutor bishop of the New York Diocese. Meanwhile, back in the Concord area, as word of Hecker's activities spread, Henry Thoreau and Waldo Emerson reacted with coolness while the Reverend George Ripley and Mrs. Sophia Willard Dana Ripley reacted with warmth.[44] Bishop John McCloskey recognized how far advanced was Hecker in preparation for Church membership, abbreviated the usual deadhead course in catechism, and aided this particular catechumen in acquiring Catholic literature to study on his own. Bishop McCloskey would become Isaac's (Thomas's) close friend, his spiritual director, and his confessor.

44. In 1847 Mrs. Sophia Willard Dana Ripley would herself embrace Catholicism.

July: Orestes Augustus Brownson went public with his own convincement:

> We have no wish to disguise the fact, nor could we, if we would — that our ecclesiastical, theological, and philosophical studies have brought us to the full conclusion, that, either the Church in communion with the See of Rome is the one holy catholic apostolic church, or the one holy catholic does not exist.

Actual acceptance into the Holy Roman Catholic Church, however, would not occur until October 20th. During the intervening months Brownson would need to be studying theology under Bishop Fitzpatrick, a prelate who was most strongly suspicious of Brownson's original doctrine of life and communion and who would insist upon careful tutoring of this particular hot potato in the traditional Scholastic apologetic.

While much of this was going down Henry Thoreau wasn't in the vicinity. He was hiking to Mount

Monadnock and Mount Greylock (Saddleback), where by prearrangement he would join up with Ellery

Channing, and then they would go on to the Hudson River, take a boat, and visit the Catskills.[45]

He wouldn't be back in Concord until August.

July 7, Sunday: After attacking and occupying a Catholic church, nativist mobs battled soldiers on this day and the following one in the streets of Philadelphia. Over 20 people would be killed.

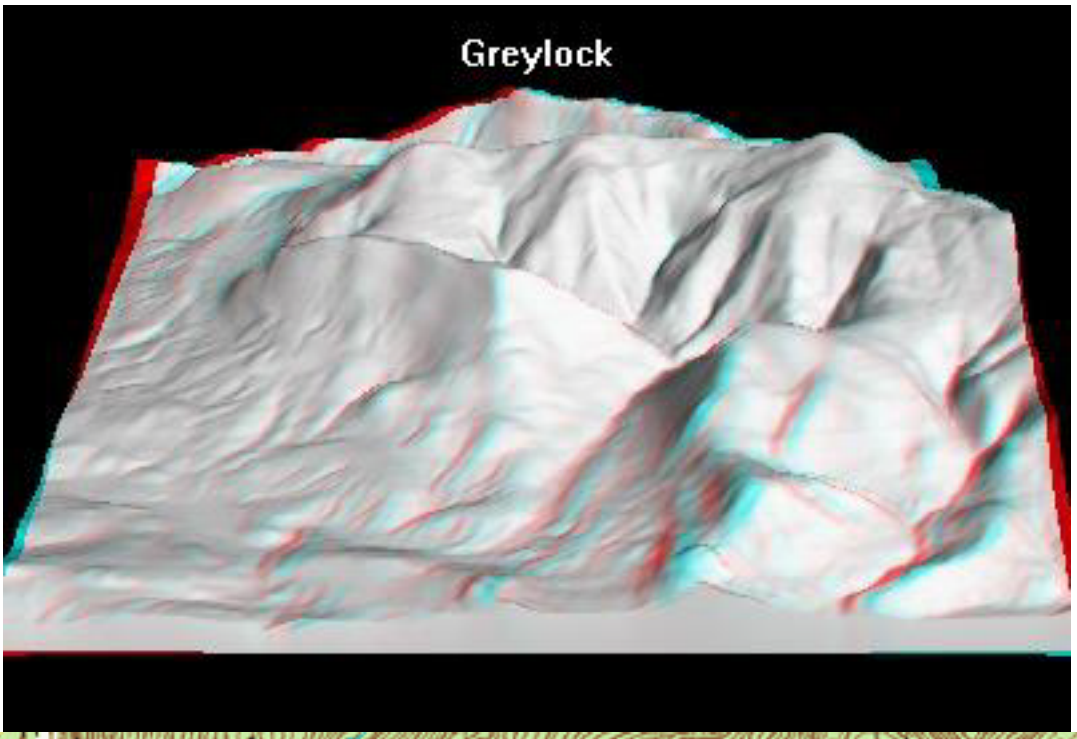
July 18, Thursday: The Pennsylvania Freeman reported on the events at Pennsylvania Hall as representing a "Civil War in Philadelphia" and laid the blame upon the city's Know-Nothings:

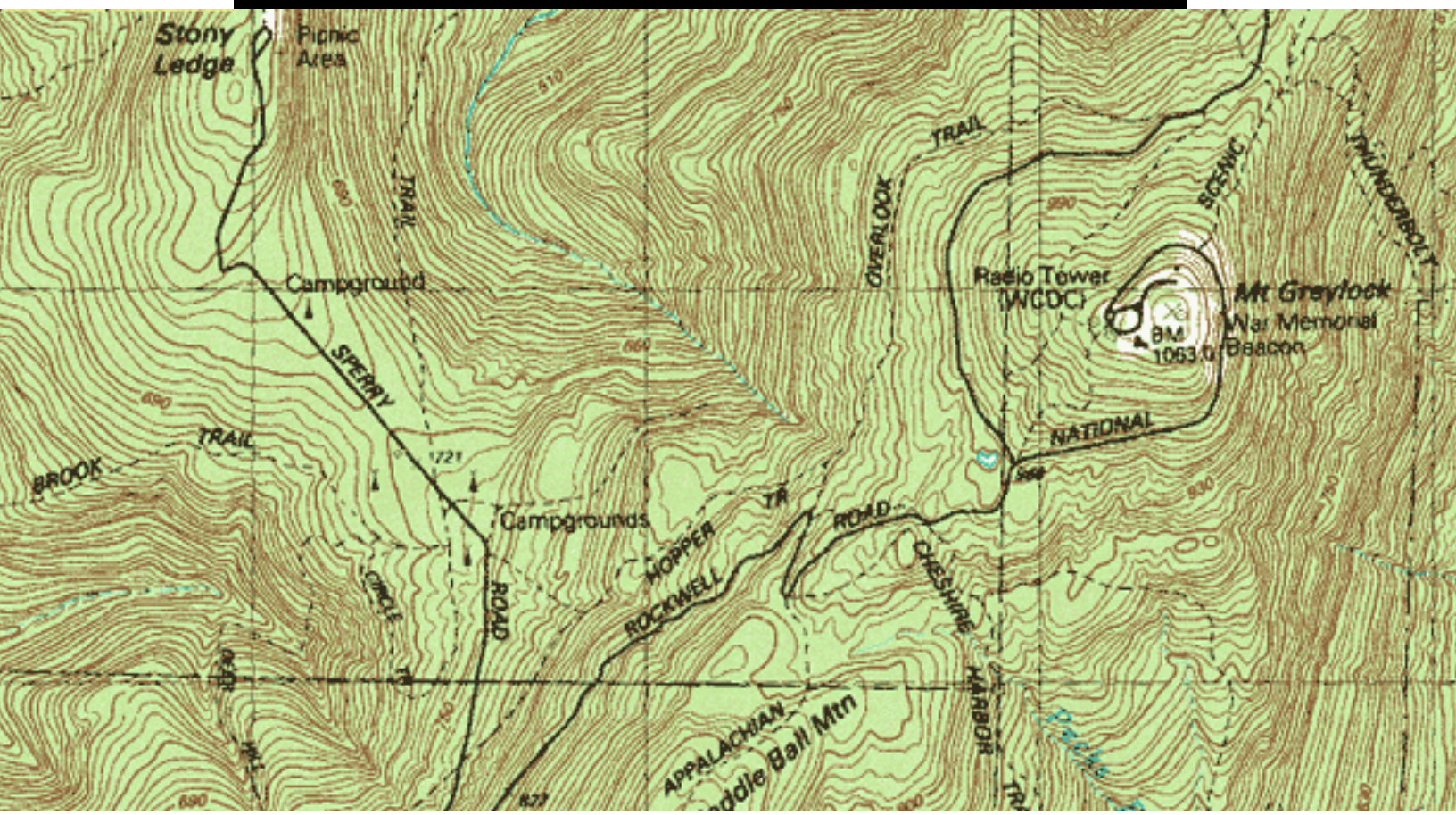
> This riotous and bloody city has just completed another terrible tragedy, which will probably beget another and another, till even ruffianism itself shall grow weary and sick of its dreadful deeds, and mobocracy be sated with human carnage.
> The immediate cause of these frightful outbreaks is unquestionably to be attributed to the formation of the Native American Party – a party which should be discountenanced by every friend of human brotherhood, which is animated by a spirit hostile to our race, which is anti-republican and tyrannical in its purposes, which makes hatred of one particular class of our fellow countrymen an act of patriotism, and which occupies a position that, sooner or later, it if it be not abandoned, will assuredly spread a civil war throughout the country, and lead to scenes of desolation and horror too awful even for the imagination to contemplate.
> In the present instance, the blame is as usual, thrown upon the Irish population; and no doubt they are very much to blame. But, insulted, proscribed and denounced as they are by the party to

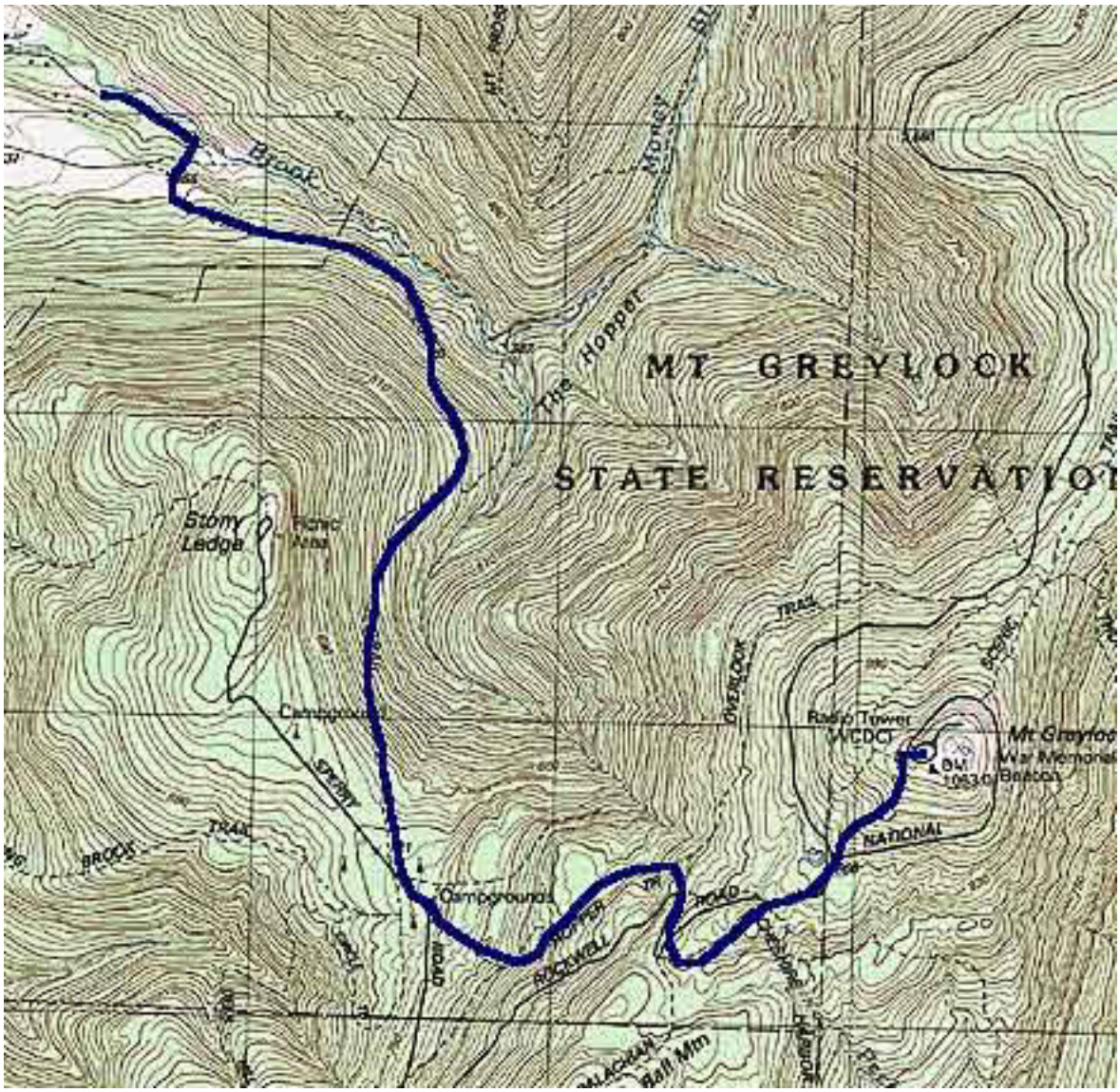
45. I have seen a report out of The Thoreau Society that he met, in Catskill, New York, the painters Thomas Cole and Frederick Church – but this is something I have been unable to verify.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM







which we have alluded, is it surprising that they have been goaded to deeds of madness, which, but for the provocation given to them, they never would have committed? However justly, therefore, they deserve to be censured, let the weight of censure rest the most heavily on the party which arrogantly styles itself the Native American party. There will be no safety, no repose, no end to mobocratic excesses, until that party every where be resolved into its original elements, and cease to wound the heart and vex the ear of the suffering humanity.

But the primary cause of these sanguinary conflicts finds its

root in southern slavery, which fosters the spirit of caste, tramples all law and order under foot, and revels in human blood. It was in Louisiana, among slaveholders, that this native party originated. They were fearful that the warm appeals of Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew to the Irish in this country, to join with the abolitionists for the overthrow of slavery, and vote for no candidate known to be a slaveholder or an apologist for slavery, would be heartily responded to by them; and therefore they contrived this scheme to exclude them from office and the ballot box. But the Irish have disregarded the noble entreaties of their countrymen at home, and instead of aiding the anti-slavery movement, have basely turned their backs upon it; and verily, they have their reward.

Philadelphia has endeavored (and most successfully) to surpass all other places in murderous opposition to the cause of negro emancipation. To propitiate southern slavemongers, and secure southern trade, she has treated abolitionists as outlaws, broken up their meetings my mobocratic assaults, burnt the dwellings and brutally maltreated the persons of many of her colored inhabitants, given Pennsylvania Hall to the consuming fire, &c. &c; and her reward has been, the loss of seventy million of dollars at the South the blackening of her character with infamy throughout the civilized world, incendiary and bloody riots, and fiendish anarchy. Behold how awful, how just, and how swift has been the retribution of Heaven! Alleluia! For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!! Truly, they who sow the wind, shall reap the whirlwind; and what shall be the end of these things!

* * *

The number killed and wounded in the late affray, are fifteen of the former and about fifty of the latter. The rioters were the principal sufferers, four-fifths of the killed and wounded being of their party.

* * *

Arrest of one of the Committee. — on the oath of Mr. Hugh Cassiday, head police officer of Southwark, Mr. John W. Smith, whose name is the first attached to the report of the committee that searched the Church, was yesterday arrested, and taken before Judge Jones.

It is in evidence against the prisoner that he was one of the men who brought the cannon before the Church at the time Mr. Naylor was confined therein; that he stood near the breech of the gun; and when it was about to be removed, insisted upon its being discharged.

As was committed to prison in default of bail to the amount of £2,5000, being the sum asked on the charges of high treason, murder and riot.

A man named George Merrick, was arrested yesterday, charged with riot, and inciting to riot, on the occasion of the burning of Saint Augustine's Church. He was held to answer in the sum of

$2000.
A man named Hugh Develin, was on Monday evening committed by Alderman Boilieu on a charge of being one of the participants in the Kensington riots.
There were other arrests than those reported; but we judge it improper to mention names until hearings shall have taken place. — U.S. Gazette.

* * *

The following taken from last Tuesday's Ledger is one of the most auspicious signs we have seen since the cessation of the riots:
Committed for Arson.-Abraham Freymine was yesterday arrested, by Constable Charles Roberts, on the charge of having set fire to the Pennsylvania Hall, and committed to answer by Alderman Erety. The defendant has been absent from the city nearly all the time since the destruction of that building.

* * *

From the evidence taken by the Court of Common Please we are enabled to present a more accurate account of the principal features of the origin and progress of the late riots, than that which was given in the reports of the daily newspapers at the time.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

It appears that J. Patrick Dunn, the pastor of the congregation worshipping at the Catholic church, in Southwark, called St. Philip de Neri, received a letter from a female teacher of the schools connected with the church, informing him of a conspiracy to burn the church either on the evening of Friday the 5th of July, or, in case of failure, then on one of two succeeding evenings. Believing this information to be in all probability well founded, the proprietors of the church caused twelve muskets to be taken into it during the day of the 5th, in addition to some which had remained there since the previous riots. This was done without any concealment.
In the evening of that day, crowds calling themselves "Natives," collected about three of the Catholic churches, the largest amounting perhaps to one thousand people, being at St. Philip's. The pretext for the gathering was the existence of arms in the church, and an alleged fear that they were to be used offensively. From the number of the assemblage, however, and the early period at which so large a number gathered, it may be doubted whether many of them did not come in pursuance of a previous arrangement as referred to in the letter above mentioned. Sufficient evidence has not been elicited, as yet, to determine this point.
The Sheriff, having been sent for, he arrived on the ground about 10 o'clock, but unaccompanied by assistants, he having had no time to obtain any. He held a parley with the mob, who demanded the surrender of the arms. The Rev. Mr. Dunn and his brother, Wm. H. Dunn, consented to the delivery of the arms which had

been taken in during the day and they were accordingly surrendered, the Sheriff, as he testifies, being at the same time informed by the Rev. Mr. Dunn that there were other muskets in the church which had been placed there at the time of the previous riots. The charge of deception on the part of Priest Dunn, as to the number of arms in the church is thus shown by the Sheriff's testimony to be unfounded. The mob, with the assent of the Sheriff, selected twenty persons to accompany him in the church. He required them to act as his posse and to assist him to protect the building, and requested them to desist from further search until morning. They, however, according to an account published by them in the Sun under their own signature, refused to obey the Sheriff, and went on to search the various apartments of the church. They found the other arms which Mr. Dunn had mentioned, and also discovered several armed individuals who had been stationed by the proprietors to guard different passages in the building. Most of the arms were not loaded.

This proceeding was countenanced by an alderman of the district, who appears throughout to have acted in sympathy with the mob. It was clearly an act of riot, and a violation of the Constitution of the Union, and of Pennsylvania. The former declares, in Art. 3, of amendments, that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed:" and the latter declares, in Sec. 21, of Art. 9, that "right of the citizens to bear arms in defence of themselves and the State shall not be questioned." It is also a maxim of the common law, that every man's house is his castle, and he has a right to defend it to the utmost against intruders coming without lawful authority. It may have been imprudent, and in the view of many not strictly Christian, for the owners of the church to undertake to defend it themselves, by arms, instead of relying on the civil authorities, and looking to the county for compensation in case of loss. But when we consider that a vast majority of professing Christians hold to the rightfulness of defensive force-that Pennsylvania Hall, Smith's Hall, and Saint Augustines' Church had all been surrendered to the protection of the civil authorities, and that that protection had in each instance failed: — that the owners of the Pa. Hall at the end of six years are not yet compensated, and are without prospect of compensation for more than half their loss-that the mayor is said to have advised the catholics at the time of the burning of St. Augustine's to defend their churches themselves; — and that, in almost every other case, the community enmasse justify people in arming to defend their property against threatened mob violence, — under such circumstances, we say, it is not surprising that the catholics should have prepared for defence, according to their constitutional right, and the ordinary usage of most classes of men in like cases.

Soon after the sheriff arrived, hearing that the troop called the "city guard" were rendevouzed at a certain place, be requested that they should come to his assistance, being at the

time under the impression that they were not a military body. When they came however, after midnight, he thought it his duty to retain them for the rest of the night to protect the church, as the mob continued to be large, turbulent and threatening, and appeared not satisfied with the fact that their own friends had taken all the arms from the church.

* * *

Early in the morning of Saturday the 6th, the sheriff called on Generals Patterson and Cadwallader for aid, as well as on many private citizens to act as a civil posse. Next day, the mob increased in numbers and violence, until they at length attacked the military with stones and brick bats, knocking some down, and among them Capt. Hill, with a view to force the lines and get at the church. Gen. Cadwallader repeatedly addressed them in the mildest and most persuasive manner, urging them to respect themselves and the law to which they replied with derision. He at length told them that if they did not desist he would be obliged to fire upon them. This they disregarded, and at the moment of a violent assault upon the force under the sheriff's command, orders to fire were given. At the instant, Charles Naylor stepped forward and exclaimed-"don't you fire." He was arrested, together with several of the active portion of the mob, and placed in custody in the church. The orders given upon this occasion was not an order to fire with cannon, as has been stated, but with musketry. In consequence of Naylor's sudden interposition, however, no firing at that time occurred.

* * *

On Sunday morning the 7th, Capt. Hill's company was relieved from the charge of the church, after having been on duty about thirty hours, almost without food. It's place was supplied by the Hibernia Greens under the command of Capt. Collahan. The mob soon became more violent. Captain Collahan, under a discretionary power given him by Gen. Cadwallader, who had retired for rest, surrendered, on the request of Aldermen McKinley and Hurtz, about twenty of the rioters that had been arrested. This he did with the expectation that the Aldermen would take bail for their appearance at court. The alderman however discharged them without any recognizance. Charles Naylor being still in custody, the mob undertook to deliver him, by battering the church with cannon. They at length succeeded in releasing him. They were not content however with that, but demanded that the Hibernia Greens should quit the church. The force of the mob being then overwhelming, this demand was acceded to, under the assurance of the leaders of the Native party, that the Greens should not be molested in their withdrawal. This assurance was violated. They were assaulted, pelted, and beaten. When they had left, the Native party and the mob took full possession of the church, and held it for some hours, a portion being engaged in attempts to set it on fire,

which would probably have been consummated, had not the military returned.
At length Gen. Cadwallader, at the head of a military force, and aided by a civil posse, arrived, and ordered the mob to clear out of the church and from the street in its immediate vicinity. These order were obeyed for the moment: but the mob refused to disperse, and attempted repeatedly to break the lines of the military. They attacked the troops with stones, &c and at one time with discharge of fire arms, according to the testimony of a respectable witness who was in the Mayor's posse, and who states that a boy was shot at his side by the mob, before any firing was made by the military. At the moment of a violent attack by the mob, and after repeated warnings, the order to fire was given and obeyed. The result was the wounding of some persons and the killing of Crozier, one of the mob, by the firing of a gun which he was in the act of attempting to wrest from the soldier who held it. The mob was thus temporarily repulsed.
After this repulse, the mob betook themselves to gathering the means of a military assault on the troops. They added a third cannon to the two which they had before employed against the church; they obtained muskets and ammunition, having got some powder by breaking into the dwelling and store of John McCoy, one of the Southwark Commissioners, who had left home in consequence of the threats of violence against him. At about 10 in the evening, they commenced a fire upon the military with their cannon, loaded with grape shot, spikes and missiles of various kinds. By one of the first shots serjeant Guyer was killed and corporal Troutman badly wounded. The fire was returned, and the combat kept up till near one in the morning, when the mob was completely repulsed, after the death of Cook one of their leaders, a member of the Weccacoe Hose Co. notorious for his desperate character and his participation in the firemen's riots.
On Monday, the mob prepared to renew the contest on the ensuing night. A deputation of their sympathizers, the Southwark authorities, proposed to the Sheriff the withdrawal of the troops, promising to protect the church themselves from destruction. By the advice of the County Commissioners and Judge Jones of the Court of common Please, the Sheriff accepted the terms proposed. It should be mentioned, that the measures of the Sheriff on Saturday morning for the defence of the church, were taken at the request of the County Commissioners, and with the approbation of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.
Shortly after the compromise above mentioned, the Governor arrived in town, and soon after several companies of cavalry and other militia from the country came in. Since that time the city has worn in some measure, the aspect of a military encampment.

* * *

On Thursday morning last, Lewis C. Levin, Editor of the Sun, was arrested on the charge of publishing articles having the effect of "exciting to riot and treason." He was held to bail in the

sum of $3000.
Samuel R. Kramer, Editor of the "Native American" was arrested and held to bail on a similar charge. As, however, the most objectionable matter which appeared in his paper was shown to have been published without his knowledge, he was held only in his own recognizance in the sum of $500 to be of good behavior for three months.
Col. J. G. Watmough, Surveyor of the Port, was arrested on a warrant charged with language and conduct calculated to excite a riot and obstruct the execution of the laws.
William O. Hanna, was also arrested on the same day, charged with a similar offence.
Since then quite a number of further arrests have been made and some on charges still more serious.-Among these was E. Harwood, a young man in a china store, having a wife and infant family, was charged with "murder, treason and riot." The testimony against him on his examination before the court was very strong. His young wife was in the court room and wept bitterly. He was held to bail in the sum of $13,000 and in default thereof was committed to Moyamsensing.
William H. Springer, of Southwark, a member of the present Grand Jury, was arrested and on the testimony of an individual that he had used certain seditious language, he was held to bail in $2000 for a further hearing.
A young man ... charged with having knocked down Captain Hill, accused of "riot, treason and murder," was held to bail in $13000 and in default thereof, was sent to Moyamsensing.
A number of other persons were arrested and on different charges fully committed.
The authorities aided by the Governor and sustained by the military, are busy ferreting out the rioters and seem determined to go to the full length of the law in their punishment.

* * *

The impression seems to obtain among our most intelligent and sober judging citizens, that the mob is now completely suppressed, and permanent peace established; that law and reason have at length recovered their ascendancy, and that this last outbreak will prove a crisis, to be followed by a better order of things. We would fain hope that this may be the case, though it must be confessed we are not very sanguine. But surely we have suffered enough to make further retribution unnecessary. Never was a city more disgraced; never a city more justly punished. Our sins have been their own punishment, and we have been made to eat most bitterly the fruits of our own doings. It is to be hoped that our city will now learn wisdom and put away the evil of her doings, and that she will at last be persuaded to respect the rights of the poorest and most unpopular of her citizens. If she does not, further scourges surely await her.

* * *

It is instructing, and may conduce to future improvement, to trace back to its causes that spirit of which has risen to so fearful a height, and cast such discredit upon the former fair name of Philadelphia, as to render the epithet of Mob-town applicable to it above all other American cities.

The primary cause has been the selfish and anti-christian spirit little if at all better in its nature or in its effects than that of the thief, the robber and the pirate, which arrogates to one portion of mankind a superior right over another portion, either as to freedom of opinion religious or political, the right to use its faculties for its own profit and advancement, or to participate in the government which all are required to support and obey. It is a spirit opposed to the great Christian rule of doing as we would be done by, of which spirit, robbery, slavery, political proscription, and religious persecution are only different manifestations. It makes a crime of that which the individual cannot avoid of possessing a particular skin, being born in a particular spot, or being convinced by the irresistible force of circumstances or of argument, of the truth or particular doctrines. It is a spirit which has covered the earth with misery and crimes. It is a spirit in which too many high professors of religious or political-purity partake, and upon which they act in one or other respect, while they are loud in their execrations of those who exhibit precisely the same spirit, only in a different form of manifestation.

It is a spirit which makes the Creator a partial and grossly unjust being, and which, with the self conceit of the Pharisee that thanked God that he was not like the poor publican always assumes itself to be the favorite, and its opponents to be the proscribed of the and unjust Deity, which it has imagined.

Against this wicked and absurd spirit, abolitionists have arrayed themselves as to one form of its manifestation. Against it, we as a portion of the abolitionists, are resolved to array ourselves under whatever form it may assume. We hold that thieves, robbers, slaveholders, persecutors of aliens, or of persons of any religious or political faith, should all be ranked in the same category, as to the radical character of the crime they commit, although, doubtless many of each class may be partially if not wholly excused from the peculiar circumstances of their education, condition, &c.

Against this spirit the law and the administrators of the law should ever be arrayed. It is because those administrators have been too often either neutral or arrayed on the same side with it, that its encroachments have at length become so alarming.

Ever since our national independence, the law has been enlisted in support of this spirit in reference to the colored man. They must be bad reasoners who would not carry out the principle, and apply it to other classes of men, if they believed in its justice in reference to the African descendant.

During the whole period of the history of the settlement of this continent by the whites, the law in more or less of the states, and in one feature or another, has recognized the right of one

act of religious professors to lord it over the consciences of another set, to punish them for non-conformity, or to subject them to pecuniary tribute. Not only so, but we have constantly had a class of persons striving to extend the range of this religious tyranny and it is to the efforts of this class that the recent mobs are in a great measure attributable.

Though freedom of speech has been, in general, guaranteed by law, it has not been maintained in practice. For the last ten years the abolitionists have been subject to mob violence in three-fourths of the Union for the simple expression of their opinions-This violence has been either winked at, or indirectly approved, by a large portion of the men in authority, as well as of the political and religious leaders of the people.

Coming more directly to the city of Philadelphia, we find that about the year 1837 a few colored and white boys at a scene of amusement called the "flying horses," got into a quarrel in which the white boys, who were probably the aggressors, were worsted. They sallied forth and collected a mob of men and boys with whom they made an indiscriminate assault on the colored people of Southwark and Moyamensing who had given them no provocation. They tore down some houses, ransacked others, destroyed furniture, beat women and children, and killed an inoffensive man who was too ill to escape by fight.

A large portion of the community sanctioned this horrible crime on the pretext that the colored people must be taught to know their places: the public authorities winked at it, and the rioters and murderers were never even brought to trial.

It was previous to this last occurrence we believe that a public meeting had been held in the Musical Fund Hall, to intimidate abolitionists, at which meeting the present member of Congress from the city declared that the people of the North had no right to discuss the subject of slavery: and also previously that a mob meeting headed by prominent politicians from that day to this, send a deputation and seized on the wharf a box of abolition tracts and threw them into the river, some handkerchiefs which were in the box being stolen and carried off by a portion of the patriotic mob. The perpetrators of this outrage were never prosecuted.

In May, 1838, the celebrated burning of the Pennsylvania Hall took place: after it had been delivered into the hands of the Mayor, under a solemn promise of protection-a promise which he did not even attempt to keep, by any thing having the appearance of efficient means. This burning was palliated by clergymen and others in public speeches. It was applauded by a large portion of the merchants of the city. One of them went so far as to issue his card or advertisement, with a picture on it of Pennsylvania Hall in flames, thinking thereby to conciliate the slave holding merchants of the South. Although some of the rioters were known, and two or three indicted, the Attorney General never brought them to trial. To the claim of the proprietors for compensation the County Commissioners opposed an obstinate resistance, in consequence of which they have not yet been paid at the end of

more than six years: and they have a prospect when paid of receiving but half their real loss.

Some two or three years after the burning of the Hall, a mob in Kensington tore up the railroad, and burned a house belonging to the president of the company. It is an instructive fact that this man had been among those who applauded and justified the burning of the Hall. It was not long ere be experienced the verification of the Scripture maxim, that "the measure ye mete unto others shall be measured to you again." Two of these railroad rioters were convicted, but pardoned by the Governor after a few days imprisonment. As to the mass of them, hardly an effort was made to bring them to justice.

In 1842, a colored procession walking peaceably along the streets was assailed and dispersed by a mob. The colored people were pursued every where with savage ferocity. The Mayor and police being called on to suppress the riot, instead of arresting the rioters arrested those who were attacked. The mob thus encouraged proceeded to the burning of Smith's Hall and the African Presbyterian Church. Although the Mayor had seasonable notice of the intent to burn the church, he had scarcely any portion of his force on the ground, and none of it we believe stationed within the building. This burning was followed the succeeding days and nights by indiscriminate attacks and beatings of colored people, without the pretence of any offence on their part, and by efforts to burn the remaining churches. No efficient attempt was made to arrest any considerable portion of the rioters: and the Mayor actually refused to take measures for the arrest of some whose names were given him, together with those of the witnesses, by a highly respectable citizen. Of the few arrested some were never brought to trial; others were tried in the most lenient manner by the court and Attorney General, and escaped conviction. Some three or four who were convicted received sentences of the very mildest character.

For some years past our city has been disturbed by continual riots, among the firemen and weavers, accompanied by most atrocious outrages, and our public authorities have been distinguished by a remarkable failure to arrest and try the criminals, especially the firemen.

In May last, several dwelling houses and two churches were burned, upon no pretext, but that persons of the same religious faith with the proprietors had acted in that riotous spirit, of which they had had so many encouraging examples. When the mob was assembled to burn St. Augustine, the Mayor ordered the military who had come for its defence to depart; he assured the mob that there were no persons inside of the church to defend it, and omitted to station any of his own police there. It was burned, as a matter of course.

Upon the next meeting of the Criminal Court, Judge Parsons, in a charge which did him much credit, called the attention of the Grand Jury to the investigation of these riots. But the jury, conducted the investigation with manifest partiality. They neglected and refused, as we are assured, to examine persons who

could give them information, but who were either Catholics or of foreign birth; and they made a presentment in which they gravely attributed the mob to the attempt to exclude the BIBLE from the public schools; as if such an attempt, if really made, would be either a justification or a material palliation of the outrages. In short the presentment seemed to be a palpable glossing over of the conduct of the mob.

This presentment was followed by a charge from Judge Jones, to the next Grand Jury, in which he told them that our riots proceeded principally from foreigners, an assertion which we believe untrue in reference to Philadelphia, and which if true, was peculiarly inappropriate to the occasion.

The opponents of the Catholics and foreigners were highly pleased with the presentment of the Grand Jury and the charge of Judge Jones. They considered them as a proof that the official authorities took their side in the controversy: and it is extensively believed, that the last and greatest riot in Southwark, would not have taken place, were it not for the encouragement thus afforded.

In connecxion with our general subject, we may here mention, that within the last two years, Governor Porter pardoned, even before sentence, several persons who had been found guilty of mobbing an abolition lecturer, and assaulting and breaking the windows of the house of the friend with whom he lodged. This pardon was not founded on the pretext that the lecturer had violated any law, — but only that his doctrines were not acceptable to the mob and the Governor.

From this sketch it appears evident that the state of intolerable anarchy to which we have at last arrived, might have been reasonably anticipated from the causes that were in operation. That the first and the main cause, was the recognition by a great portion of the people, including many of the clergy, the professional men, the politicians and the public authorities, of the doctrine, that the rights of men were unequal-that a portion of society might be trampled on at pleasure by other portions. The doctrine that black men were by birth the rightful subjects of oppression naturally led to the extension of the same principle to foreigners. The idea that abolitionists were entitled to no protection, because their doctrines were unpalatable, was naturally extended to Catholics, whose doctrines were equally unpalatable to sectarians. Almost every class and every sect of men, are responsible for the mischief, for almost every class and sect have encouraged mob violence, when it was directed against what they deemed the right objects. And expecially guilty are the public authorities, from the Governor down to the Constable and Watchmen, not only for having neglected to enforce the law, but for having given positive encouragement by word and deed to its violators.

We may hope that recent events will produce such a change of opinion and feeling, that an end may be put the reign of terror and proscription. To accelerate this happy result, it is the duty of every man to set his face resolutely against all manner

of religious, politician and personal interference; and to maintain, to the full that equality of rights, and of claims to benevolence, which is alike the doctrine of the New Testament and of the Declaration of Independence.

July 23, Tuesday: In Philadelphia, the recent "Southwark Riots" were described in the Public Ledger:

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

We have obtained a copy of the following affidavit, which was filed yesterday morning, and completes the evidence elicited by the investigation into the subject before Judge Jones. George S. Roberts, affirmed — I reside 157 John street, Northern Liberties. On Sunday July 7, 1844, being informed that the lower districts of the town were disturbed, curiosity led me down to St. Philip de Neri; arrived about 8 A.M. I approached the place by Third street; large crowds at all the corners of the adjacent streets; those crowds somewhat remote from the building composed of decenter materials, but those near the church composed of the worst class of mankind, the very dregs of the canaille of a large city, a great umber of boys. Great discussion of law, rights, liberty, &c; in relation to the arrests that had been made the night before, with a large display of ignorance, malice, with every species of denunciation and avowal of revenge directed against certain persons who were in the church and holding certain prisoners in custody; whether they were military or civil I do not know and could get no information. "They have had Charley Naylor, one of our greatest and best men, in the church all night without food, drink, or bed, and have refused fifteen thousand dollars good bail for him, and by J—— C—— we'll have him out; we'll make them smell h-l if they don't let him out in half an hour." This was one exclamation which came from a villainous looking knot of men at the corner of Third and Queen streets. Great denunciation of Gen. Cadwalader and threats of assassination, or what was equivalent to my mind. ("Let the d——d cut throat come down here to-night and see whether he'll get away alive." This came from a clique more advanced towards the church on the North side of Queen street. I heard hundreds of denunciation of similar character as this, but not quite as atrocious; they were directed against the military chiefly, but all persons representing civil authority and government; these cries calculated to subvert all law and order and intended by the authors to prompt to violence.

Naylor was raised to a divinity; I remarked to one man who was eulogizing him highly, that "you liberty men have soon chosen yourself a king, we would not think of such a man at our end of the town;" he answered, with a surly huff — this was a great bible man; I went eastward past the church, they were stoning the church; and I passed quickly by; I considered it the duty of those inside to shot any person so engaged, and I did not wish a crown of martyrdom in company with such rascals; I went to Second and Queen streets, where I saw a crowd of similar character as that at Third street, cries and denunciations much the same, but rather more religious discussions; the church

stoned violently three different times in the space of half an hour; at every time the stoning commenced a great sensation was evident among the whole, with expressions of satisfaction; I passed east down Queen street, having been informed that a cannon was preparing at the Marine railway; paused ten minutes listening to a squad in discussion; one religious, (hypocritical,) canting rascal among them was justifying the destruction of the church because arms were found in it; he was descanting largely about the sword of the spirit being the only proper weapon of Christians; I asked him if they were Christians who were collected about Christ in the garden previous to his arrest; he said "yes;" then what was meant by the command to sell a coat and buy a sword; he said there was no such thing in the book; some person corrected him; he told the person he could not show it; he seemed to think that the sword of the spirit was intended for the use of Catholics only; he was very learned in languages, and a perfect judge of the correctness of King James' version; it was the right version; the mutilation and interpolations of great numbers of councils, representing conflicting sects and schisms, he said were nothing; the law made King James' bible the only lawful bible, and it was their (the Catholics') duty to receive it as such, (and much more stuff.)

The cannon being dragged up Queen street by ten or twelve men and thirty or forty boys, (villainous looking,) the rope led by a man; don't know him, though I looked sharp at him; it was an old rusty cannon on timber wheels, (small wheels used in ship yards;) one man who ran on the sidewalk exclaimed that it was loaded to the length of his arm; all spouted except a few; they ran to the church with it; directed it towards the church; I kept in the wake at the northwest corner of Second and Queen streets, expecting as before that those in charge of the church would shoot them down; I waited fifteen minutes to see if they would fire it; it was not fired; I forgot to say that during the stoning of the church several persons stood unflinchingly on the steps, though at considerable risk, endeavoring to protect it; they were strangers to me; they deserve well of their fellow citizens.

I was present when the seminary was burned; I saw the character and class who were concerned there; this was the same class; men drunk with liquor and devilishness, boys of 16 to 21, of the most insubordinate and lawless character, insane almost with love of devastation, and others looking respectable, but entirely passive.

At 11 o'clock passed up homeward; stopped at the Girard Bank to see the Sheriff, whom I know; he was not there; he was represented by some person whom I did not know; I said I thought the Sheriff should be informed of the danger the military would be under of assassination under the cover of the coming night; the man said that was information for the Major General; I said I did not know him, and wished he would tell him; I am averse to the generality dignitaries unless I know them; the first

assumption of superiority on their part generally produces a quarrel; this is the reason why I did not speak personally to the Major General; I went home in a serious and thoughtful mood on account of the assassin-like character of the mob, knowing the mischief I could myself do if actuated by the feelings which appeared to move them.

At about 7 o'clock in the evening passed down Third street to the neighborhood of Queen; the cannon firing; at Second an South the mob was retreating north; I passed to near the line at Third street; the crowd dense at that point; I did not get near enough o see the soldiers; dark; but heard one of them say "Why in the name of God don't you stand back; why do you press upon us thus?' the speaker was evidently irritated; the crowd between me and the military was evidently of a bad character; those around me and further north not so bad, though their language was more conducive of sedition than peace; I immediately passed back up Third street, cautioning all to do the same; great numbers of person placed themselves under the cover of corners of alleys and small streets, and numbers passed off entirely; the reasoning I made use of to the crowd in the street and to crowds of women sitting in their own doors, was, that the mob showed a disposition to press the military, and that the soldiers, if attacked, would fire in defence, and death might be carried the whole length of the street; the women generally moved back into their houses; I came to South street and sat on a step for half an hour, watching the flashes of the artillery against the sky; I counted altogether nineteen discharges of artillery; between which I occasionally heard the report of small arms; at half past 11 went home.

Monday, July 8.-Went down to the lower district to see the state of matters; viewed the effects of the firing where it took effect; went to the Hall; the dead had been removed; their blood was about the room. The persons viewing the range of the artillery generally are an excellent kind of people, attracted by curiosity; those about the hall, with few exceptions, are the worst looking of mankind and full of vengeance and fury. It was there rumored that the Governor was in; he, Gen. Cadwalader, the Sheriff, the Military, and people of the city, who they said, had interfered, were cursed in every form that language would admit of; the Governor, they said had run off frightened at what he had done; they wanted to see the Governor, they said they had a letter for him; this came from a squad at the south corner of the area before the Hall. I was informed that several cannon were below at the market; went down, at a grog-hole, southeast corner was a tall flag staff and a flag labelled "Native American Head Quarters;" two or three hundred people inside and out, the most infernal in looks, words and actions, that I had ever yet seen. I asked several about the cannon, they would or could not tell about them; in truth, I believe they had none, and the tales about six or eight pieces mounted, were all lies which they passed from one to another, to enable them to keep their cowardly courage up; I believe (but I may be mistaken.) that the military

got all their cannon; I went into the bar room pretending to admire certain mean, vulgar pictures, daubed with red paint; the room was filled with men drunk, uttering curses, blasphemy and vulgarity in every imaginable form of words; there was a back room filled with the same kind of materials which appeared a sanctum of mischief; did not enter it; in the bar room I saw and was recognized by ———, the only man whom I knew in all these transactions; he saw me, was talking at the time, not loud; numbers were speaking to him in vulgar and boisterous style, he appeared to be a centre of attraction; so many speaking at once, and he talking lower than they, I could not hear what he said. One said to him "by God we'll have our rights now;" he is a bad man in every sense of the word, he is well-known up town;—with the exception of one young man who sat on the fire plug and in reply to my questions said that he and a few others of their company would do their duty in case of fire, whether the majority would or not, with the exception of him they did not deserve to live.

Every few minutes a call for muster was made, "who will be one of five hundred to go and attack the bloody murderers?" I tried to reason with one of the men who made this sort of proclamation by telling him that this course would cause more murder; that they would be slaughtered by the hundreds; the weapons of the military were so much superior to theirs; that they would commit themselves against the law and have to leave their families in want, &c. I appealed to one who was calm and quiet, and who was listening, to induce his colleague to desist and not talk so much; he made a reply too insulting and disgusting for the public eye or ear. I will know him again; he belongs to the oyster trade, I think; a large, stout man; if I can see him I'll run him into the dock and follow him with the testimony. I would have justified the Governor, or any other supervisor of the public weal (who saw what I saw, heard what I heard, of that mob there collected) in putting the whole lot to death, the young fireman excepted.

I returned to the Hall, where Deputy Attorney Rush was addressing a large concourse in a most admirable style of language and reasoning, above intellectual calibre of the great mass; he was repeatedly interrupted; he was followed by some of their own demagogues in inferior style but with more effect; their orations being the common slang and cant of ward meetings; in this meeting were a large number of worthy and deserving citizens; in the small squads in the streets I met with but two men and one woman who were opposed to riot and sedition, and my observation teaches me that among the worst men who have urged it on by countenance and word are a numerous class of Bible-canting scoundrels, themselves the off-spring of a base hireling ministry. The approaching elections for magistrates have added fuel to the fire, and will forever baffle measures to bring the offenders to justice. Much might be said upon this matter, but it is probably out of place. I returned home at 3 o'clock P. M. I know nothing more.

GEORGE S. ROBERTS
Affirmed to in open Court, July 22, 1844
JOSEPH ENEU, Deputy

July 31, Wednesday: Henry Thoreau was written to by Isaac Hecker in New-York.

Henry Thoreau
It was not altogether the circumstance of our immediate physical nearness, tho this may have been the consequence of a higher affinity, that inclined us to commune with each other. This I am fully sensible since our seperation. Oftentimes we observe ourselves to be passive or cooperative agents of profounder principles than we at the time even dream of.
I have been stimulated to write to you at this present moment on account of a certain project which I have formed, in which your influence has no slight share I imagine in forming. It is to work our passage to Europe, and to walk, work, and beg, if needs be, as far when there as we are inclined to do. We wish to see how it looks. And to court difficulties; for we feel an unknown depth of untried virgin strength which we know of no better way at the present time to call into activity and so dispose of. We desire to go without purse or staff depending upon the all embracing love of God, Humanity, and the spark of courage imprisoned in us. Have we the will we have the strong arms, hand & hands, to work with, and sound feet to stand upon, and walk with. The heavens shall be our vaulted roof, and the green Earth beneath our bed, and for all other furniture purposes. These are free and may be so used. What can hinder us from going but our bodies, and shall they do it. We can as well deposit them there as here. Let us take a walk over the fairest portions of the planet Earth and make it ours by seeing them. Let us see what the genius and stupidity of our honored fore fathers have heaped up. We wish to kneel at their shrines and embrace their spirits and kiss the ground which they have hallowed with their presence. We shall prove the dollar is not almighty and the impossible moonshine. The wide world is before us beckoning us to come — let us accept and embrace it. Reality shall be our antagonist and our lives if sold not at a good bargain for a certainty.
How does the idea strike you? I prefer at least to go this way before going farther in the woods. The past let us take with us. We reverence, we love it, but forget not that our eyes are in our face set to the beautiful unimagined future. Let us be Janus faced with a beard and beardless face. Will you accept this invitation? Let me know what your impressions are. As soon as it is your pleasure.
Remember me to your kind family. Tomorrow I take the first step towards becoming a visible member of the Roman Catholic Church.

If you and your good family do not become greater sinners I shall claim you all as good Catholics, for she claims "All baptised infants; all innocent children of every religious denomination; and all grown up Christians who have preserved their baptismal innocence though they make no outward profession of the Catholic faith, are yet claimed as her children by the Roman Catholic Church.
Yours
Very Truly
Isaac Hecker
N.Y. Thursday July 31. /44

August 2, Friday: Isaac Hecker wrote to inform the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson that he was being baptized into the Roman Catholic faith in old St. Patrick's Cathedral on Mott Street:

This morning I go to the [old St. Patrick's] Cathedral to receive the Sacrament of baptism [from Bishop McCloskey]; tomorrow to confession, after that [May 18th, 1845] receive confirmation.... I have an idea of a project which I think would be more than one way beneficial to me. It is to make a penitential journey to Europe, even as far as Rome. To work my passage over the sea and to work walk and beg whatever distance I may go. A better penance I cannot think of. It is better much better than being a recluse either here or in a cloister. Do you think so? This project is only in thought in imagination. I have my eye upon one person who can live on bread and water and sleep upon the earth, who can walk his share; if he should consent to go I might go. It is Henry Thoreau I mean. We see not why pilgrimages may not be made now as well as they were in the Ages of Faith. If this thought becomes more serious with me I shall inform you, if so.... My time has been chiefly employed in reading books concerning the sacraments disciplines and ceremonies of the Church. Our feelings increase with the knowledge of the Catholic Church. (We feel an inward constraint to use the plural pronoun, we not why.)

After Hecker's dishonest plan to con Henry Thoreau into accompanying him on a disguised pilgrimage to Rome would fall through, he would enroll at the Cornelius Institute, a school designed to prepare candidates for the Christian ministry, and there recommence study of the classical languages.

August 3, Saturday: Isaac Hecker made his first confession as a Roman Catholic.

Johann Strauss applied to Vienna authorities for a license "to hold musical entertainments."

Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte published his essay *Extinction du paupérisme*.

August 14, Wednesday: Henry Thoreau wrote to Isaac Hecker from Concord.

Concord Aug. 14th 44
Friend Hecker,
I am glad to hear your voice from that populous city, and the more so for the tenor of its discourse. I have but just returned from a pedestrian excursion, some what similar to that you propose, parvis componere magna, to the Catskill mountains, over the principal mountains of this state, subsisting mainly on bread and berries, and slumbering on the mountain tops — As usually happens, I now feel a slight sense of dissipation. Still I am strongly tempted by your proposal, and experience a decided schism between my outward and inward tendencies. Your method of travelling especially—to live along the road—citizens of the world, without haste or petty plans—I have often proposed this to my dreams, and still do — But the fact is, I cannot so decidedly postpone exploring the Farther Indies, which are to be reached you know by other routs and other methods of travel. I mean that I constantly return from every external enterprise with disgust to fresh faith in a kind of Brahminical Artesian, Inner Temple, life. All my experience, as yours probably, proves only this reality.
Channing wonders how I can resist your invitation, I, a single man—unfettered—and so do I. Why—there are Roncesvalles, the cape de Finisterre, and the three kings of Cologne; Rome, Athens, & the rest—to be visited in serene untemporal hours—and all history to revive in one's memory as he went by the way with splendors too bright for this world — I know how it is. But is not here too Roncesvalles with greater lustre? Unfortunately it may prove dull and desultory weather enough here, but better trivial days with faith than the fairest ones lighted by sun-shine alone. Perchance my wanderjahre has not arrived. But you cannot wait for that. I hope you will find a companion who will enter as heartily into your schemes as I should have done— I remember you, as it were, with the whole Catholic church at your skirts — And the other day for a moment I think I understood your relation to that body, but the thought was gone again in a twinkling, as when a dry leaf falls from its stem over our heads, but [MS torn] *instantly lost in the rustling mass at our feet — I am really sorry that the Genius will not let me go with you, but I*

trust that it will conduct to other adventures, and so if nothing prevents we will compare notes at last
Yrs &c
Henry D. Thoreau.

August 14: [T]o **live** along the road –citizens of the world, without haste or petty plans– I have often proposed this to my dreams, and still do…. I constantly return from every external enterprise with disgust to fresh faith in a kind of Brahminical Artesian, Inner Temple, life. All my experience … proves only this reality…. serene untemporal hours … all history to revive in one's memory … I know how it is. But is not here too Roncesvalles with greater lustre? … [B]etter trivial days with faith than the fairest ones lighted by sunshine alone.

August 15, Thursday: Henry Thoreau was written to by Isaac Hecker in New-York.

I know not but that I shall receive an answer to the letter I sent you a fortnight ago before you will receive this one, however as the idea of making an indefinite pedestrian tour on the other side of the Atlantic has in all possible ways increased in my imagination and given me a desire to add a few more words on the project I will do so in the hope of stimulating you to a decision. How the thought has struck you I know not, its impractibility or impossibility in the judjment of others would not I feel assured deter you in any way from the undertaking, it would rather be a stimulas to the purpose I think in you as it is in me. Tis impossible; Sir, therefore we do it. The conceivable is possible, it is in harmony with the inconceivable we should act. Our true life is in the can-not, to do what we can do is to do nothing, is death. Silence is much more respectable than repetition. The idea of making such a tour I have opened to one or two who I thought might throw some light on the subject. I asked the opinion of the Catholic Bishop who has travelled considerable in Europe but I find that in every man there are certain things within him which are beyond the ken & counsel of others. The age is so effeminate that it is too timid to give heroic counsel. It neither will enter the kingdom of heaven or have others to do so. I feel, and beleive you feel so too, that to doubt the ability to realize such a thought is only worthy of a smile & pity. We feel ourself mean in conceiving such a feasable thing and would keep it silent. This is not sufficient self abandonment for our being, scarce enough to affect it. To die is easy, scarce worth a thought, but to be and live is an inconceivable greatness. It would be folly to sit still and starve from mere emptiness, but to leave behind the casement in battling for some hidden idea is an attitude beyond conception a monument more durable than the chisel can sculpture. I imagine us walking among the past and present greatness of our an-

cestors (for tho present in fact the present of the old world to us is ancient) doing reverence to their remaining glory. If tho I am inclined to bow more lowly to the spiritual hero than the exhibition of great physical strength still not all of that primitive heroic blood of our forefathers has been lost before it reached our veins. We feel it exult some times as tho it were cased in steel and the huge broad axe of Cour de Lion seems glittering before us and we awake in another world as in a dream. I know of no other person but you that would be inclined to go on such an excursion. The idea and yourself were almost instantaneous. If needs be for a few dollars we can get acrost the ocean. The ocean! if but to cross this being like being it were not unprofitable. The Bishop thought it might be done with certain amount of funds to depend on. If this makes it practible for others to us it will be but sport. It is useless for me to speak this to you for if there are reasons for your not going they are others than these. You will inform me how you are inclined as soon as practible. Halfe inclined I sometimes feel to go alone if I cannot get your company. I do not know now what could have directed my steps to Concord other than this. May it prove so. It is only the fear of death makes us reason of impossibilities. We shall possess all if we but abandon ourselves.
Yours sincerely
Isaac—
NY. Aug 15—/44
To Henry Thoreau.

August 15: Henry Thoreau wrote to Isaac Hecker from Concord.

I improve the occasion of my mothers sending to acknowledge the receipt of your stirring letter. You have probably received mine by this time. I thank you for not anticipating any vulgar objections on my part — Far travel, very far travel, or travail, comes near to the worth of staying at home — Who knows whence his education is to come! Perhaps I may drag my anchor at length, or rather, when the winds which blow over the deep fill my sails, may stand a way for distant ports—for now I seem to have a firm ground anchorage, though the harbor is low-shored enough, and the traffic with the natives inconsiderable — I may be away to Singapoor by the next tide. I like well the ring of your last maxim— "It is only the fear of death makes us reason of impossibilities" — And but for fear death itself is an impossibility.
Believe me I can hardly let it end so. If you do not go soon let me hear from you again.
Yrs in great haste

Henry D. Thoreau

September 5, Thursday: Isaac Hecker wrote to the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson:

> *My project of going to Europe has so far failed. Henry Thoreau is not disposed to go and under present circumstances I am not inclined to go on such a tour alone. This has thrown me back on the languages which may be of much more permanent good to me than the monk tour.*

It was reported in the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Morning Post that:

> Sidney Rigdon, who claimed the leadership of the church, on the ground of his being the only survivor of the Fir[s]t Presidency, and also, on the ground of his having been named by Joe [Joseph Smith] at one time, as his successor, has had his claims rejected by the Twelve, who have decided not to have any man for leader, but that the church shall be governed by them collectively.

September 24, Tuesday: Robert Jamieson died.

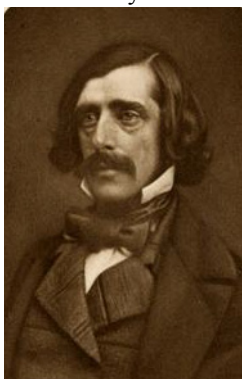
The Reverend Charles Henry Appleton Dall got married with Caroline Wells Healey, whom he had first met during his stay at Divinity school and who had been serving as Vice-Principal of Miss English's School for Young Ladies in Georgetown, District of Columbia.

They would evangelize together and the wife would briefly carry on alone after the husband again fell ill, in Boston.

The Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson wrote to Isaac Hecker about his excellent adventure at Brook Farm, leading Mrs. Sophia Dana Ripley, the Reverend George Ripley's first wife, and her niece Sarah F. Stearns in the direction of the Catholic Church:

> *I have made slow progress, though a few of the preliminary steps have been taken, and I am in the hands of my confessor [Father John Bernard Fitzpatrick, 1812-1866], and follow his directions.… I was at Brook Farm last Sunday, & prepared a discourse to them. Two or three will become Catholics. Mr. [George] Ripley, I fear is worse than an infidel. The atmosphere of the place is horrible. Have no faith in such associations. They will be only gatherings of all that is vile, to fester and breed corruption.*

(It has been alleged that of the Brook Farmers, William J. Davis, Buckley Hastings, George C. Leach, Charles King Newcomb, and Arthur Sumner also eventually converted to Catholicism.)



October 20, Sunday: Frederick Douglass spoke again at Liberty Hall in New Bedford, before the Bristol County Anti-Slavery Society.

Orestes Augustus Brownson was formally accepted by the Catholics.

October 28, Monday: The Reverend Horatio Wood left his church in Tyngsborough, Massachusetts to become a Minister-at-Large in nearby Lowell, just started.[46] Many if not most of the people flocking to the new mills would be immigrant Irish escaping the potato blight, a large proportion of them unable to read or write (population in 1830, 6,474; in 1840, 20,796; in 1850, 33,383). During the 24 years of his administration he would be offering evening schooling at the Free Chapel on Middlesex Street, teaching some 12,000 pupils by his own count, and during that time he would be absent but one single evening — to attend the funeral of his mother. In order to obtain students from the largely Irish Catholic labor force, it would be necessary for the Reverend to pledge that he would never offer any religious instruction.

LOWELL, MIDDLESEX

The initial issue of Theodore Foster's and Guy Beckley's Signal of Liberty, published by the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society of Ann Arbor.

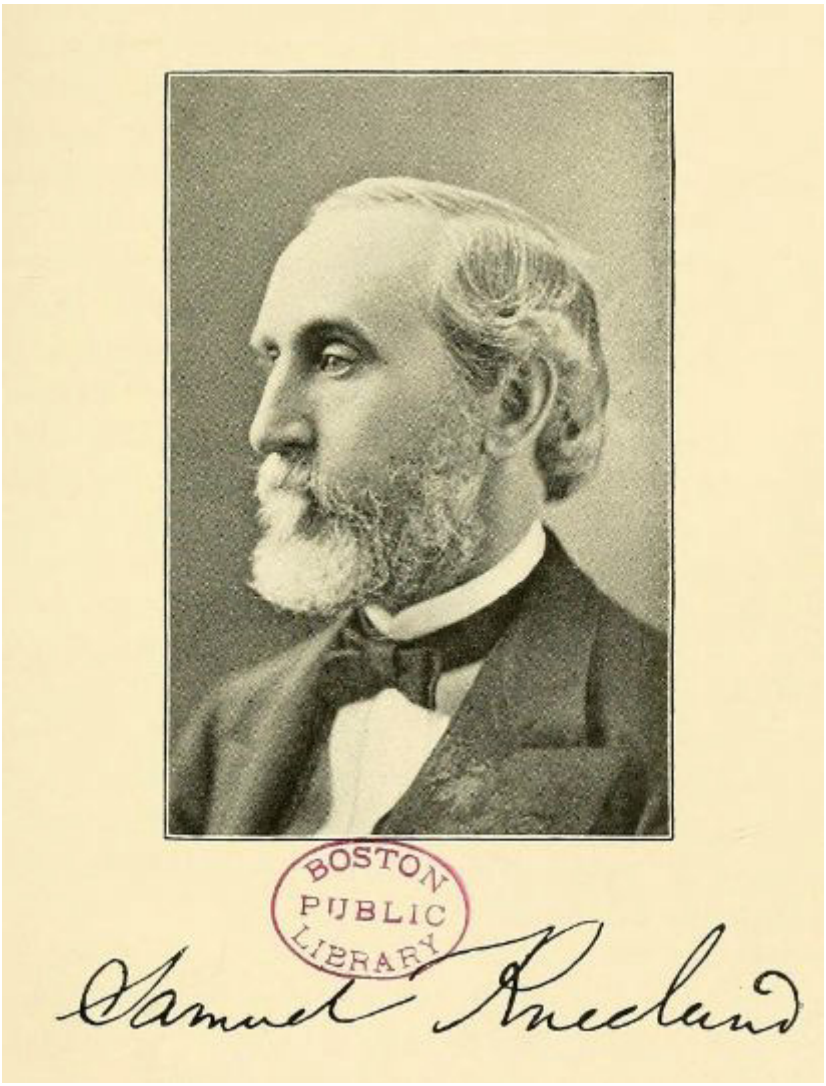
46. Between 1844 and 1852, inclusive, 12 ministries-at-large would be organized in New England; 3 In Boston making 5 in that city, and 9 in other cities (in 1850 the Reverend Wood would sponsor an "Association of Ministers-at-Large in New England").

October 29, Tuesday: Isaac Hecker wrote to the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson:

> *After my union with the Church was fully completed I asked myself what now is my next step? What can I do? The idea of a pilgramage siezed me with much force and had I succeeded in getting a comrade in all probability I should not now be here. I did not, and the project is delayed probably to die forever at least in that form.*

1845

Dr. Samuel Kneeland, Jr. became a demonstrator of anatomy in the Harvard Medical College. He also served as physician to the Boston Dispensary.



In the Dudlein lecture for this year, Amasa Parks warned the students of Harvard that "Our beloved land is threatened with serious evil from the inroads of the papal church." He suggested, however, that "the Protestant mind" was strong and would "at last prevail over Papal discipline."

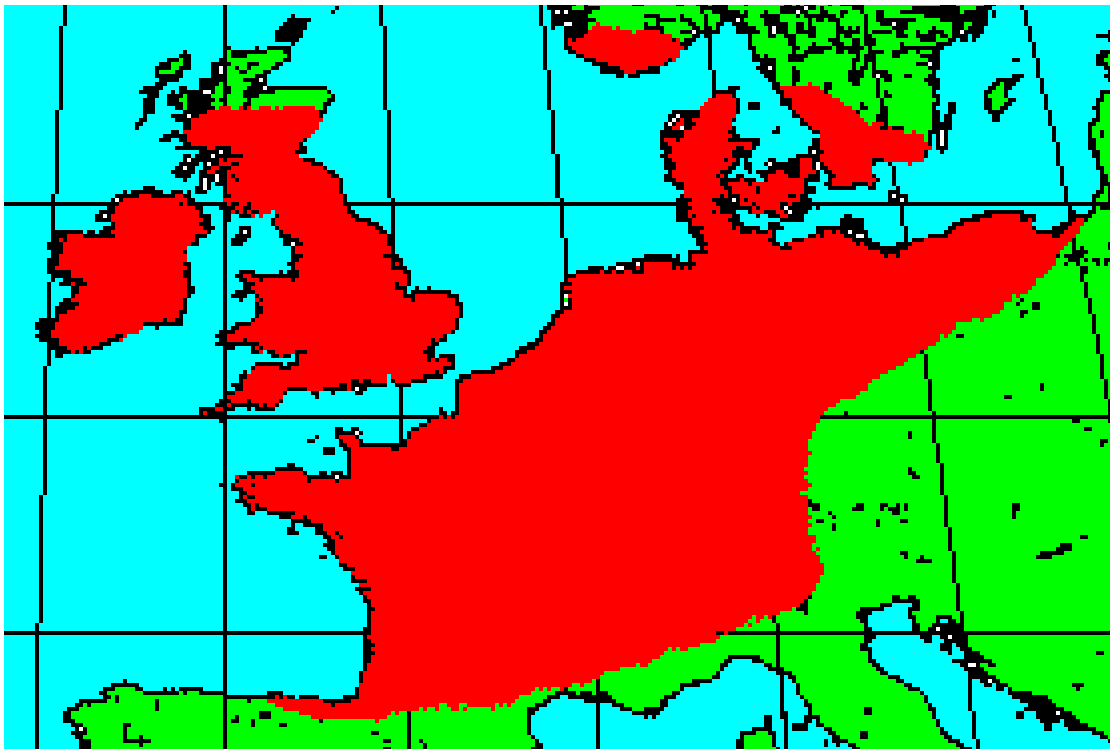
I am no alarmist.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

From this year into 1850, in the Irish Potato Famine, the problem presented to the English overlords of Ireland by the intransigent native Irish Catholics would be being in part resolved, unfortunately by means of starvation, by means of disease, and by means of mass emigration, with the assistance of a “late blight” of

Phytophthora infestans which would be causing apparently sound and meaty white potato tubers to suddenly disintegrate into black slime just as they were becoming ready to harvest. A million of these Irish people who were in the way of the English would die and eight million more of these Irish people who were in the way would be forced from their homeland.



We know that, largely because of this famine, in 1845 a domestic servant could be hired for $1.25 per week in New England, because Sophia Peabody Hawthorne was able to retain a woman for this wage. (Her sister Mary was able to rent a house in Hingham MA for $75.00 annually.

Population Trends

	England / Wales	Ireland
1821	12,000,000	6,800,000
1831	13,900,000	7,770,000
1841	15,920,000	8,180,000
1845	about 16,700,000	about 8,300,000 (blight, then famine, fever, and emigration)
1851	17,930,000	6,550,000
1861	20,070,000	5,800,000
1871	31,629,299	5,410,000
1881	35,026,108	5,170,000

During a period in which the population of virtually every other country in Europe was Dublin, the population of Ireland would lose 3.1 million people. This was a trauma with which it was most difficult to deal. For instance, we all know that Australia was settled largely by "British criminals" who had been "transported" during this period, but few of us are aware that a very significant percentage of these "British criminals" actually were mere Irish men and women who had become concerned, and who had thus made themselves politically suspect. A special prayer was promulgated and was being read in all the churches of the Anglican communion, to entreat the Almighty God to spare the Irish people from the ravages of the famine. The term "Potato" not being grand enough for an occasion of speaking directly to Almighty God, for verbiage for herbage this recitation substituted the euphemism "Succulent Tuber."

By this point Orestes Augustus Brownson had abandoned the particular theological speculations which had originally brought him to the Roman Catholic Church. Abandoning, for instance, his doctrine of communion, he embraced a far less original and far more conventional historical approach, an apologetics that continued along the general lines since the Counter-Reformation, by offering the Catholic Church as (necessary) witness to Revelation, and its (infallible) interpreter.[47] As a theory of the development of doctrine was more and more elaborated by Brownson's contemporary, the English convert John Henry Newman, Brownson took detailed exception to his ideas. When the revolutionary troubles began in Europe, Brownson reacted as any authoritarian institutionalist would have reacted.

47. For details, see the various pieces from the period collected in the book ESSAYS AND REVIEWS, and see in particular the article from Brownson's Quarterly Review entitled "The Church against No-Church," in which Orestes Augustus Brownson argues not only that the Catholic Church is essential for salvation but also that outside the Church there is only "no-churchism."

Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette was ordained as a Catholic priest and assigned to the Cathedral of Saint Louis in New Orleans. He would serve for 14 years, becoming Vicar General.

Henry Thoreau, in describing the French Canadian Catholic Alek Therien in this year, was supposing him to be 28 years old although actually he was 34:

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

WALDEN: Who should come to my lodge this morning but a true Homeric or Paphlagonian man, –he had so suitable and poetic a name that I am sorry I cannot print it here,– a Canadian, a wood-chopper and post-maker, who can hole fifty posts in a day, who make his last supper on a woodchuck which his dog caught. He, too, has heard of Homer, and, "if it were not for books," would "not know what to do rainy days," though perhaps he has not read one wholly through for many rainy seasons. Some priest who could pronounce the Greek itself taught him to read his verse in the testament in his native parish far away; and now I must translate to him, while he holds the book, Achilles' reproof to Patroclus for his sad countenance. –"Why are you in tears, Patroclus, like a young girl?" –

"Or have you alone heard some news from Phthia?
They say Menœtius lives yet, son of Actor,
And Peleus lives, son of Æacus, among the Myrmidons,
Either of whom having died, we should greatly grieve."

He says, "That's good." He has a great bundle of white-oak bark under his arm for a sick man, gathered this Sunday morning. "I suppose there's no harm in going after such a thing to-day," says he. To him Homer was a great writer, though what his writing was about he did not know. A more simple and natural man it would be hard to find. Vice and disease, which cast such a sombre moral hue over the world, seemed to have hardly any existence for him. He was about twenty-eight years old, and had left Canada and his father's house a dozen years before to work in the States, and earn money to buy a farm with at last, perhaps in his native country. He was cast in the coarsest mould; a stout but sluggish body, yet gracefully carried, with a thick sunburnt neck, dark bushy hair, and dull sleepy blue eyes, which were occasionally lit up with expression. He wore a flat gray cloth cap, a dingy wool-colored greatcoat, and cowhide boots. He was a great consumer of meat, usually carrying his dinner to his work a couple of miles past my house, –for he chopped all summer,– in a tin pail; cold meats, often cold woodchucks, and coffee in a stone bottle which dangled by a string from his belt; and sometimes he offered me a drink. He came along early, crossing my bean-field, though without anxiety or haste to get to his work, such as Yankees exhibit. He wasn't a-going to hurt himself. He didn't care if he only earned his board. Frequently he would leave his dinner in the bushes, when his dog had caught a woodchuck by the way, and go back a mile and a half to dress it and leave it in the cellar of the house where he boarded, after deliberating first for half an hour whether he could not sink it in the pond safely till nightfall, –loving to dwell long upon these themes. He would say, as he went by in the morning, "How thick the pigeons are! If working every day were not my trade, I could get all the meat I should want by hunting, –pigeons, woodchucks, rabbits, partridges,– by gosh! I could get all I should want for a week in one day."

He was a skilful chopper, and indulged in some flourishes and ornaments in his art. He cut his trees level and close to the ground, that the sprouts which came up afterward might be more vigorous and a sled might slide over the stumps; and instead of leaving a whole tree to support his corded wood, he would pare it away to a slender stake or splinter which you could break off with your hand at last.

He interested me because he was so quiet and solitary and so happy withal; a well of good humor and contentment which overflowed at his eyes. His mirth was without alloy. Sometimes I saw him at his work in the woods, felling trees, and he would greet me with a laugh of inexpressible satisfaction, and a salutation in Canadian French, though he spoke English as well. When I approached him he would suspend his work, and with half-suppressed mirth lie along the trunk of a pine which he had felled, and, peeling off the inner bark, roll it up into a ball and chew it while he laughed and talked. Such an exuberance of animal spirits had he that he sometimes tumbled down and rolled on the ground with laughter at any thing which made him think and tickled him. Looking round upon the trees he would exclaim, – "By George! I can enjoy myself well enough here chopping; I want no better sport." Sometimes, when at leisure, he amused himself all day in the woods with a pocket pistol, firing salutes to himself at regular intervals as he walked. In the winter he had a fire by which at noon he warmed his coffee in a kettle; and as he sat on a log to eat his dinner the chicadees would sometimes come round and alight on his arm and peck at the potato in his fingers; and he said that he "liked to have the little *fellers* about him."

In him the animal man chiefly was developed. In physical endurance and contentment he was cousin to the pine and the rock. I asked him once if he was not sometimes tired at night, after working all day; and he answered, with a sincere and serious look, "Gorrappit, I never was tired in my life." But the intellectual and what is called spiritual man in him were slumbering as in an infant. He had been instructed only in that innocent and ineffectual way in which the Catholic priests teach the aborigines, by which the pupil is never educated to the degree of consciousness, but only to the degree of trust and reverence, and a child is not made a man, but kept a child. When Nature made him, she gave him a strong body and contentment for his portion, and propped him on every side with reverence and reliance, that he might live out his threescore years and ten a child. He was so genuine and unsophisticated that no introduction would serve to introduce him, more than if you introduced a woodchuck to your neighbor. He had got to find him out as you did. He would not play any part. Men paid him wages for work, and so helped to feed and clothe him; but he never exchanged opinions with them. He was so simply and naturally humble –if he can be called humble who never aspires– that humility was no distinct quality in him, nor could he conceive of it. Wiser men were demigods to him. If you told him that such a one was coming, he did as if he thought that any thing so grand would expect nothing of himself, but take all the responsibility on itself, and let him be forgotten still. He never heard the sound of praise. He particularly reverenced the writer and the preacher. Their performances were miracles.

When I told him that I wrote considerably, he thought for a long time that it was merely the handwriting which I meant, for he could write a remarkably good hand himself. I sometimes found the name of his native parish handsomely written in the snow by the highway, with the proper French accent, and knew that he had passed. I asked him if he ever wished to write his thoughts. He said that he had read and written letters for those who could not, but he never tried to write thoughts, –no, he could not, he could not tell what to put first, it would kill him, and then there was spelling to be attended to at the same time!

I heard that a distinguished wise man and reformer [Waldo Emerson?] asked him if he did not want the world to be changed; but he answered with a chuckle of surprise in his Canadian accent, not knowing that the question had ever been entertained before, "No, I like it well enough." It would have suggested many things to a philosopher to have dealings with him. To a stranger he appeared to know nothing of things in general; yet I sometimes saw in him a man whom I had not seen before, and I did not know whether he was as wise as Shakspeare or simply ignorant as a child, whether to suspect him of a fine poetic consciousness or of stupidity. A townsman [Waldo Emerson?] told me that when he met him sauntering through the village in his small close-fitting cap, and whistling to himself, he reminded him of a prince in disguise.

His only books were an almanac and an arithmetic, in which last he was considerably expert. The former was a sort of cyclopaedia to him, which he supposed to contain an abstract of human knowledge, as indeed it does to a considerable extent. I loved to sound him on the various reforms of the day, and he never failed to look at them in the most simple and practical light. He had never heard of such things before. Could he do without factories? I asked. He had worn the home-made Vermont gray, he said, and that was good. Could he dispense with tea and coffee? Did this country afford any beverage beside water? He had soaked hemlock leaves in water and drank it, and thought that was better than water in warm weather. When I asked him if he could do without money, he showed the convenience of money in such a way as to suggest and coincide with the most philosophical accounts of the origin of this institution, and the very derivation of the word *pecunia*." If an ox were his property, and he wished to get needles and thread at the store, he thought it would be inconvenient and impossible soon to go on mortgaging some portion of the creature each time to that amount. He could defend many institutions better than any philosopher, because, in describing them as they concerned him, he gave the true reason for their prevalence, and speculation had not suggested to him any other. At another time, hearing Plato's definition of a man, –a biped without feathers,– and that one exhibited a cock plucked and called it Plato's man, he thought it an important difference that the *knees* bent the wrong way. He would sometimes exclaim, "How I love to talk! By George, I could talk all day" I asked him once, when I had not seen him for many months, if he had got a new idea this summer. "Good Lord," said he, "a man that has to work as I do, if he does not forget the ideas he has had, he will do well.

May be the man you hoe with is inclined to race; then, by gorry, your mind must be there; you think of weeds." He would sometimes ask me first on such occasions, if I had made any improvement. One winter day I asked him if he was always satisfied with himself, wishing to suggest a substitute within him for the priest without, and some higher motive for living. "Satisfied!" said he; "some men are satisfied with one thing, and some with another. One man, perhaps, if he has got enough, will be satisfied to sit all day with his back to the fire and his belly to the table, by George!" Yet I never, by any manœuvring, could get him to take the spiritual view of things; the highest that he appeared to conceive of was a simple expediency, such as you might expect an animal to appreciate; and this, practically, is true of most men. If I suggested any improvement in his mode of life, he merely answered, without expressing any regret, that it was too late. Yet he thoroughly believed in honesty and like virtues.

There was a certain positive originality, however slight, to be detected in him, and I occasionally observed that he was thinking for himself and expressing his own opinion, a phenomenon so rare that I would any day walk ten miles to observe it, and it amounted to the re-origination of many of the institutions of society. Though he hesitated, and perhaps failed to express himself distinctly, he always had a presentable thought behind. Yet his thinking was so primitive and immersed in his animal life, that, though more promising than a merely learned man's, it rarely ripened to any thing which can be reported. He suggested that there might be men of genius in the lowest grades of life, however permanently humble and illiterate, who take their own view always, or do not pretend to see at all; who are as bottomless even as Walden Pond was thought to be, though they may be dark and muddy.

Since we may wonder, what is a Paphlagonian man, here was Paphlagonia:

Since in this passage Thoreau commented on the publishing institution known as the "almanac," here are a couple of the almanacs that were being issued in this year, in Providence, Rhode Island:

- THE PROVIDENCE ALMANAC FOR 1845.
- THE RHODE-ISLAND ALMANAC FOR 1845. By Isaac Bickerstaff

WALDEN: His only books were an almanac and an arithmetic, in which last he was considerably expert. The former was a sort of cyclopaedia to him, which he supposed to contain an abstract of human knowledge, as indeed it does to a considerable extent.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

ALEK THERIEN
JARED SPARKS

Douglas R. Anderson, in A HOUSE UNDIVIDED, has commented on Alek Therien's recorded comment about the world, "I like it well enough," that "Thoreau, by and large, likes it well enough too, and Walden is the record of this curiously adversarial contentment." It has been noted that Therien's name evokes the Greek for "animal," therion. This was not a reason for Thoreau to alter the name in publishing his comments, for truly the more respectable citizens of Concord town, from their own point of view at least, would have been looking down on Therien the French-Canadian day laborer as virtually an animal, lower than an Indian, lower even than the Irish, and also, Thoreau, from his point of view, would have looked up to Therien as an animal, a truly natural part of the Walden Woods biome.[48]

Ancient Taoists apparently believed that people overemphasized differences in individual human virtue. According to them, everyone shared a basic goodness, which striving could only

48. Douglas R. Anderson. A HOUSE UNDIVIDED: DOMESTICITY AND COMMUNITY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990

> confuse and conceal. Similarly, the ancient Greek Cynics advocated lives of simplicity, naturalness, and lack of striving. Like the Taoists, they mocked social conventions and philosophical theorizing. Therien does not strive or question, yet he exhibits the sort of natural goodness and acceptance of his lot in life that the Taoists and Cynics would have equated with virtue. Such ideas have been largely ignored in the contemporary virtue ethics revival; not because they are rationally untenable, I believe, but because they are uncongenial to the scholarly mandarins writing the books. yet these are perennial alternatives within virtue ethics, ineradicably grounded in human experience. Thoreau to his credit seriously considers them, entertaining both the ideas that Therien is subhuman and superhuman.
>
> Like the ancient moralists, Thoreau countenances no distinction between pure and applied ethics.

May 18, Sunday: Isaac Hecker was confirmed as a member of the Roman Catholic Church by Bishop McCloskey of Boston, adopting the confirmation name of Thomas in memory of St. Thomas of Aquino.[49] Bishop McCloskey knew a Jesuit when one bit him, even from the cradle, and was shoving Hecker in that direction, while Bishop Fitzpatrick was touting the Dominicans, Prelate John Joseph Hughes of New-York was touting the secular clergy — and Orestes Augustus Brownson was touting, now get this, the Carthusians.[50]

August 1, Friday: As soon as he had been provisionally accepted by the visiting provincial of the Redemptorist order, Isaac Hecker, along with Clarence Walworth and James McMaster (converts from the American branch of the Oxford Movement) sailed for their novitiate. These turned out to be the first persons born in America to enter that Belgian order.

August 25, Monday: Isaac Hecker and the other two American aspirants to the Redemptorist order landed in England en route to their one-year novitiate at the mother institution in St. Trond, Belgium. There Hecker would be as unable to get with the program as he had been while residing at the Thoreau boardinghouse, but the directors of the order made special allowances for his condition, such as tolerating his studying on his own and at his own pace. (James McMaster would belatedly come to a recognition that the religious life was not for him, bail out and become — a religious journalist.)

49. His brother George, who had also converted, would also be confirmed in this month in the Catholic faith.
50. As the one about the young sultan who received the gift of a 14-girl harem on his 14th birthday goes, "I know what to do, but where do I start?"

September 25, Thursday: One of Isaac Hecker's relatives wrote to Mr. Orestes Augustus Brownson:

> *We received a letter from Isaac yesterday and he wished me to write to you that he had arrived in very good health in 25 days he had a very pleasant passage and he would write to you when he arrived at St Trond which would be a few days. He feels that it is the goal that he has for years secretly wished for. I hope you will write as often as you can for I think the advice you would give him would be of great benefit to him.*
>
> *His leaving has come very severe upon mother she can hardly overcome it. If you have any Catholic news if it will not be asking too much would you be so kind as to send them on to me I shall be grateful to you for it.*

October 9, Thursday: In England, John Henry Newman was received into the Roman Catholic Church.
(He would serve as first rector of the Catholic university in Dublin.)

1846

William Potts's DANGERS OF JESUIT INSTRUCTION.

SURVEY OF AMERICAN ANTI-CATHOLICISM

The Reverend John B. Fitzpatrick, pastor of St. John's Church and coadjutor-bishop of the Catholic diocese, succeeded Bishop Fenwick as the Bishop of Boston, and the Reverend Manasses P. Dougherty became the pastor at St. John's. John Langdon Sibley jotted into his journal that:

> The Catholics within a few years have erected a church at East Cambridge and have just purchased five acres to build another church about one mile west from the University buildings. They are very quiet but zealous in all their movements and the time will come when many of the old battles, the theological at least, must be fought over again, and that too in this country. It is incidentally remarked in the paper today that one-quarter of the population of Boston is Catholic.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1:

I. *Faith not possible without the church*

II. *National Greatness*

III. "*Dangers of Jesuit Instruction*," a sermon preached at Second Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, Sept. 25, 1845.

IV. *Methodist Quarterly Review*

V. *The Roman Church and Modern Society* [translated from French by Professor Quinet]

VI. Literary Criticisms

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Before completing his seminary studies and while not yet 20 years of age, Emmanuel-Henri-Dieudonné Domenech journeyed from France to America in response to an urgent appeal for missionaries to sponsor Catholicism among white immigrants arriving in Texas. He would be spending an initial two years in St. Louis completing his theological course, studying English and German, and otherwise preparing himself for missionary labors.

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2:

CATHOLICISM

I. *Christian Ethics*

1. *Concerning Matrimony*
2. *Concerning Justice and Law*
3. *Compendium of Moral Theology of St. Alphonsus*
4. *Moral Theology of Bishop Kenrick, Philadelphia*

II. "*The Church a Historical Fact*," by Robert Manning
III. *Influence of the Jesuits on Religion and Civilization*
IV. *The Presbyterian Confession of Faith*
V. *Schiller's Aesthetic Theory*

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3:

CATHOLICISM

I. "*Liberalism and Catholicity*" [A letter from a Protestant minister, with a reply]
II. *The Confessional*
III. *Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine*
IV. *Protestantism Ends in Transcendentalism*
V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

November 1, Sunday: Isaac Hecker wrote from the Redemptorist house of studies in Wittem, Holland attempting to express his mystical experiences to Orestes Augustus Brownson, his fellow pilgrim in faith. He would be sent on from this house to Clapham, London where he would complete the necessary priestly formation in order to receive his ordination.

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4:

CATHOLICISM

I. *Transcendentalism* – Concluded

II. *Presbyterianism and the Holy Scriptures*

III. *New Versions and the Vulgate*

1. *A version of the Four Gospels, with notes*. By a Catholic.

2. *The Four Gospels*, translated From the Greek by George Campbell, D.D.

IV. *Fletcher Webster on War and Loyalty* [An oration delivered before the authorities of Boston in the Tremont Temple, July 4, 1846. By Fletcher Webster.

V. *The Late Bishop of Boston – Joseph Fenwick, second bishop of Boston.*

VI. *Thornberry Abbey: A Tale of the Times*

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1847

Hoping to provoke a Boston street battle, the Native American Party (white "Know-Nothings," not native Americans) staged a rally on Fort Hill, in the center of the tenement slums of new Irish immigrants. The Catholic hierarchy, getting wind of this in advance, had ordered all faithful to remain indoors. The provocation was foiled.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Two Brothers; or, Why are you a Protestant?*

II. *Newman's Theory of Christian Doctrine*

III. *Madness of Antichristians* [By M. Michelet. translated by G.H. Smith]

IV. *Natural and Supernatural*

V. *Religious Novels*

VI. Literary and Miscellaneous Notices

May 15, Saturday: An undated letter from Margaret Fuller on the need for radical reform was printed as a column by the New-York Tribune:

> Rome, May, 1847.
> There is very little that I can like to write about Italy. Italy is beautiful, worthy to be loved and embraced, not talked about. Yet I remember well that, when afar, I liked to read what was written about her; now, all thought of it is very tedious.
> The traveller passing along the beaten track, vetturinoed from inn to inn, ciceroned from gallery to gallery, thrown, through indolence, want of tact, or ignorance of the language, too much into the society of his compatriots, sees the least possible of the country; fortunately, it is impossible to avoid seeing a great deal. The great features of the part pursue and fill the eye.
> Yet I find that it is quite out of the question to know Italy; to say anything of her that is full and sweet, so as to convey any idea of her spirit, without long residence, and residence in the districts untouched by the scorch and dust of foreign invasion (the invasion of the *dilettanti* I mean), and without an intimacy of feeling, an abandonment to the spirit of the place, impossible to most Americans. They retain too much, of their English blood; and the travelling English, as a class, seem to me the most unseeing of all possible animals. There are exceptions; for instance, the perceptions and pictures of Browning seem as delicate and just here on the spot as they did at a distance; but, take them as a class, they have the vulgar familiarity of Mrs. Trollope without her vivacity, the cockneyism of Dickens without his graphic power and love of the odd corners of human nature. I admired the English at home in their island; I admired their honor, truth, practical intelligence, persistent power. But they do not look well in Italy; they are not the figures for this landscape. I am indignant at the contempt they have presumed to express for the faults of our semi-barbarous state. What is the vulgarity expressed in our tobacco-chewing, and way of eating eggs, compared to that which elbows the Greek marbles, guide-book in hand, — chatters and sneers through the Miserere of the Sistine Chapel, beneath the very glance of Michel Angelo's Sibyls, — praises St. Peter's as "*nice*" — talks of "*managing*" the Colosseum by moonlight, — and snatches "*bits*" for a "*sketch*" from the sublime silence of the Campagna.
> Yet I was again reconciled with them, the other day, in visiting the studio of Macdonald. There I found a complete gallery of the aristocracy of England; for each lord and lady who visits Rome considers it a part of the ceremony to sit to him for a bust. And what a fine race! how worthy the marble! what heads of orators, statesmen, gentlemen! of women chaste, grave, resolute, and tender! Unfortunately, they do not look as well in flesh and blood; then they show the habitual coldness of their temperament, the habitual subservience to frivolous

conventionalities. They need some great occasion, some exciting crisis, in order to make them look as free and dignified as these busts; yet is the beauty there, though, imprisoned, and clouded, and such a crisis would show us more then one Boadicea, more than one Alfred. Tenerani has just completed a statue which is highly-spoken of; it is called the Angel of the Resurrection. I was not so fortunate as to find it in his studio. In that of Wolff I saw a Diana, ordered by the Emperor of Russia. It is modern and sentimental; as different from, the antique Diana as the trance of a novel-read young lady of our day from the thrill with which the ancient shepherds deprecated the magic pervasions of Hecate, but very beautiful and exquisitely wrought. He has also lately finished the Four Seasons, represented as children. Of these, Winter is graceful and charming.

Among the sculptors I delayed longest in the work-rooms of Gott. I found his groups of young figures connected with animals very refreshing after the grander attempts of the present time. They seem real growths of his habitual mind, — fruits of Nature, full of joy and freedom. His spaniels and other frisky poppets would please Apollo far better than most of the marble nymphs and muses of the present day.

Our Crawford has just finished a bust of Mrs. Crawford, which is extremely beautiful, full of grace and innocent sweetness. All its accessaries are charming, — the wreaths, the arrangement of drapery, the stuff of which the robe is made. I hope it will be much seen on its arrival in New York. He has also an Herodias in the clay, which is individual in expression, and the figure of distinguished elegance. I liked the designs of Crawford better than those of Gibson, who is estimated as highest in the profession now.

Among the studios of the European painters I have visited only that of Overbeck. It is well known in the United States what his pictures are. I have much to say at a more favorable time of what they represented to me. He himself looks as if he had just stepped out of one of them, — a lay monk, with a pious eye and habitual morality of thought which limits every gesture.

Painting is not largely represented here by American artists at present. Terry has two pleasing pictures on the easel: one is a costume picture of Italian life, such as I saw it myself, enchanted beyond my hopes, on coming to Naples on a day of grand festival in honor of Santa Agatha. Cranch sends soon to America a picture of the Campagna, such as I saw it on my first entrance into Rome, all light and calmness; Hicks, a charming half-length of an Italian girl, holding a mandolin: it will be sure to please. His pictures are full of life, and give the promise of some real achievement in Art.

Of the fragments of the great time, I have now seen nearly all that are treasured up here: I have, however, as yet nothing of consequence to say of them. I find that others have often given good hints as to how they *look*; and as to what they *are*, it can only be known by approximating to the state of soul out of which they grew. They should not be described, but reproduced. They

are many and precious, yet is there not so much of high excellence as I had expected: they will not float the heart on a boundless sea of feeling, like the starry night on our Western prairies. Yet I love much to see the galleries of marbles, even when there are not many separately admirable, amid the cypresses and ilexes of Roman villas; and a picture that is good at all looks very good in one of these old palaces.

The Italian painters whom I have learned most to appreciate, since I came abroad, are Domenichino and Titian. Of others one may learn something by copies and engravings: but not of these. The portraits of Titian look upon me from the walls things new and strange. They are portraits of men such as I have not known. In his picture, absurdly called *Sacred and Profane Love*, in the Borghese Palace, one of the figures has developed my powers of gazing to an extent unknown before.

Domenichino seems very unequal in his pictures; but when he is grand and free, the energy of his genius perfectly satisfies. The frescos of Caracci and his scholars in the Farnese Palace have been to me a source of the purest pleasure, and I do not remember to have heard of them. I loved Guercino much before I came here, but I have looked too much at his pictures and begin to grow sick of them; he is a very limited genius. Leonardo I cannot yet like at all, but I suppose the pictures are good for some people to look at; they show a wonderful deal of study and thought. That is not what I can best appreciate in a work of art. I hate to see the marks of them. I want a simple and direct expression of soul. For the rest, the ordinary cant of connoisseur-ship on these matters seems in Italy even more detestable than elsewhere.

I have not yet so sufficiently recovered from my pain at finding the frescos of Raphael in such a state, as to be able to look at them, happily. I had heard of their condition, but could not realize it. However, I have gained nothing by seeing his pictures in oil, which are well preserved. I find I had before the full impression of his genius. Michel Angelo's frescos, in like manner, I seem to have seen as far as I can. But it is not the same with the sculptures: my thought had not risen to the height of the Moses. It is the only thing in Europe, so far, which has entirely outgone my hopes. Michel Angelo was my demigod before; but I find no offering worthy to cast at the feet of his Moses. I like much, too, his Christ. It is a refreshing contrast with all the other representations of the same subject. I like it even as contrasted with Raphael's Christ of the Transfiguration, or that of the cartoon of *Feed my Lambs*.

I have heard owls hoot in the Colosseum by moonlight, and they spoke more to the purpose than I ever heard any other voice upon that subject. I have seen all the pomps and shows of Holy Week in the church of St. Peter, and found them less imposing than an habitual acquaintance with the place, with processions of monks and nuns stealing in now and then, or the swell of vespers from some side chapel. I have ascended the dome, and seen thence Rome and its Campagna, its villas with, their cypresses and

pines serenely sad as is nothing else in the world, and the fountains of the Vatican garden gushing hard by. I have been in the Subterranean to see a poor little boy introduced, much to his surprise, to the bosom of the Church; and then I have seen by torch-light the stone popes where they lie on their tombs, and the old mosaics, and virgins with gilt caps. It is all rich, and full, — very impressive in its way. St. Peter's must be to each one a separate poem.

The ceremonies of the Church, have been numerous and splendid during our stay here; and they borrow unusual interest from the love and expectation inspired by the present Pontiff. He is a man of noble and good aspect, who, it is easy to see, has set his heart upon doing something solid for the benefit of man. But pensively, too, must one feel how hampered and inadequate are the means at his command to accomplish these ends. The Italians do not feel it, but deliver themselves, with all the vivacity of their temperament, to perpetual hurras, vivas, rockets, and torch-light processions. I often think how grave and sad must the Pope feel, as he sits alone and hears all this noise of expectation.

A week or two ago the Cardinal Secretary published a circular inviting the departments to measures which would give the people a sort of representative council. Nothing could seem more limited than this improvement, but it was a great measure for Rome. At night the Corso in which, we live was illuminated, and many thousands passed through it in a torch-bearing procession. I saw them first assembled in the Piazza del Popolo, forming around its fountain a great circle of fire. Then, as a river of fire, they streamed slowly through the Corso, on their way to the Quirinal to thank the Pope, upbearing a banner on which the edict was printed. The stream, of fire advanced slowly, with a perpetual surge-like sound of voices; the torches flashed on the animated Italian faces. I have never seen anything finer. Ascending the Quirinal they made it a mount of light. Bengal fires were thrown up, which cast their red and white light on the noble Greek figures of men and horses that reign over it. The Pope appeared on his balcony; the crowd shouted three vivas; he extended his arms; the crowd fell on their knees and received his benediction; he retired, and the torches were extinguished, and the multitude dispersed in an instant.

The same week came the natal day of Rome. A great dinner was given at the Baths of Titus, in the open air. The company was on the grass in the area; the music at one end; boxes filled with the handsome Roman women occupied the other sides. It was a new thing here, this popular dinner, and the Romans greeted it in an intoxication of hope and pleasure. Sterbini, author of "The Vestal," presided: many others, like him, long time exiled and restored to their country by the present Pope, were at the tables. The Colosseum, and triumphal arches were in sight; an effigy of the Roman wolf with her royal nursling was erected on high; the guests, with shouts and music, congratulated themselves on the possession, in Pius IX., of a new and nobler

founder for another state. Among the speeches that of the Marquis d'Azeglio, a man of literary note in Italy, and son-in-law of Manzoni, contained this passage (he was sketching the past history of Italy): —

"The crown passed to the head of a German monarch; but he wore it not to the benefit, but the injury, of Christianity, — of the world. The Emperor Henry was a tyrant who wearied out the patience of God. God said to Rome, 'I give you the Emperor Henry'; and from these hills that surround us, Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII., raised his austere and potent voice to say to the Emperor, 'God did not give you Italy that you might destroy her,' and Italy, Germany, Europe, saw her butcher prostrated at the feet of Gregory in penitence. Italy, Germany, Europe, had then kindled in the heart the first spark of liberty."

The narrative of the dinner passed the censor, and was published: the Ambassador of Austria read it, and found, with a modesty and candor truly admirable, that this passage was meant to allude to his Emperor. He must take his passports, if such home thrusts are to be made. And so the paper was seized, and the account of the dinner only told from, mouth to mouth, from those who had already read it. Also the idea of a dinner for the Pope's fête-day is abandoned, lest something too frank should again be said; and they tell me here, with a laugh, "I fancy you have assisted at the first and last popular dinner." Thus we may see that the liberty of Rome does not yet advance with seven-leagued boots; and the new Romulus will need to be prepared for deeds at least as bold as his predecessor, if he is to open a new order of things.

I cannot well wind up my gossip on this subject better than by translating a passage from the programme of the *Contemporaneo*, which represents the hope of Rome at this moment. It is conducted by men of well-known talent.

"The *Contemporaneo* (Contemporary) is a journal of progress, but tempered, as the good and wise think best, in conformity with the will of our best of princes, and the wants and expectations of the public....

"Through discussion it desires to prepare minds to receive reforms so soon and far as they are favored by the law of *opportunity*.

"Every attempt which is made contrary to this social law must fail. It is vain to hope fruits from a tree out of season, and equally in vain to introduce the best measures into a country not prepared to receive them."

And so on. I intended to have translated in full the programme, but time fails, and the law of opportunity does not favor, as my "opportunity" leaves for London this afternoon. I have given enough to mark the purport of the whole. It will easily be seen that it was not from the platform assumed by the *Contemporaneo* that Lycurgus legislated, or Socrates taught, — that the Christian religion was propagated, or the Church, was reformed by Luther. The opportunity that the martyrs found here in the Colosseum, from whose blood grew up this great tree of Papacy, was not of

the kind waited for by these moderate progressists. Nevertheless, they may be good schoolmasters for Italy, and are not to be disdained in these piping times of peace.
More anon, of old and new, from Tuscany.

Henry Thoreau was written to by Isaac Hecker in Wittem.

May 15. 1847. Wittem.
Dear Friend.
My interest in your greatest welfare
comp[els] *me to write you a few lines, perhaps they*
may aid you in your progress. I have found
my centre and of course my place in the Roman
Catholic Church. This gives me the peace and
liberty which have long been the object of my persuit.
I have come to this result not as one who is ignorant
or worse who has an erroneous idea of the C. Church
would suppose, by being false to my nature, no,
but by being true, true to my highest aspirations and
ideal. My ideal is real, or rather the ideal of humanity
is the R.C. Church. I can readily conceive that those
who know not what the Church is, will smile at this
statement. But I repeat it. The Catholic Church is
the ideal of every individual of the race, the universal
ideal of humanity. It is for her communion the hearts
of men sigh, it is for her perfection their souls as-
pire, she is the inspiration of humanity. Let those
my friend smile who wish. Your singularities so
called in your uncatholic community, and not only
yours, are to a catholic so many proofs of this assertion.
They are the evidences of the secret workings of that
life which will and eventually must, so that you
remain true, bring you into the unity of the one, holy,
catholic Church. Be true O my friend! for all my
you hopes of ever meeting depend upon my confidence in
^ ~~in~~ your fidelity, heroic fidelity. Be true the catholic
Church is one and universal, take what road you will
you will arrive into the bosom of her who is destined
to receive the human race entire. Be true, for your
ideal is real, divine, and means more than
you are now aware of.

The soul once in actual communion with the Church a

new life is commenced. It enters upon a higher, sublimer supernatural career. The beatific instinct of the soul fed with a supernatural food, invigorated with an uniterrupted divine excitement,— "grace", —gradually elevates the soul towards its ultimate end. It passess through vi[ol]*ent combats and victories from sphere to sphere. After having passed countless struggles and made frequent conquests sustained only by this supernatural force, its forces and fidelity having been tried and purified, it reaches the end of its creation, the perfect union with, and immediate vision of God. This is the highest end for which the soul of Man can aspire. This is the destiny of each individual and of humanity. And this is the work of the C. Church. For she alone directs and furnishes her children with the means of obtaining this sublime end of their creation. This is but a simple statement of the Church in her rapport with the individual soul from the religious or mystic point of view. Her rapport with humanity, with society is equally triumphant and divine. Wherever her influence penetrates Man acts from a higher inspiration. She is the life of art, of poesy, of social happiness, of political freedom. True heroism is only found in her bosom. This is evident from its nature and pooven too by fact. A hero is one who possesses virtue in a heroic degree, invariable, constant even unto death. But this surpasses the natural forces of Man. Hence a Hero necessarily supposes act the aid of a force supernatural, divine. A heroic is ^possible but an act does not make a Hero. But the Church, the Catholic Church is the sole organ of this force divine. Hence out of her communion heroism is impossible. For the fact. No sect seperated from the R.C. Church can show one example*

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which will bear this test. Let them produce one example of a constant invariable heroic life in all the virtues if they can. They cannot. But this is the test of a Hero, a Saint in the language of the Church. It is such she has never ceased, ~~to~~ and never will cease to produce. This prooves her divine origin and sanctity and their cant and falsehood. It is a sad fact that Carlyle and many others, tho they recognize [this] *truth in the middle ages,*

when speaking of the present, make use of the same
cant that all the flunkies have employed against
the Church from Martin Luther to Joe Smith. A
little more disinterested research and study will it is to be
hoped lead them to see what they are now ignorant of.
The fact is my friend the protestant world lays under
great ignorance, and is sadly deluded concerning the
C. Church. The future lies hid in her bosom. O happy
is he who sees it and becomes its voice.
Tho now my friend within cloistered walks in my cell I am infinite-
ly freer than I was when breathing the air on Concord cliffs. After having
passed one years Novitiate I was admitted to take the "vows". Let me tell
thee my friend it is no small affair to be scholar in that school where
I came to Jesus the God-Man is Master. From the Novitiate the Col-
lege where
^ I now am. The community of this house is composed of upwards
a hundred members. The order is prohibited from begging and
from holding benefices, thus it is thrown upon & supported
spontaneous by providence, the voluntary charity of the faithful.
When
^ I remember the dreams of fruitlands and see how far [~~*the*~~] *below*
their boldest aspirations fall from what has existed for
centuries in the C. Church and now exists, I am led to smile,
but I esteem truly these men as far as they went. Would to
God that they knew what they were striving after and had
the manliness to act up to their aspirations, Tho the primary
object of the order of which I am a member is the same as
all other religious orders [MS torn?] *render its members saints,*
its distinctive characteristic is [MS torn?]*tion to the cause of the*

Page 4
poor "the souls the most abandoned". Its life is half
contemplative & half active. Its founder St. Alphonse of Ligouri
of Naples who lived in the latter part of the l8teenth century.
If these men who say that the Church is dead would look a
little below the surface of things they would see that the life
of the middle ages which they laud so high is not dead, but
only retarded by the enemies of the Church for a few centuries
past, and which is now ready to burst upon the world in all
its glory. We don't want the Middle Ages, but we want its
[written perpendicular to text in center of page:
Henry Thorough.

Concord.
Massachusetts.]
inspiration. It is here my friend, it is here. Mon Dieu
could you see & feel it once!
Your true & sincere Friend
I. Hecker
My address is. Chez les R. [illegible] *Redemptoristes. Wittem.*
Province de Limbou [illegible] *Hollande.*

Late June: Ellery Channing's CONVERSATIONS IN ROME BETWEEN AN ARTIST, A CATHOLIC, AND A CRITIC — mutually exclusive categories, one presumes (Boston: William Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 111 Washington St.; Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, Printers to the University).

CONVERSATIONS IN ROME

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

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Two Brothers; or, Why are you a Protestant?* (Continued)

II. *Protestant Dissensions*

1. *Religious Dissensions: their cause and cure.*

2. *The Catastrophe of the Presbyterian Church in 1837*

III. *The Presbyterian Confession of Faith. Election and Reprobation.*

IV. Recent Publications

1. *The Chapel of the Forest, and Christmas Eve*

2. *Lorenzo; or The Empire of Religion*

3. *The Elder's House, or the Three Converts*

4. *Pauline Seward; a Tale of Real Life.* By John D. Bryant

V. *Papal Encyclical of Pope Pius IX*

VI. *R.W. Emerson's Poems*

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Two Brothers; or, Why are you a Protestant?* (Continued)

II. *The Jesuits*

III. *Slavery and the Mexican War* [Speech of the Hon. R.B. Rhett, of South Carolina, on the Oregon Territory Bill, excluding slavery from that territory. Delivered in the House of Rep., Jan. 14, 1847]

IV. *Spanish America*

V. *American Literature*

VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *The Great Question* [The Exercise of Faith is impossible except in the Catholic Church]

II. *De Maistre on Political Constitutions*

III. *The Dublin Review on Developments*

IV. *St. Stanislaus Kotska* [The Life of St. Stanislaus Kotska, of the Society of Jesus, Patron of Novices]

V. *The Presbyterian Confession of Faith*

VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1848

October 23, Monday: The New-York Tribune announced that Benedict Jaeger would speak before the New York Historical Society.

Isaac Hecker had graduated from his year's novitiate at the mother institution of the Redemptorist order in St. Trond, Belgium, and had been sent on to Clapham, London where he had completed the necessary priestly formation. On this date, at the age of 30, he was ordained a Catholic priest by Bishop Nicholas Wiseman, and immediately fell prey to the standard desire of the convert to go back to the people who had refused to be converted along with him and reassure and justify himself by demonstrating to them that he had been right and they had been wrong:

> I believe that Providence calls me ... to America to convert a certain class of persons amongst whom I found myself before my conversion.

Evidently, however, the authorities were accustomed to dealing with this syndrome. The new father's initial assignment was to the apostolate peculiar to the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, which amounted merely to his conducting various parish missions and local retreats for English Catholics.

January: A Catholic mass was celebrated in Lyceum Hall in Cambridge, the building which is now the Harvard Coop.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Admonitions to Protestants*

II. *Dr. Jarvis's Reply to Dr. Milner* **[Concerning the churches of the English communion]**

III. *Novel-Writing and Novel-Reading*

IV. *Briancourt on Labor and Association* **[by Matthew Briancourt, translated By Francis George Shaw]**

V. *The Two Brothers; or, Why are you a Protestant?* **(Continued)**

VI. *Pius the Ninth*

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. ***Admonitions to Protestants*, No. II**

II. ***Catholicity and Political Liberty***

III. ***Monastery of La Cava***

IV. ***Thornwell's Answer to Dr. Lynch*** **[Concerning the Apocryphal books of the O.T.]**

V. ***The Social Effects of Protestantism***

VI. ***Padre Ventura's Funeral Oration***

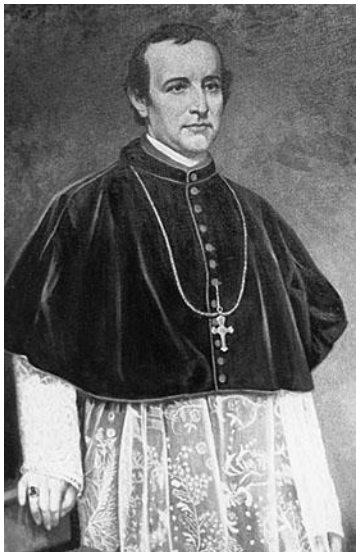
VII. ***The Dublin Review and Ourselves***

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

July: Laying of the cornerstone for St. Peter's Catholic Church on Concord Avenue in Cambridge. The sermon was preached by Jesuit Father Joseph Coolidge Shaw, who had, despite being voted the most popular man of Harvard College's class of 1840, later converted to Catholicism. Its parish limits would include Belmont, Lincoln, Lexington, Bedford, Medford, Malden, and Somerville west of Dane Street.

July 2, Sunday: Catholic Bishop John Joseph Hughes laid the corner-stone of Albany, New York's Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception.



August 7, Monday: Frederick Douglass was grazed by a thrown rock in Harrisburg PA.[51]

Work began on the present St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church structure in Newport, Rhode Island. The architect was Patrick C. Keeley of Brooklyn. (The edifice would be dedicated on July 25, 1852 and consecrated on August 15, 1884.)

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Thornwell on Inspiration and Infallibility*

II. *Admonitions to Protestants*. No. III

III. *The Church, as it was, is, and Ought to Be.*

IV. *Influence of Catholic Prayer on Civilization* [translated From Italian]

V. Recent European Events

1. *The French Revolution of 1848*

2. *The Falcon Family, or Young Ireland*

VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

October 23, Monday: The New-York Tribune announced that Benedict Jaeger would speak before the New York Historical Society.

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Evidently, however, the authorities were accustomed to dealing with this syndrome. The new father's initial assignment was to the apostolate peculiar to the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, which amounted merely to his conducting various parish missions and local retreats for English Catholics.

51. The rock that was heaved at him in Northampton MA has been preserved, by the Stetson family there. I don't know whether this Harrisburg rock has been similarly preserved, or not.

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Thornwell against Infallibility*
II. *Conservatism and Radicalism*
III. *Grantley Manor, or Popular Literature*
IV. *The Pentateuch*
V. *Doctrinal Developments* [The Dublin Review. No. XLVI. Art. VI]
VI. *St. Dominic and the Albigenses*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1849

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Catholic Press*
II. *Hawkstone, or Oxfordism* [Hawkstone: a Tale of and for England]
III. *Shandy M'Guire: or Irish Liberty*
IV. *Socialism and the Church*
V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Authority and Liberty*
II. *Girard College*
III. *The Republic of the United States*
IV. *Mount of St. Mary's College*
V. *Channing on the Church and Social Reform*
VI. The Saints and Servants of God
1. *The Lives of the Companions of St. Philip Neri*
2. *The Life of the Venerable Fr. Claver, S. J.*
VII. *Waterworth's Council of Trent*
VIII. *The Vision of Sir Launfal*
IX. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON
MAGAZINES

July: Henry Thoreau was written to by Isaac Hecker from London: "*...And could yr intelligence take in this view of truth that catholicity alone gives you would add yr testimony to that of St Augustine of fourteen centuries past: "Too late, have I known thee O ancient & ever new Truth! Too late, have I loved Thee o ancient & every new Beauty!*"

AUGUSTINE

CATHOLICISM

Dear friend,
I should like to provoke you
a little knowing as I do, that you far from
Catholicity as you actually are, can be no nearer
the realization of yr dreams of a holier life
than when first they awoke you to a higher &
more beautiful world. Their influence
upon yr heart has lost perhaps already
its freshness & holy delight And you have
become a more sober & industrious individual.
If not so, resting where you are, you must
always suffer thirst & hunger like Tantalus
but self-doomed, within the reach of the water & fro bread of eternal
life. I remember of
having read the life of a saint who by taking
the place of slaves & by his holy conduct win-
ning the good will of his masters freed in his
heroic christian career of Abolitionism no small
number of his fellow men. Now I have a
kindred feeling for you, I would like marvellous-
ly to free yr soul by placing it in the
light of catholicity that heretic discession has
robbed it of; And so that the costs shd not go
beyond the life of the body I would want them
only as the price of love's labour.

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Why indeed my brother, should you beat
out yr brains against th prison bars of
error or sink back into helpless inanity
or utter despair of finding this fountain source
do not of all truth? The way out for those who ^
prefer reigning in hell— rather than serving
in heaven, is plain & easy. Its gate lies
at yr feet—humility—& as soon as you
will get down upon yr knees & knock &
ask looking up it will of itself open. Ah
my dear brother, could I induce you to bend yr
knees once in solitude & silence before God then
new life would spring up into yr heart, then
would yr soul be kindled afresh with vigor
to virtue and the heavens open above yr head,
and angels be seen who chant, and a sun of love
& glory appear that never is or shall be

obscured. Strange creatures we, the first thing
we should do is always the last we try or
seldom not at all. We are like the flies upon
the windows who after they have spent all
their strength endeavoing to escape find
their way out through the opening below
even without aid of their wings. Pride &
self-will imprison us with our own
strength.
What is this to be wondered at my God,
that man helpless, poor except in miseries
should get down upon his [/] *ugly kness & lift*

Page 3
his hands up to heaven & say to Thee, "Thy hands
O Lord have made me, & fashioned me wholly
round about: Thou hast clothed me with skin
& flesh: Thou hast put me together with bones
& sinews: Thou hast granted me life & mercy,
& Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit.
Incline thy ear therefore and hear me for I
am needy & poor. Conduct me in thy way,
& I will walk in truth." Yet there are
heroic men too if one is simple enough to
beleive them, who dare not venture upon
such an act. And why? because of some
secret fear[//] *of despicable self-love or of*
sacrifices that truth demands. How little
must such appear in Gods presence &
in the sight of the whole court of heaven!
Are [these] men heroic, why they dare not
do what paddy their footman or brigdget their
kitchen maid make without reflection—
an act of religion. There is no heroism but
something that secretly flatters <u>of</u> our self-esteem
in measuring [ourselves] *with nature & men*
and declaring ourselves her master & mans equal all over, but to
look with a steadfast
& fearless eye upon the things above us
& acknowledge our inferiority, or to compare
ourselves with Him who made us & declare with the propet "Sub-
stantia mea tanquam

Page 4

nihil est ante Te" there is in this something
indeed akin to the heroic if not it itself.
For in what [was] *its heroism except in a*
deathless adherence to truth & especially then
& there where men most fear it. And
what is it that men most fear, is it not
that the truth should be known of themselves?
And forsooth—ought not this be the first to
be confessed seeing that it lies nearest
ourselves? Now the first condition of all
heroism is our fidelity to the prime truth
—God—and now what is prayer else than
the recognition of our true relations with God?
And what is humility except the voluntary
acceptation of that place in God universe
where <u>the</u> our true relations with all things
shall place us? Virtues without which
our pretended truthfullness is a sham &
our heroism a mockery; virtues without
which we become like whitened sepulchres
beautiful without, but within full of
dead mens bones & rottenness.
My dear friend Thorough, yr letter told
me this, that you have seen too much of
truth & desire I hope, too earnestly to
embrace it not to free yrself. True,
protestanism has made such sad work
with the hearts & heads of <u>men</u> some that they really think them-
selves at the

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summit of intelligence & holiness in
having become nothing more than mere
pagans. Well, this is progress indeed,
if you consider it solely as the unlearning
of ones errors, but to him who holds the
truth it is but its starting point. But
you are too young to remain there, you
cannot do it without violence to yr nature,
yours is to build upon this vantage
ground. You have a future. But
how? & what? This question has but
one answer. Of those who were where
you are and have not gone back and

are not doomed to the self same [revelation]
but who still live, love & hope with
greater energy [&] *the peaceful conscious-*
ness & repose that truth alone in [its]
fullness can give, where are they?
Where are they? Ah could I exchange
my heart for yours an instant never
after then would come acrost yr
mind a doubt of their place of habitation.
And could yr intelligence take in this
view of truth that catholicity alone gives
you would add yr testimony to
that of St Augustine of fourteen

Page 6
centuries past: "Too late, have I
known thee O ancient & ever new Truth!
Too late, have I loved Thee o ancient
& every new Beauty!"
Voila my say, my very dear Friend,
& may yr heart be as well disposed
to recieve it as mine is in writing it.
I am now at London where I have
been nearly one year— How long
I shall remain still I don't know
nor care. If you know whether
Chrls Lane has returned & his address,
you will do me a kindness in telling
me when you shall write.
I remember always with pleasure
my stay in Concord & especially the kindness
of yr dear mother & other members of yr
family— Remember me cordially to each
one & to G.W.B. & R.W.E. I should
like G.W.B to see this letter—
I embrace you with a hearty
hug & undeminished affection
St Mary' s *Yrs*
Park Road *I Hecker*
Clapham. London.

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

I. *Civil and Religious Toleration*
II. *H.M. Field's Letter From Rome*
III. *The Church in the Dark Ages*
IV. *Catholic Secular Literature*
V. *The College of the Holy Cross*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON
MAGAZINES

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Protestantism in a Nutshell*
II. *Channing on Christendom and Socialism*
III. *Naomi: or Boston Two Hundred Years Ago*
IV. *Bushnellism: or Orthodoxy and Heresy Identical*

1. *God in Christ*. By Horace Bushnell
2. *Ten Discourses on Orthodoxy.*

V. *The Licentiousness of the Press*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON
MAGAZINES

1850

The Providence Reform School for wayward children was organized at the former Tockwotton[52] Hotel of India Point. This facility would become the core of the Rhode Island reform school for juvenile offenders.[53]

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Largely in response to the presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics in the state, the tax exemption on property used for religious and educational purposes was at this point further limited, to three acres of land, so far as such land was used exclusively for such purposes. This new stipulation immediately became a political issue and was repealed, with all such land "not leased or rented" being again free from taxation. (In 1852 even this restriction would be removed and all property, whether real or personal, that was used in connection with religion and education, or the income of which was devoted to religion or education, would be made totally exempt from taxation. In 1870 the political winds would again blow in the opposite direction and exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies would be again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than $20,000 became taxable. In 1872 this anti-Catholic prejudice would resurface, and the tax exemption would be restricted again to only "buildings for free public schools or for religious worship" and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of

52. Tockwotton is a native American name. The area was originally a plateau and bluff or headland 50 feet in height, facing the Narragansett Bay.

53. "STATE REFORM SCHOOL, THE, Tockwotton Street, corner East, as the name implies, is a school of reformation, where minors sentenced by the courts, together with those intrusted to it by parents or guardians, are instructed in virtue and morality, the common branches of learning, and some useful kind of labor. There are two buildings: the main building of brick, painted white, with a fine portico on two sides in the Doric style, and containing the dormitories, chapel, library, dining-room, etc.; and a brick structure in the rear, used as a workshop. The buildings (with the exception of the workshop) were formerly the Tockwotton Hotel. The property was purchased by the city in 1850, and held by it until July 1, 1880, when it was transferred to the State. The inmates average 190 (170 boys and 20 girls), and the system of management is known as the "congregate." Visitors admitted from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. Governor-st. H. C. In the winter of 1882, the Reform School will be removed to a site near the other State institutions in Cranston, where two cottages for the boys, one for the girls, a workshop, and a superintendent's house, all of stone have been erected at an expense of about $110,000. Here the "open" or family system will probably be adopted."

such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educations institutions, became taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church became again free from taxation, and added to that were the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The USA was designated as an independent province of the Redemptorists. That Catholic order's first US provincial would be a well-known Dutch preacher, Father Bernard Hafkenscheid. The first labor of this group would be that of staffing parishes and giving missions for immigrants speaking the German language, but the provincial soon ordered that the order reach out also to American Catholics who spoke English. Among the first individuals to be implementing this plan would be Father Isaac Hecker, Father Clarence Walworth (who had accompanied Hecker into the Redemptorists), and another priest who had been born in America, Augustine F. Hewit.[54]

54.Hewit, the son of a Congregationalist minister, had been an Episcopalian deacon and had journeyed to Catholicism in 1846.

The Irish who had emigrated to the USA were providing a great deal of, and an increasing amount of, assistance for their Irish relatives on the old sod:

Low Estimates for Total Remittances to Ireland

Year	Pounds
1848	£460,000
1849	£540,000
1850	£957,000
1851	£990,000

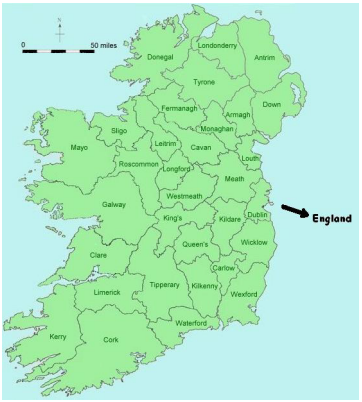
Because of the fact that:

> It is useless to disguise the truth that any great improvement in the social system of Ireland must be founded upon an extensive change in the present state of agrarian occupation, and that this change necessarily implies a long, continued and systematic ejectment of small holders and of squatting cottiers.

the trend among the "improving" absentee landlords of the island had become to hire gangs of thugs who would evict small tenants and tear the roofs from their cottages to make certain they could not come back:

Families Evicted

Year	Families
1847	6,026
1848	9,657
1849	16,686
1850	19,949
1851	13,197



Meanwhile (just to show how parochial and limited such sympathy can be), in Burlington, Vermont, the first parish of French-Canadian Catholics in New England was being formed, but only over the vociferous objections of local Catholics of Irish-American extraction. In general, these Irish-Americans were hostile to competition, and in particular, therefore, they were even hostile to competition from other Catholics, if they happened to be French-Canadian Americans rather than of Irish extraction. These French-Canadian Catholics, such as for one example Alek Therien of Concord, because they had not only an ethnicity problem in Anglo-Saxon New England but also a communication problem, would need to be willing to do harder work for longer hours per day, and for lower wages.[55]

They wouldn't be receiving any sympathy from Frederick Douglass, for in his experience, to be pro-Catholic was to be pro-slavery:

> The two hundred years this curse has set in the sanctuary proves that there is no warfare between slavery and church.

For instance, the Dorr War of Rhode Island, in the vehemence of its anti-Irish and anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant sentiments, was pure Frederick Douglass.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

It is religious bigotry and politics, not the US Constitution, that has created today's monopoly public school system.
In about this decade of the 19th Century, it was Protestant ministers, people who regarded Catholic schools as an abomination, who launched a social movement to create exclusive, government-run public schools, and what they were after were schools controlled by good folks like themselves, Protestants, schools that immigrant Catholic kids could be herded into, in which they would be cleaned up and Americanized and indoctrinated and transformed into hordes of decent little Protestant Americans. The public school movement succeeded in defunding the Catholic schools of New-York, despite the fact that the popular, progressive governor of the state, William Seward, stood with the Catholics in demanding equal treatment for religious schools.Here is the course of instruction for Courtlandville Academy in New York, for the year 1850:

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

SUMMARY OF THE SEVERAL TERMS

FIRST TERM	SECOND TERM	THIRD TERM	OF THE YEAR
Males———42.	Males———63.	Males———71.	Males———111.
Females——64.	Females——79.	Females——71.	Females——131.
Total———106.	Total———142.	Total———142.	Total———242.

NOTICE

55. It may be hard for use to imagine how there could have been harder work for longer hours per day for lower wages, than the Irish Potato Famine survivors were subjected to, or how people subjected to such conditions would meet with other than sympathy and commiseration — but evidently in this world **just any** hardship may be demanded.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION, AND TEXT BOOKS.

Ordinary Elementary Studies.

Weld's and Brown's Grammars; Adam's Davies' University, and Colburn's Intellectual Arithmetics; Harris' Bookkeeping; Town's Analysis; Mitchell's Geography and Outline Maps; Parley's course of History; Sanders' Readers; Webster's Dictionary; Pennmanship, Composition and Declamation.

Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c.

Robinson's and Davies' Bordon's Algebra; Davies' Legendre's Geometry and Trigonometry; Davies' Surveying and Analytical Geometry; Olmsted's Natural Philosophy; Burritt's and Olmsted's Astronomy, with Mattison's Astronomical Maps[56]; Potter's Technology.

Natural Science.

Lincoln's and Wood's Botany; Hitchcock's Geology; Cutter's Human Physiology; Wistar's Pancoast's Anatomy; Johnston's Turner's Chemistry; Comstock's Mineralogy; Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History; Liebeg's Organic Chemistry.

Intellectual, Moral, and Political Science.

Boyd and Newman's Rhetoric; Kaime's Elements of Criticism; Robbins and Taylor's General, and Wilson's U.S. Histories; Wayland's Moral Science and Political Economy; Whateley's Logic; Paley's Natural Theology; — Young's Science of Government; Abercrombie's Intellectual Philosophy; Milton's Poetry, (for analysing.)

Languages.

Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar; Arnold's Practical Latin Exercises; Arnold's Latin Prose Composition; Cooper's Virgil; Schmitz and Zumpt's Caesar; Anthon's "Cicero de Oratore";
Sallust and Horace; Folsom's Livy; Kingsley's Tacitus; Anthon's Classical Dictionary; Leverett's and Ainsworth's Latin Lexicon; Sophocles' and Fisk's Greek Grammar; Arnold's Practical Greek Exercises; Arnold's Greek Prose Composition; Leusden's Greek Testament; Casserly's Jacob's Greek Reader; Xenophon's Anabasis and Memorabillia; Felton's Homer's Illiad and Odyssey; Donnegan's Greek Lexicon; Noel and Chapsal's and Bollmar's French Gramars; "Corinne ou L'Italie"; Vie de Washington; Charles the Twelfth; Siege of Rochelle; Telemarque; Madame De Stael's Germany; La Fontaine's Fables; Boyer's Surenne, and Meadow's Dictionary.

The Text Books in the above list are believed to be best adapted to accomplish the design of this Institution, viz : to furnish a course of study at once through and comprehensive, and that shall prepare the Student to prosecute successfully a more extended course of study, or to enter upon the duties of active life.

The institution has a somewhat extensive and well selected Library, and a handsome set of Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus; all of which is open to the student free from charge.

The Academy buildings are nearly new and highly commodious. This school is located in one

56. Elijah Hinsdale Burritt's THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE HEAVENS.... NEW ED. REV. AND ILLUS. BY HIRAM MATTISON.

of the most healthful and pleasant villages in the State, and amid a society exempt from the vicious influences attending the great thoroughfares of travel. Parents and guardians are assured that no pains will be spared on the part of the instructors to promote the welfare of those entrusted to their care.

The advancement of pupil's in reading, speaking and composition writing, is deemed of primary importance. Exercises in Declamation and Composition are held in the Academy Hall every Wednesday afternoon; and at the close of the winter term, as well as at the close of the Academic year is a public exhibition of the Students in original orations, disputations and essays. Upon all the exercises of the school, public or ordinary, the patrons of the institution, and the friends of education are invited to be present.

The patronage which this school has received, and the favor with which it is now regarded by our citizens, and the public generally, encourage the Trustees to anticipate for it continued and increased prosperity.

The Academic year is divided into three terms, of fourteen weeks each. The first term of the ensuing year will commence on the 4th day of April; the second on the 15th day of August; and the third on the 2d day of December.

THE PRICES OF TUITION in the various studies pursued, are for the Latin, Greek and French Languages, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, with Lectures, Botany, Mathematics, History, Moral and Mental Philosophy, Rhetoric, &c

$5.00 per Term,

Music in addition to other Studies,

$10.00 per Term,

Use of Piano

$2.00 per Term,

Painting and Drawing,

$5.00 per Term,

English Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, Reading, Writing, &c.,

$3.75 per Term,

Young scholars in English branches,

$2.50 per Term,

No bills will be made for less time than half a Term, and Tuition is payable in advance, or promptly at the close of each Term.

Board, including Room, Washing, &c., may be obtained in convenient situations, at prices from $1 25 to $2 per week.
JOSEPH REYNOLDS, President.

January 25, Friday: The New Orleans Catholic Mirror pointed out that American Catholics were nowhere near as inconsistent as American Protestants, in that everywhere they were united in being in favor of human enslavement. They were invulnerable to a Protestant moral theology that varied "with degrees of latitude," Northern white Protestants being opposed to slavery and Southern white Protestants being in favor of it. (Of course, in drawing such a moral, the religious newspaper was carefully evading the fact that Catholic moral theology varied with degrees of **longitude**, those in Europe such as the Pope being opposed to slavery and those in America being in favor of it — disregarding the opposition that had been declared since 1839 by the person they regarded as their supreme spiritual leader.)

IRELAND

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. ***An A Priori Autobiography***
II. ***Guevara in the Veneration of Images***
III. ***Longfellow's Evangeline and Kavanagh***
IV. ***Conversations of an Old Man***
V. ***Religion in Society***
VI. **Literary Notices and Criticisms**

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. ***Bishop England's Works*** **[The works of Bishop England, first bishop of Charlestown]**
II. ***Morell's Philosophy of Religion***
III. ***Reply to the Mercesburg Review***
IV. ***Conversations of an Old Man*****, No. II**
V. ***The Presidential Veto***
VI. **Literary Notices and Criticisms**

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

I. *St. Peter and Mahomet* [Popes protecting Christendom from Mahometanism]

II. *The Christian Examiner's Defence*

III. *Capes's Four Years Experience*

IV. *The Mercesburg Theology*

V. *Conversations of an Old Man*, No. III

VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

September 26, Thursday: In London, the first column of what would be the Crystal Palace was being raised.

Restrictions were set on the French press by President Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte.

Henry Thoreau and Ellery Channing were just south of Plattsburg, Vermont and got their first fair view of Lake Champlain, (still, incidentally, a fair view):

CANADA
QUÉBEC

Above all the church of Notre Dame was conspicuous, and anon the Bonsecours Market-House occupying a commanding position on the quay, in the rear of the shipping. This city makes the more favorable impression from being approached by water, and also being built of stone, a gray limestone found on the island. Here, after travelling directly inland the whole breadth of New England, we had struck upon a city's harbor, –it made on me the impression of a sea-port,– to which ships of six hundred tons can ascend, and where vessels drawing fifteen feet lie close to the wharf, — five hundred and forty miles from the Gulf; the St. Lawrence being here two miles wide. There was a great crowd assembled on the ferry-boat wharf, and on the quay, to receive the Yankees, and flags of all colors were streaming from the vessels to celebrate their arrival. When the gun was fired, the gentry hurrahed again and again, and then the Canadian caleche drivers, who were most interested in the matter, and who, I perceived, were separated from the former by a fence, hurrahed their welcome; first the broad-cloth, then the home-spun.

It was early in the afternoon when we stepped ashore. With a single companion I soon found my way to the church of Notre Dame. I saw that it was of great size and signified something. It is said to be the largest ecclesiastical structure in North America, and can seat ten thousand. It is two hundred fifty-five and a half feet long, and the groined ceiling is eighty feet above your head. The Catholic are the only churches which I have seen worth remembering, which are not almost wholly prophane. I do not speak only of the rich and splendid like this, but of the humblest of them as well. Coming from the hurrahing mob and the rattling carriages, we pushed aside the listed door of this church and found ourselves instantly in an atmosphere which might be sacred to thought and religion if one had any. There sat one or two women who had stolen a moment from the concerns of the day as they were passing; but if there had been fifty people there, it would still have been the most solitary place imaginable. They did not look up at us, nor did one regard another. We walked softly down the broad-aisle with our hats in our hands. Presently came in a troop of Canadians, in their homespun, who had come to the city in the boat with us, and one and all kneeled down in the aisle before the high altar to their devotions, somewhat awkwardly, as cattle prepare to lie down, and there we left them. As if you were to catch some farmer's sons from Marlboro, come to Cattleshow, silently kneeling in Concord meetinghouse some Wednesday! Would there not soon be a mob peeping in at the windows? It is true, these Roman Catholics, priests and all, impress me as a people who have fallen far behind the significance of their symbols. It is as if an ox had strayed into a church and were trying to bethink himself. Nevertheless, they are capable of reverence; but we Yankees are a people in whom this sentiment has nearly died out, and in this respect we cannot bethink ourselves even as oxen.
I did not mind the pictures nor the candles, whether tallow or tin. Those of the former which I looked at appeared tawdry. It matters little to me whether the pictures are by a neophyte of the Algonquin or the Italian tribe. But I was impressed by the quiet religious atmosphere of the place. It was a great cave in the midst of a city, –and what were the altars and the tinsel but the sparkling stalactites,– into which you entered in a moment, and where the still atmosphere and the sombre light disposed to serious and profitable thought. Such a cave at hand, which you can enter any day, is worth a thousand of our churches which are open only on Sundays, –hardly long enough for an airing,– and then filled with a bustling congregation. A church where the priest is the least part, where you do your own preaching, where the universe preaches to you and can be heard. I am not sure but this Catholic religion would be an admirable one if the priest were quite omitted. I think that I might go to church myself sometimes, some Monday, if I lived in a city where there was such a one to go to. In Concord, to be sure, we do not need such. Our forests are such a church, far grander and more sacred. We dare not leave ***our*** meetinghouses open for fear they would be prophaned. Such a cave, such a shrine, in one of our groves, for instance, how long would it be respected — for what purposes would it be entered, by such baboons as we are? I think of its value not only to religion, but to philosophy and poetry; beside a Reading Room to have a Thinking Room in every city! Perchance the time will come when every house even will have not only its sleeping rooms, and dining room, and talking room or parlor, but its Thinking Room also, and the architects will put it into their plans. Let it be furnished and ornamented with whatever conduces to serious and creative thought. I should not object to the holy water, or any other simple symbol, if it were consecrated by the imagination of the worshippers.

I heard that some Yankees bet that the candles here were not wax but tin. A European assured them that they were wax; but inquiring of the sexton he was surprised to learn that they were tin filled with oil. The church was too poor to afford wax. As for the Protestant churches, here, as elsewhere, they did not interest me, for it is only as caves that churches interest me at all, and in that respect they were inferior.

We got our first fair view of the lake at dawn, just before reaching Plattsburg, and saw blue ranges of mountains on either hand, in New York and in Vermont, the former especially grand. A few white schooners, like gulls, were seen in the distance, for it is not waste and solitary like a lake in Tartary; but it was such a view as leaves not much to be said.… The number of French Canadian gentlemen and ladies among the passengers, and the sound of the French language, advertised us by this time, that we were being whirled toward some foreign vortex. And now we have left Rouse's Point, and entered the Sorel River, and passed the invisible barrier between the States and Canada. The shores of the Sorel, Richelieu, or St. John's River, were flat and reedy, where I had expected something more rough and mountainous for a natural boundary between two nations. Yet I saw a difference at once, in the few huts, in the pirogues on the shore, and as it were, in the shore itself. This was an interesting scenery to me, and the very reeds or rushes in the shallow water, and the tree tops in the swamps, have left a pleasing impression. We had still a distant view behind us of two or three blue mountains in Vermont and New York. About nine o'clock in the forenoon we reached St. John's, an old frontier post three hundred and six miles from Boston and twenty-four from Montreal. We now discovered that we were in a foreign country, in a station-house of another nation. This building was a barn-like structure looking as if it were the work of the villagers combined, like a log-house in a new settlement. My attention was caught by the double advertisements in French and English fastened to its posts, by the formality of the English, and the covert or open reference to their queen and the British lion. No gentlemanly conductor appeared, none whom you would know to be the conductor by his dress and demeanor; but ere long we began to see here and there a solid, red-faced, burly-looking Englishman, a little pursy perhaps, who made us ashamed of ourselves and our thin and nervous countrymen, — a grandfatherly personage at home in his great coat, who looked as if he might be a stage proprietor, certainly a rail-road director, and knew, or had a right to know when the cars did start. Then there were two or three pale-faced, black-eyed, loquacious Canadian French gentlemen there, shrugging their shoulders; pitted as if they had all had the small pox. In the mean while some soldiers, red-coats, belonging to the barracks nearby, were turned out to be drilled. At every important point in our route the soldiers showed themselves ready for us; though they were evidently rather raw recruits here, they manœuvred far better than our soldiers; yet, as usual, I heard some Yankees talk as if they were no great shakes, and they had seen the Acton Blues manœuvre as well. The officers spoke sharply to them, and appeared to be doing their part thoroughly. I heard one, suddenly coming to the rear, exclaim, "Michael Donouy, take his name!" though I could not see what the latter did or omitted to do. It was whispered that Michael Donouy would have to suffer for that. I heard some of our party discussing the possibility of their driving these troops off the field with their umbrellas. I thought that the Yankee, though undisciplined, had this advantage at least, that he especially is a man who, everywhere and under all circumstances, is fully resolved to better his condition essentially, and therefore he could afford to be beaten at first; while the virtue of the Irishman, and to a great extent the Englishman, consists in merely maintaining his ground or condition. The Canadians here, a rather poor-looking race clad in grey homespun, which gave them the appearance of being covered with dust, were riding about in caleches and small one-horse carts called charettes. The Yankees assumed that all the riders were racing, or at least exhibiting the paces of their horses, and saluted them accordingly. We saw but little of the village here, for nobody could tell us when the cars would start; that was kept a profound secret, perhaps for political reasons; and therefore we were tied to our seats. The inhabitants of St. John's and vicinity are described by an English traveller as "singularly unprepossessing," and before completing his period he adds, "besides, they are generally very much disaffected to the British Crown." I suspect that that "besides" should have been a because.

At length about noon the cars began to roll toward La Prairie. The whole distance of fifteen miles was over a remarkably level country, resembling a western prairie, with the mountains about Chambly visible in the north-east. This novel, but monotonous, scenery was exciting. At La Prairie we first took notice of the tinned roofs, but, above all, of the St. Lawrence, which looked like a lake, in fact it is considerably expanded here; it was nine miles across diagonally to Montreal. Mount Royal in the rear of the city and the island of St. Helens opposite to it, were now conspicuous. We could also see the Sault St. Louis about five miles up the river, and the Sault Norman still further eastward. The former are described as the most considerable rapids in the St. Lawrence; but we could see merely a gleam of light there as from a cobweb in the sun. Soon the city of Montreal was discovered with its tin roofs shining afar. Their reflections fell on the eye like a clash of cymbals on the ear.

Montreal makes the impression of a larger city than you had expected to find, though you may have heard that it contains nearly sixty thousand inhabitants. In the newer parts it appeared to be growing fast like a small New York, and to be considerably Americanized. The names of the squares reminded you of Paris — the Champ de Mars, the Place d'Armes, and others, and you felt as if a French revolution might break out any moment. Glimpses of Mount Royal rising behind the town, and the names of some streets in that direction made one think of Edinburgh. That hill sets off this city wonderfully. I inquired at a principal bookstore for books published in Montreal. They said that there were none but school books, and the like, they got their books from the States. From time to time we met a priest in the streets, for they are distinguished by their dress, like the ***civil*** police. Like clergymen generally, with or without the gown, they made on us the impression of effeminacy. We also met some Sisters of Charity, dressed in black, with Shaker-shaped black bonnets and crosses, and cadaverous faces, who looked as if they had almost cried their eyes out, — their complexions parboiled with scalding tears; insulting the daylight by their presence, having taken an oath not to smile. By cadaverous, I mean that their faces were like the faces of those who have been dead and buried for a year, and then untombed, with the life's grief upon them, and yet, for some unaccountable reason, the process of decay arrested.

> "Truth never fails her servant, Sir, nor leaves him
> With the day's shame upon him."

They waited demurely on the side-walk while a truck laden with raisins was driven in at the seminary of St. Sulpice, never once lifting their eyes from the ground.

The soldier here, as everywhere in Canada, appeared to be put forward, and by his best foot. They were in the proportion of the soldiers to the laborers in an African ant-hill. The inhabitants evidently rely on them in a great measure, for music and entertainment. You would meet with them pacing back and forth before some guard-house or passage way, guarding, regarding, and disregarding all kinds of law by turns, apparently for the sake of the discipline to themselves, and not because it was important to exclude anybody from entering that way. They reminded me of the men who are paid for piling up bricks and then throwing them down again. On every prominent ledge you could see England's hands holding the Canadas, and I judged by the redness of her knuckles that she would soon have to let go. In the rear of such a guard-house, in a large gravelled square or parade ground, called the Champ de Mars, we saw a large body of soldiers being drilled, we being as yet the only spectators. But they did not appear to notice us any more than the devotees in the church, but were seemingly as indifferent to fewness of spectators as the phenomena of nature are, whatever they might have been thinking under their helmets of the Yankees that were to come. Each man wore white kid gloves. It was one of the most interesting sights which I saw in Canada. The problem appeared to be, how to smooth down all individual protuberances or idiosyncrasies, and make a thousand men move as one man, animated by one central will, and there was some approach to success. They obeyed the signals of a commander who stood at a great distance, wand in hand, and the precision, and promptness, and harmony of their movements, could not easily have been matched. The harmony was far more remarkable than that of any quire or band, and obtained, no doubt, at a greater cost. They made on me the impression, not of many individuals, but of one vast centipede of a man, good for all sorts of pulling down; — and why not then for some kinds of building up? If men could combine thus earnestly, and patiently, and harmoniously, to some really worthy end, what might they not accomplish? They now put their hands, and partially perchance their heads, together, and the result is that they are the imperfect tools of an imperfect and tyrannical government. But if they could put their hands and heads and hearts and all together, such a cooperation and harmony would be the very end and success for which government now exists in vain — a government, as it were, not only with tools, but stock to trade with.

I was obliged to frame some sentences that sounded like French in order to deal with the market women, who, for the most part, cannot speak English. According to the guide-book the relative population of this city stands nearly thus. Two fifths are French Canadian; nearly one-fifth British Canadian; one and a half fifth English, Irish, and Scotch; somewhat less than one half fifth Germans, United States people, and others. I saw nothing like pie for sale, and no good cake to put in my bundle, such as you can easily find in our towns, but plenty of fair-looking apples, for which Montreal Island is celebrated, and also pears, cheaper and I thought better than ours, and peaches, which, though they were probably brought from the south, were as cheap as they commonly are with us. So imperative is the law of demand and supply that, as I have been told, the market of Montreal is sometimes supplied with green apples from the state of New York some weeks even before they are ripe in the latter place.

I saw here the spruce wax which the Canadians chew, done up in little silvered papers, a penny a roll; also a small and shrivelled fruit which they called *cerises* mixed with many little stems somewhat like raisins, but I soon returned what I had bought, finding them rather insipid, only putting a sample in my pocket. Since my return, I find on comparison that it is the fruit of the sweet viburnum (*viburnum lentago*) which with us rarely holds on till it is ripe.

I stood on the deck of the steamer John Munn, late in the afternoon, when the second and third ferry-boats arrived from La Prairie bringing the remainder of the Yankees. I never saw so many caleches, cabs, charrettes, and similar vehicles, collected before, and doubt if New York could easily furnish more. The handsome and substantial stone quay which stretches a mile along the river side and protects the street from the ice, was thronged with the citizens who had turned out on foot and in carriages to welcome or to behold the Yankees. It was interesting to see the caleche drivers dash up and down the slopes of the quay with their active little horses. They drive much faster than in our cities. I have been told that some of them come nine miles into the city every morning and return every night, without changing their horses during the day. In the midst of the crowd of carts, I observed one deep one loaded with sheep with their legs tied together, and their bodies piled one upon another. As if the driver had forgotten that they were sheep and not yet mutton. A sight, I trust, peculiar to Canada, though I fear that it is not.

About six o'clock we started for Quebec, one hundred and eighty miles distant by the river; gliding past Longueil and Boucherville on the right, and *Pointe aux Trembles*, "so called from having been originally covered with aspens," and *Bout de l'Isle*, or the End of the Island, on the left. I repeat these names not merely for want of more substantial facts to record, but because they sounded singularly poetic to my ears. There certainly was no lie in them. They suggested that some simple and perchance heroic human life might have transpired there. There is all the poetry in the world in a name. It is a poem which the mass of men hear and read. What is poetry in the common sense but a string of such jingling names. I want nothing better than a good word. The name of a thing may easily be more than the thing itself to me. Inexpressibly beautiful appears the recognition by man of the least natural fact, and the allying his life to it. All the world reiterating this slender truth, that aspens once grew there; and the swift inference is, that men were there to see them. And so it would be with the names of our native and neighboring villages, if we had not profaned them.

The daylight now failed us and we went below, but I endeavored to console myself for being obliged to make this voyage by night by thinking that I did not lose a great deal, the shores being low and rather unattractive, and that the river itself was much the most interesting object. I heard something in the night about the boat being at William Henry, Three Rivers, and in the Richelieu Rapids, but I still where I had been when I lost sight of *Pointe aux Trembles*. To hear a man who has been waked up at midnight in the cabin of a steamboat, inquiring, –"Waiter, where are we now?"– is as if at any moment of the earth's revolution round the sun, or of the system round its centre, one were to raise himself up and inquire of one of the deck hands, — Where are we now?

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Vincenzo Gioberti*
II. *The Confessional*
III. *Dana's Poems and Prose Writings*
IV. *The Cuban Expedition*
V. *Conversations of an Old Man*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1851

The Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy established St. Aloysius Home in their convent on Claverick Street in Providence, Rhode Island near the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul. (By 1862 this orphanage –the oldest continuous social welfare agency in the diocese– would be occupying a better building, on Prairie Avenue.)

At the Yearly Meeting School on top of the hill, a barn had burned down and was replaced with one built of stone. Board and tuition stood at $72 per year per young scholar, plus a surcharge for the occasional non-Quaker pupil. The school staff and the scholars began a practice of walking down the hill to the Providence meetinghouse at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street, for worship both at a Sunday afternoon worship and at a Midweek worship (presumably, non-Quaker scholars would have been exempted from this).

It would appear that during this period Father Thomas (who had been at Brook Farm under the name Isaac Hecker) became confessor for Mrs. Sophia Dana Ripley.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Bushnell on the Trinity*

II. The Hungarian Rebellion

1. *The Village Notary; a Romance of Hungarian Life*, by Otto Wenckstern

2. *Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady*, by Theresa Pulszky

3. *The Hungarian Revolution*, by Johann Pragay

4. *Parallels between the Hungarian and British Constitutions*, by J. Toulmin Smith

5. *The Christian Examiner, for May, 1850, Art. VIII*

III. *The Canon of the Scripture*

IV. *The Higher Law* [Conscience and the Constitution, with remarks on a recent speech by Hon. Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States on the subject of Slavery.]

V. *The Decline of Protestantism*

VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

April 6, Sunday-20, Sunday: Soon after Isaac Hecker's return to the US, he and ten other members of Father Bernard Hafkenscheid's cadre of revivalists conducted a mission at St. Joseph's Church in Greenwich Village, New York City. The overwhelming success of this mission was, they say, what began the practice of organized and systematic missions for English-speaking Catholic parishes in the United States.[57] Success has a million children, and soon even Jesuits would be creating such cadres to conduct such missions, but in America it was the Redemptorists who were there firstest with the mostest, and Father Thomas had been right in there with the firstest.

May 12, Monday: Thoreau made a remark in his journal by which we can estimate the extent of his negativity toward "priests" of religion, such as what Father Isaac Hecker had made of himself after his persuasion into the Roman Catholic faith. Somehow to his way of thinking this is not unlike anesthesia:

May 12, Monday: Heard the Golden robin & the Bobolink

57. What, in the 19th Century, was a "mission" event? Each such event would occupy several days. The core consisted of presence for a series of intensely emotional sermons and the experience was designed to induce a collective religious rejuvenation, coordinated through a series of liturgical events and pious practices. —Does this sound something like today's religious "retreat"? Through a series of such retreats or missions, Father Clarence Walworth would gain renown as an eloquent, fervent sermonizer, Father Augustine F. Hewit would gain renown for clear enunciation of dogma, and Father Isaac Hecker would gain renown for the effectiveness of his instructional lessons.

But where she has her seat whether in Westport or in Boxboro, not even the assessors know– Inquire perchance of that dusky family on the cross road which is said to have Indian blood in their veins –or perchance where this old cellar hole now grassed over is faintly visable Nature once had her dwelling– Ask the crazy old woman who brings huckleberries to the village, but who lives no body knows where.

If I have got false teeth, I trust that I have not got a false conscience. It is safer to employ the dentist than the priest – to repair the deficiencies of Nature.

ETHER

By taking the ether the other day I was convinced how far asunder a man could be separated from his senses You are told that it will make you unconscious – but no one can imagine what it is to be unconscious – how far removed from the state of consciousness & all that we call "this world" until he has experienced it. The value of the experiment is that it does give you experience of an interval as between one life and another – A greater space than you ever travelled. you are a sane mind with out organs – groping for organs – which if it did not soon recover its old sense would get new ones – You expand like a seed in the ground. You exist in your roots – like a tree in the winter. If you have an inclination to travel take the ether – you go beyond the furthest star.

It is not necessary for them to take ether who in their sane & waking hours are ever translated by a thought – nor for them to see with their hindheads – who sometimes see from their foreheads – nor listen to the spiritual knockings who attend to the intimations of reason & conscience.

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Bushnell on the Incarnation*

II. *The Hungarian Rebellion*

III. *Webster's Answer to Hülsemann* [Daniel Webster concerning Austria]

IV. *Savonarola*

V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: The friends Orestes Augustus Brownson and Isaac Hecker were able to get together again, for the first time since they had gone off on their respective excellent adventures in 1845. By this time Brownson was not only an essayist and a publisher, but also a welcome lecturer who made regular tours of paying Catholic audiences in New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, at times venturing on through the major cities of the Midwest and the South, and even as far as Montréal. Among the favorite hobby-horses about which he was lecturing were "The Compatibility between Democracy and Catholicism" in which to be an American Catholic was to be a member of the Democratic Party whether or not one was officially enrolled and vice versa, "Catholicity and Civilization" in which to be in favor of civilization was to be in favor of the Holy Roman Catholic Church whether or not one recognized that fact and vice versa, and "Civil and Religious Liberty" in which one had true civil liberty if and only if one had true religious liberty and true religious liberty amounted to freedom to know the truth and the truth was what Orestes Brownson speaking on behalf of the True Church said that it was. (How he was getting away with this is anybody's guess. Presumably the Church in America was pulling together under the real external threat of Protestant viciousness and narrow-mindedness, represented by among other antiRomanist organizations a party whose members described **themselves** as "Know-Nothings," and in this siege mentality Brownson had to be countenanced. But the man had genius, in positioning himself so that as a paid lecturer to the faithful he was able to put himself across to his audiences as Defender of the Faith.)

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Cooper's Ways of the Hour*

II. *Nature and Faith* [Essays on the Errors of Romanism having their origin in Human Nature.]

III. *Bushnell on the Mystery of the Redemption*

IV. *The French Republic*

V. *The Fugitive Slave Law*

VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

CATHOLICISM

I. *Newman on the True Basis of Theology*

II. *Saint-Bonnet on Social Restoration*

III. *The Hungarian Nation*

IV. *The Edinburgh Review on Ultramontane Doubts*

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1852

Klemens Brentano's THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY was published in München. Never mind that the writing seemed Antisemitic, what's that got to do with anything?

ANNE CATHERINE EMMERICH
CATHOLICISM

Jew's Hospital was established in New-York (this would later be renamed Mt. Sinai Hospital).

JUDAISM

For the following three decades, Edward Jarvis would be President of the American Statistical Association.

Due to the rapid increase, largely as a result of immigration, of the Roman Catholic minority, by this year of the convening of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore the Church had become the largest religious institution in the USA. This statistic did not go unnoticed at the time, as witness the incredible viciousness and narrow-mindedness of the Know-Nothings, whose AntiPapist furor would last into 1856.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

January 23, Friday: The case of John Gordon, hanged for the murder of Amasa Sprague, had been being discussed in Rhode Island for seven years. Had he been guilty of a crime, or had he been the innocent Catholic/Irish impoverished immigrant victim of a rush to judgment and a judicial murder?

The Orléans family (the former ruling house) was banned from France by President Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte.

January 23, Friday: The snow is so deep & the cold so intense that the crows [**American Crow *Corvus brachyrhynchos***] are compelled to be very bold in seeking their food – and come very near the houses in the village. One is now walking about & pecking the dung in the street in front of Frank Munroe's. They remind me as they sail along over the street of the turkey buzzards of the south & perhaps many hard winters in

succession would make them as tame.
There is a vegetable life as well as a spiritual & animal life in us – for the hair & nails continue to grow after the *anima* has left the body & the spiritual & animal life it is dead. There is also probably an inorganic mineral life.
The surface of the snow on the 20th was not yet disturbed or rippled even by the wind.
P.m. Deep Cut going to Fair Haven Hill No music from the telegraph harp on the causeway – where the wind is strong but in the cut this cold day I hear memorable strains. What must the birds & beasts think where it passes through woods – who heard only the squeaking of the trees before? I should think that these strains would get into their music at last. Will not the mocking bird be heard one day inserting this strain in his medley? It intoxicates me. Orpheus is still alive – All poetry and mythology revive – The spirits of all bards sweep the strings. I hear the clearest silver lyre-like tones – Tertaean tones. I think of menander & the rest – It is the most glorious music I ever heard. All those bards revive & flourish again in that half-hour in the deep-cut. The breeze came through an oak still wearing its dry leaves The very fine clear tones seemed to come from the very core & pith of the telegraph pole. I know not but it is my own chords that tremble so divinely. There are barytones – & high sharp tones &c Some come sweeping seemingly from further along the wire. The latent music of the earth had found here a vent. Music AEolian – There were 2 strings in fact one each side

AEOLIAN HARP

I do not know but this will make me read the Greek poets. Thus as ever the finest uses of things are the accidental. Mr Morse did not invent this music.
I see where the squirrels have torn the pine-cones in pieces for the sake of to come at their seeds. And in some cases the **mice**? have nibbled the buds of the pitch pines where the plums have been bent down by the snow.
The Blue Hills of Milton are now White.
Lindley in Loudon dismisses the winter berries by saying "The species are low shrubs of little beauty."
There are some whose ears help me so that my things have a rare significance when I read to them. It is almost too good a hearing – so that for the time I regard my own writing from too favorable a point of view.
Just before sunset there were few clouds or specks to be seen in the western sky – but the sun gets down lower, and many dark clouds are made visible – their sides toward us being darkened. In the bright light they were but floating feathers of vapor – now they swell into dark evening clouds.
It is a fair sunset with many purplish fishes in the horizon – pinkish & golden with bright edges – like a school of purplish whales they sail or float down from the north – Or like leopards skins they hang in the west. – If the sun goes behind a cloud – it is still reflected from the least haziness or vapor in that part of the sky – the air is so clear – and the after glow is remarkably long – And now the blaze is put out – and only a few glowing clouds like the flickering light of the fire skirt the west. And now only the brands and embers mixed with smoke make an Indian red along the horizon. And the new moon[58] & the evening star together preside over the twilight scene.

VENUS

The thermometer was at 21° this morning
Some botanical names have originated in a mere blunder. Thus the *Cytharexyllum melanocardium* of the West Ind. "called by the French *fidele*, from its faithfulness or durability in building," the English have corrupted into fiddle-wood & so the genus goes. It is unfit for musical instruments – Lindley

58. January 21st and 22nd had been the nights of no moon.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Christianity and Heathenism*

II. *Willitoft, or Protestant Persecution* [Willitoft, or the Days of James the First]

III. *Piratical Expeditions against Cuba*

IV. *Continental Prospects*

V. *Sick Calls* [from the diaries of a missionary priest]

VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Existence of God*

II. *The Two Worlds, Catholic and Gentile*

III. *Austria and Hungary*

IV. *Paganism in Education*

V. *Reason and Revelation*

VI. *Protestantism and Government*

VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

July 25, Sunday: Dedication of the present St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church structure in Newport, Rhode Island.

July 25, Sunday: 4 Am. to Cliffs

This early twitter or breathing of chip birds in the dawn sounds like something organic in the earth. This is a morning celebrated by birds. Our blue-bird sits on the peak of the house & warbles as in the spring –but as he does not now by day. This morning is all the more glorious for a white fog –which though not universal is still very extensive over all lowlands –some 50 feet high or more –though there was none at 10 last night– There are white cob-webs on the grass. The battalions of the fog are continually on the move. How hardy are cows that lie in the fog chewing the cud all night. They wake up with no stiffness in their limbs. They are indifferent to fogs as frogs to water –like hippopotami fitted are they to dwell ever on the river bank of this world –fitted to meadows & their vicissitudes. I see where in pastures of short firm turf they have pulled up the grass by the roots & it lies scattered in small tufts. (To anticipate a little when I return this way I find two farmers loading their cart with dirt –and they are so unmanly as to excuse themselves to me for working this sunday morning – by saying –with a serious face that they are burying a cow –which died last night –after some month of sickness –which however they unthinkingly admit that they killed last night being the most convenient time for them –

and I see that they are now putting more loads of soil over her body to save the manure– How often men will betray their sense of guilt and hence their actual guilt by their excuses –where no guilt necessarily was. I remarked that it must be cold for a cow lying in such fogs all night but one answered properly– "Well, I dont know how it may be with a sick cow, but it wont hurt a well crittur any." The ditch stone crop is abundant in the now dry pool by the roadside near Hubbards.) From Fair Haven Hill –the sun having risen –I see great wreathes of fog far NE revealing the course of the river –a noble sight –as it were the river elevated –or rather the ghost of the ample stream that once flowed to ocean between these now distant uplands in another geological period –filling the broad meadows.– The dews saved to the earth by this great musketaquid condenser refrigerator and now the rising sun makes glow with downiest white the ample wreathes which rise higher than the highest trees. The farmers that lie slumbering on this their day of rest how little do they know of this stupendous pageant. The bright fresh aspect of the woods glistening with moisture when the early sun falls on them (As I came along the whole earth resounded with the crowing of cocks –from the eastern unto the western horizon, and as I passed a yard I saw a white rooster on the topmost rail of a fence pouring forth his challenges for destiny to come ove –

This salutation was travelling round the world Some six hours since had resounded through England France & Spain –then the sun passed over a belt of silence where the atlantic flows –except a clarion here & there from some cooped up cock upon the waves –till greeted with a general all hail along the Atlantic shore. Looking now from the rocks –the fog is a perfect sea over the great Sudbury meadows in the SW –commencing at the base of this cliff & reaching to the hills south of Wayland & further still to Framingham –through which only the tops of the higher hills are seen as islands –great bays of the sea many miles across where the largest fleets would find ample room –& in which countless farms & farm houses are immersed. The fog rises highest over the channel of the river and over the ponds in the woods which are thus revealed– I clearly distinguish where white pond lies by this sign –and various other ponds methinks to which I have walked 10 or 12 miles distant, & I distinguish the course of the assabet far in the west & SW beyond the woods Every valley is densely packed with the downy vapor– What levelling on a great scale is done thus for the eye! The fog rises to the top of round hill in the sudbury meadows whose sunburnt yellow grass makes it look like a low sand bar in the ocean and I can judge thus pretty accurately what hills are higher than this by their elevation above the surface of the fog. Every meadow & water-course makes an arm of this bay– The primeval banks make thus a channel which only the fogs of late summer & autumn fogs fill. The Wayland hills make a sort of promontory or peninsula like some Nahant. If I look across thither I think of the sea monsters that swim in that sea –& of the wrecks that strew the bottom many fathom deep— — where in an hour when this sea dries up farms will smile & farmhouses be revealed.– A certain thrilling vastness or wasteness it now suggests. This is one of those ambrosial white –ever-memorable fogs presaging fair weather– It produces the most picturesque and grandest effects –as it rises & travels hither & thither enveloping & concealing trees & forests & hills– It is lifted up now into quite a little white **mt** over Fair Haven Bay and even on its skirts only the tops of the highest pines are seen above it –& all adown the river it has an uneven outline like a rugged **mt** ridge in one place some rainbow tints and far far in the S horizon near the further verge of the sea over Saxonville? is heaved up into great waves as if there were breakers there. In the mean while the wood thrush [***Catharus*** ***mustelina***] & the jay & the robin sing around me here, & birds are heard singing from the midst of the fog. And in one short hour this sea will all evaporate & the sun be reflected from farm windows on its green bottom. It is a rare music the earliest bee's hum amid the flowers –revisiting the flower bells just after sunrise.

Of flowers observed before June 11th the following I know or think to be still in blossom viz—
Stellaria media
Shepherd's purse Probably
Potentilla Canadensis
Columbine?
Hedyotis
Grasses & Sedges
Sorrel??
Trifolium procumbens yel. clover
Celandine
Red Clover

in favorable moist & shady places
Tall Crowfoot

Forget-me-not common
Hypoxis erecta
Blue-eyed grass scarce
Sarracenia??
Nuphars both not numerous
Ranunculus Purshii??
Ribwort
Cotton-grass common
Rubus Canadensis?
Cistus very scarce
Canada Snap Dragon Potentilla argentea not very common?
White-weed may be here & there
White clover??
Meadow-rue very common
High blackberry?
Bitter-sweet still.
Yarrow very common
Knawel?
Utricularia vulgaris?

Gone out of Blossom since June 10th (of those observed after June 10th before June 24th) the following

Iris versicolor
Broom rape?
Fumaria?
Viburnums
Dracaena
Carrion-flower
Cornels
Silene antirrhina?
Erigeron strigosum
Wax-work?
Large purple orchises.
Hound's tongue?
Tufted Loose-strife
4 leaved " ??
A veronica
Aralia hispida
Grape vines
Moss rose & early straight thorned (?)
Pyrolas?
Swamp pink? may linger somewhere
Prinos laevigatus
Pogonia?
Iris Virginica
Elder?
Mitchella?
Diervilla
Mt Laurel
Sweet briar.

Of those observed between June 10th & 24th the following are still common.

Marsh speedwell

Floating heart
Mullein
Dog's bane
Cow wheat
Butter & eggs
Prunella
Epilobium
Some or most galiums.

Brownson's Quarterly Review Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Morris on the Incarnation*
II. *"The Reformation" in Ireland*
III. *The Works of Daniel Webster*
IV. *Gury's Moral Theology*
V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

CATHOLICISM

I. *Bancroft's History of the United States*
II. *The Christian Register's Objections*
III. *Politics and Political Parties*
IV. *Rights and Duties*
V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Worship of Mary*
II. *The Two Orders, Spiritual and Temporal*
III. *Father Gury's Moral Theology*
IV. *Protestantism Not a Religion*
V. *Catholics of England and Ireland*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Spiritual Not for the Temporal*
II. *Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton*
III. *A Consistent Protestant*
IV. *The Love of Mary*
V. *Dangers which Threaten Catholics*
VI. *Ethics of Controversy*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Brownson's Quarterly Review

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Spiritual Order Supreme*
II *Mother Seton and St. Joseph's*
III. *Philosophical Studies on Christianity*
IV. *Wallis's Spain*
V. *The Fathers of the Desert*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *The Eclipse of Faith*
II. *Garneau's History of Canada*
III. *"Errors of the Church of Rome"*
IV. *J. V. H. On Brownson's Review*
V. *Cardinal Wiseman's Essays*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

1854

Judah Touro died, leaving more than half a million dollars to various Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish charities (half a million dollars was serious money in those days). His will established, also, a Ministerial Fund for the empty synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island at which his father had once officiated while there were still Jews living in that town.

TOURO SYNAGOGUE

Father Bernard Flood began regular Catholic masses in Concord.

The American (AKA Know-Nothing) Party, an anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, anti-slavery party, ran in opposition to the Whig party and obtained an election landslide in Massachusetts, receiving more votes than the Whigs, Democrats, National (pro-slavery) Democrats, and Free-Soilers all put together, putting into office their entire state ticket and seizing every seat in the Federal legislature that was open.

"To understand is not to forgive. It is only to understand. It is not an end but a beginning."

— Rebecca West

However, Simon Brown of Concord, himself not much of a bigot, managed to get himself elected Lieutenant-Governor as part of this slate — and then as the political climate would gradually become less inflamed he would gradually come out of the closet, as an abolitionist.

Dr. Edward Jarvis was appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to the Lunacy Commission, to study the insane population of the state.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Uncle Jack and His Nephew*
II. *Schools of Philosophy*
III. *The Case of Martin Koszta*
IV. *"You go Too Far"* [The Power of the Pope during the Middle Ages]
V. *Hillard's Six Months in Italy*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Uncle Jack and His Nephew*
II. *Protestantism Developed*
III. *Temporal Power of the Popes*
IV. *Where is Italy?*
V. *The Mercesburg Hypothesis*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

July: Someone bombed the Catholic Church in Dorchester.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

August 6, Sunday: In the afternoon Henry Thoreau went on the Concord River to Tarbell Hills (Buttrick's Hill, Davis's Hill, and Ball's Hill at the W. Tarbell place, Gleason C8-D9).

On this day and the following one there would be anti-Catholic rioting by the nativists of Louisville, Kentucky (the Irish district of town would be attacked with small arms and cannon).

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

August 7, Monday: The Barony of Knyphausen was annexed by Oldenburg.

On this day and the following one there would be anti-Catholic rioting by the nativists of St. Louis, Missouri (10 would be killed and 30 injured).

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

In the afternoon Henry Thoreau walked on Peter's Path (Gleason E7-E9) to Beck Stow's Swamp (Gleason E9), and thence to Walden Pond.

A remark was made about WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS by "Algoma" (Charles Creighton Hazewell) in his column titled "Our Boston Correspondence" in the New-York Herald, page 6, column 2.

> Mr. Thoreau's new work, "Walden, or Life in the Woods," is advertised to be out on the 9th.

TIMELINE OF WALDEN

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Uncle Jack and His Nephew*
II. *The Roman Revolution*
III. *Native Americanism*
IV. *Schools and Education*
V. *The Turkish War*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

September 14, Thursday: At 6 AM Henry Thoreau went to Nawshawtuct or Lee's Hill (Gleason F6), and at 8 AM he and Ellery Channing went by boat to opposite Pelham's Pond. On their return they stopped at Fair Haven Hill (Gleason H7). In the course of the day they had rowed some 25 miles. The allied armies of Britain, France, and Turkey invaded the Crimea.

In a letter to Orestes Augustus Brownson, the budding apologist, Father Isaac Hecker, CSSR, summarized the contents of his new book of apologetics, QUESTIONS OF THE SOUL, an irenic treatise on the basic drives of the human emotional system which attempted to make itself attractive not only to the general run of non-Catholics inclined to mysticism and asceticism but also to New England Unitarians and Transcendentalists and others who had given up on Puritanism:

> *I take an occasion to break a lance with [Ralph Waldo] Emerson [William Ellery] Channing, etc whenever I meet them. There will be no want of boldness & aspiration in it.*

WALDO EMERSON

This treatise, although non-traditional, was careful to portray Roman Catholicism as the only conceivable answer:

> *My object in view is to bring minds similarly constituted as my own to similar convictions & results, by the same process as I passed through.*
>
> *The leading idea is to expose the wants of the heart and demand their proper objects, rather than a logical defense of the Church.*

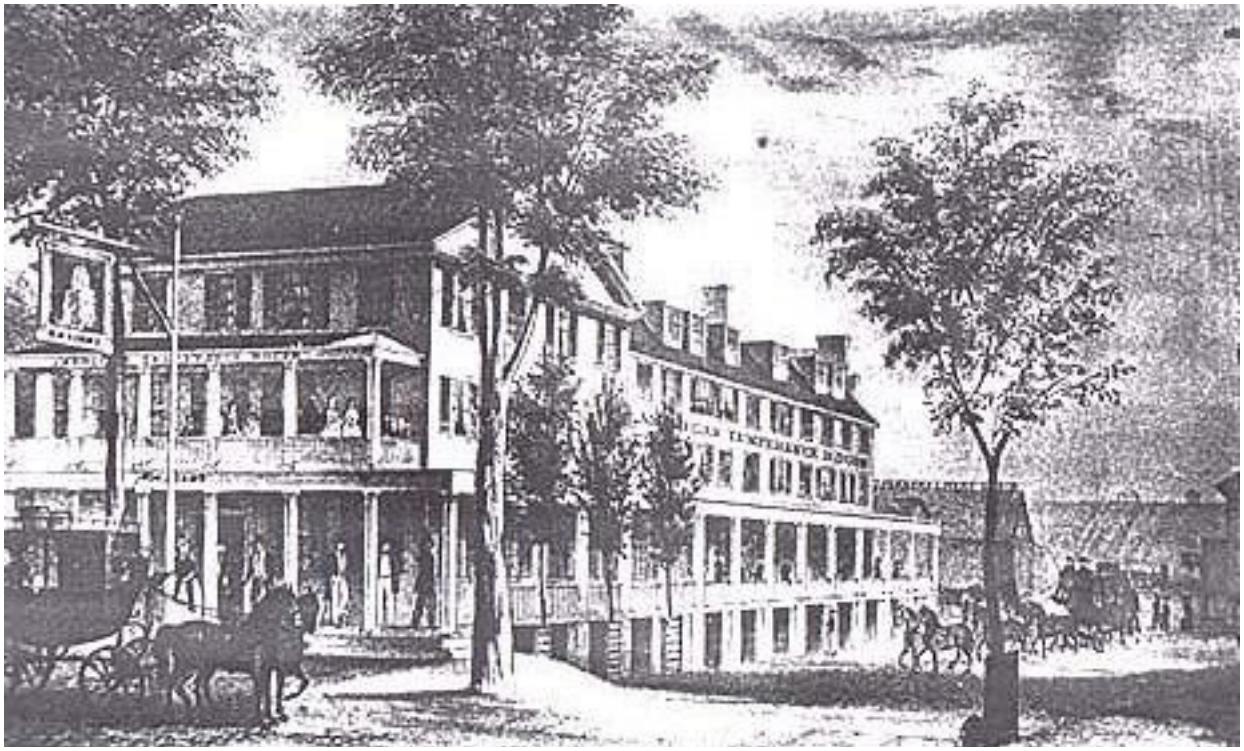
Father Thomas depicted the inner exigencies of the human soul as naturally oriented to receive an incarnational and historical revelation; humankind turns toward God as naturally as a field of flowers turn toward the sun. But a clear channel for these communication is mandatory; the sacramental channels of divine grace must be kept open by the necessary dredges of the Church, one of which is its infallible teaching authority.

October 29, Sunday: Moncure Daniel Conway was elected to be the minister of the Unitarian church in Washington DC.[59]

AUTOBIOGRAPHY VOLUME II

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

Also, in late October, in Worcester, a heavy-set man registered at the American Temperance House Hotel at the intersection of Main Street and Foster Street.[60]



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

59. While a minister in Washington DC, Conway would become special friends with Helen Fiske, who after two husbands, as Helen Hunt Jackson, would relocate to Southern California and plead in a novel titled RAMONA for the rights of Native Americans.
60. President Martin Van Buren had stayed a night at this hotel in 1845 and another night in 1848. At various times General Sam Houston of Texas and John Greenleaf Whittier were also guests of this famous hotel.

Symonds Foster had of course not become a member of the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson's

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

When the entire affair was over and Butman was safe, Foster, his friend Joseph Howland, and some other nonresistants and some black men who had allegedly beat on Butman were placed under arrest on the charge

of inciting to riot. Foster refused to post bail and demanded that his wife Abby Kelley Foster be permitted to act as his lawyer. Which was unheard of, no female had ever appeared in court as a lawyer in the history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts! At the end of it the grand jury indicted the black defendants for assaulting Butman, but acquitted the nonresistants.

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

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

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

About WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, he commented that he had not read "all his book through" but doubted that "anyone else will except as a feat." All in all Henry Thoreau's literary accomplishment he depicted as inferior to his own as-yet-unfinished, as-yet-untitled production. Although he here suggested that Brownson take a shot at this new book by Thoreau in Brownson's Quarterly Review, Brownson would not in

fact ever venture so to do:

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

November 1, Wednesday: The personal library of Francis Sales was sold at auction (Harvard Library has an inventory of the volumes).

Henry Thoreau was being written to by Abbé Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette of New Orleans, appreciating WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS and asking for a copy of A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS.

Mandeville, St. Tammany, La. 1.e Nov 1854
Mr Henry D. Thoreau.
Monsieur—,
En lisant le numero dans
Novembre de la Revue de Putnam, je fut
frappé par la courte notice sur [n]otre
ouvrage intitulé: Walden; or, Life in the Woods.
J'ai eu le bonheur de le trouver chez in libraire
de la Nouvelle Orléans, et je l'ai lu presque
en entier. Avant meme de l'avoir fini,
j'éprouve le besoin de vous exprimer ma
sinceré et cordiale admiration. Votre livre
m'a immensément intéressé; il m'a rappelé
le "Voyage autour de ma chambre" du fam[eux]
Xavier de Maistre; mais il est plus séri[eux]
et plus philosophique. J'ose, Monsieur, vous
prier de m'envoyer, si vous le pouvez (par
la poste) un exemplaire de "A Week on
the Concord and Merrimack rivers": vous me

feriez le plus grand plaisir. Je vous pria d'accepter trois de mes ouvrages: Wild-Flowers—La Thébaéde en Amérique—et Un Discours—qui je vous envoie en memé temps que cette lettre.

Page 2

Mon adresse est: Rev[d]. Adrian Rouquette,
Mandeville, St. Tammany, Louisiana.
Croyez, Monsieur, é tous les sentiments
du respect et du sympathie avec lesquels
je suis votre
tout déviné Serviteur
A Rouquette
P.S. C'est par l'intermédiaire de Ticknor
& Fields que je vous envoir cette lettre et les
livres qui l'accompagnent.

November 11, Saturday: A story by Louisa May Alcott appeared in Boston's Saturday Evening Gazette, "The Rival Prima Donnas" by "Flora Fairfield."

Henry Thoreau received the package of three books, and letter in French, that had been posted by the Abbé Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette in New Orleans on the 1st of the month. Total travel time from the Louisiana port to the Massachusetts port, plus pickup and delivery in Boston to the publishing firm of Ticknor, and forwarding to Concord, had been a remarkably short ten days! The books in the package were, presumably:

- Rouquette's *LA THÉBIADE DE L'AMÉRIQUE*
- Rouquette's WILD FLOWERS
- Rouquette's LES SAVANES, POESIES AMERICAINES

November 13, Monday: Henry Thoreau replied, with the requested copy of A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS, to the Abbé Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette.

TIMELINE OF A WEEK

Rev^{d} Adrian Rouquette

Concord Mass. Nov. 13th 1854.

Dear Sir
I have just received your letter and the 3 works which accompanied it — and I make haste to send you a copy of "A Week — on the Concord & Merrimack Rivers" —by the same mail with this— I thank you heartily for the interest which you express in my ~~book~~ "Walden" — and also for the gift of your works — Though I have not had time to preuse ~~the~~ your books I have looked far enough to ~~last~~ attentively ~~— and I am glad~~ not all ~~those in ou~~ to be convinced that ~~there are more~~ than ~~knew~~ the ~~I supposed~~ in your section of ~~our~~ union any more than in my own are ~~broad country~~ devoted to ~~something~~ alone The very locality assigned to some of your ~~better — than~~ trade poems ~~— suggest poetry~~ appeals to the muse in me especially I am ~~particularly~~ pleased to receive so cordial ~~hearty~~ a greeting ~~from~~ in French— which was the language of my paternal Grandfather— I assure you — it is ~~Altogether~~ not a little affecting to be thus reminded of the breadth & the destiny of our common country—
I am sir yrs sincerely
Henr D Thoreau

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Uncle Jack and His Nephew*
II. *The Know-Nothings*
III. *Sumner on Fugitive Slaves*
IV. *Works of Fisher Ames*
V. *Church and State*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms
VII. End of the Eleventh Volume

KNOW-NOTHINGS
CATHOLICISM

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1855

In Ireland, the endemic poverty, temperance crusades, and high taxes on alcohol were causing recourse to ether as a cheap, readily available alcohol substitute, especially by lower-class Catholics. By 1869 priests would be denouncing this sort of inebriation as sinful.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

A public demonstration against Chicago's prohibition of the sale of beer on Sunday resulted in more than 60 arrests (you have three guesses as to what sort of accent the people had, who got locked up).

This year would represent the peak of the alcohol-abstinence movement for 19th-Century America.

Legal prohibition was in effect for 13 of the 40 states of the Union. (The next such spasm of prohibitionism would begin in 1920. The social cycle from inebriation to dryness seems to approximate 70 years, or about three generations.) About one in every three Americans lived in a place where the sale of alcohol was being

prohibited, if not entirely prevented.

Ethanol Consumption in Annual Gallons per US Adult

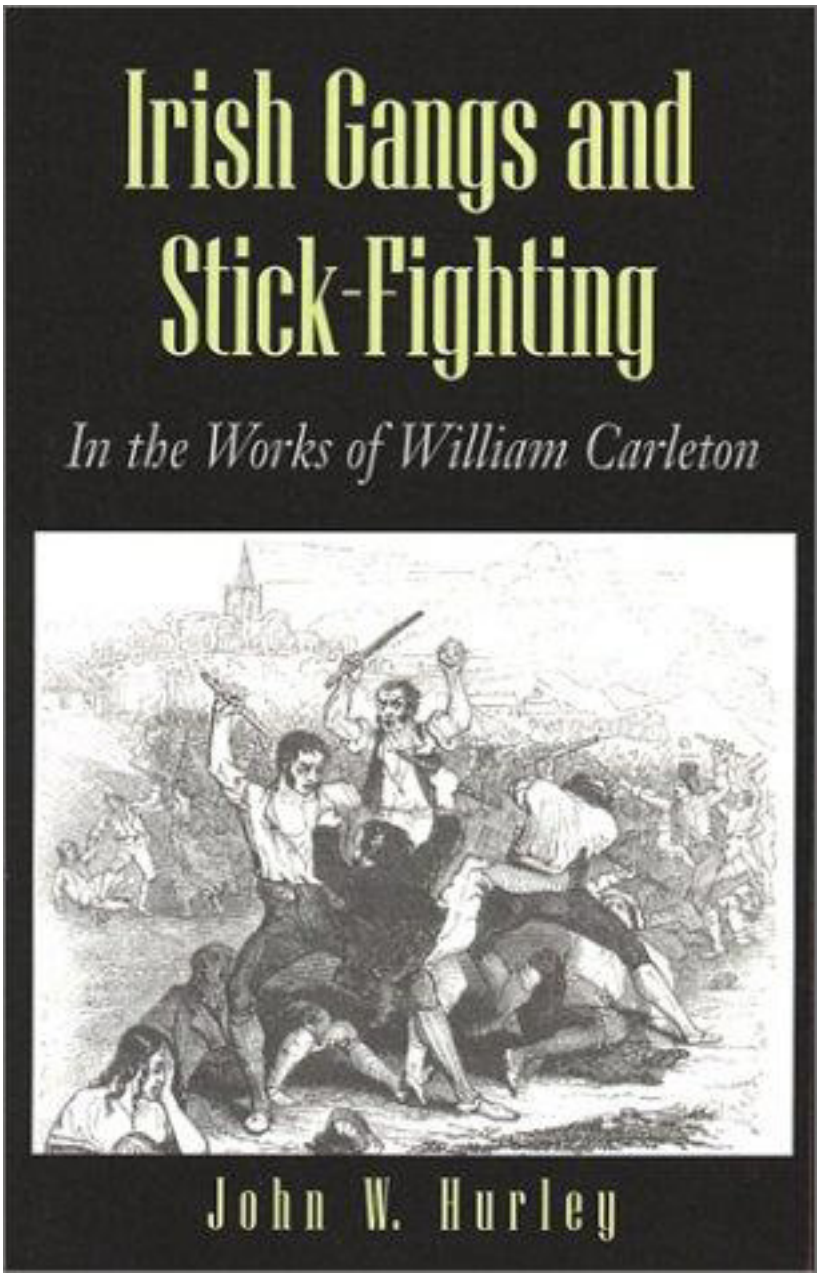
1790	5.8
1830	7.1
1840	3.1
1860	2.1
1890	2.1
1900	2.1
1920	0.9
1940	1.56
1980	2.76

March 22, Thursday: Prejudice toward Irish Catholic immigrants, fanned by the Providence Journal (nowadays this paper is referred to locally as the "ProJo"), was using as its vehicle the American, or "Know-Nothing" party, a secret organization that was sweeping town, city, and state elections in the mid-fifties. In this year its candidate, William W. Hoppin, had captured the Rhode Island governorship. Some of the party's more zealous adherents even planned a raid on St. Xavier's Convent, home of the "female Jesuits," supported by a fake rumor they were circulating to the effect that a Protestant girl, named Rebecca Newell, was being held against her will by the nuns of Sisters of Mercy.

The password of these Know-Nothing Protestant rioters was "show yourself." (Is the password of the Ku Klux Klan "expose yourself"?)

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

In Providence, Rhode Island on this day, an angry mob instigated by the ProJo and the Know-Nothings dispersed when confronted with Bishop Bernard O'Reilly and an equally militant crowd of Irishmen. On this day, God's providence was definitely on the side of the big shillelaghs!


Irish Gangs and Stick-Fighting
In the Works of William Carleton
John W. Hurley

March 27, Tuesday: His first treatise a huge success, Father Isaac Hecker, CSSR set out to write a second treatise, ASPIRATIONS OF NATURE, demonstrating, by recourse to human reason alone, the true value of the True Church. His intended audience was those persons who had fallen back on simple nature, and his starting point was the Transcendentalist principle that human nature naturally aspires to God. To Orestes Augustus Brownson, he wrote that he would demonstrate "how the dogmas of the Church answer in a way, to the demands of the intellect, as the sacraments do to the wants of the heart." But this second treatise which Father Thomas was here outlining would not appear until 1857.

At 6 AM Henry Thoreau went to Island (Gleason 73/F6) below Nawshawtuct Hill. In the afternoon he went to Hubbard's Close (Gleason G8) and down Mill Brook (Gleason F7).

March 27. 6.30 A. M. — To Island. The ducks sleep these nights in the shallowest water which does not freeze, and there may be found early in the morning. I think that they prefer that part of the shore which is permanently covered. Snow last evening, about one inch deep, and now it [is] fair and somewhat warmer. Again I see the tracks of rabbits, squirrels, etc. It would be a good time this forenoon to examine the tracks of woodchucks and see what they are about.
P. M. — To Hubbard's Close and down brook. Measured a black oak just sawed down. Twenty-three inches in diameter on the ground, and fifty-four rings. It had grown twice as much on the east side as on the west. The Fringilla linaria still here. Saw a wood tortoise in the brook. Am surprised to see the cowslip so forward, showing so much green, in E. Hubbard's Swamp, in the brook, where it is sheltered from the winds. The already expanded leaves rise above the water. If this is a spring growth [Yes.], it is the most forward herb I have seen, as forward as the celandine.
Saw my frog hawk. (C. saw it about a week ago.) Probably Falco fuscus, or sharp-shinned, though not well described by Wilson. Slate-colored; beating the bush; black tips to wings and white rump. [No, it is the hen-harrier (i.e. marsh hawk), male.]

The ducks sleep these nights in the shallowest water which does not freeze, and there may be found early in the morning. I think that they prefer that part of the shore which is permanently covered.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Gratry on the Knowledge of God*
II. *Ritter's History of Philosophy*
III. *Radowitz's Fragments*
IV. *Luther and the Reformation*
V. *Russia and the Western Powers*
VI. *The Know-Nothings*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

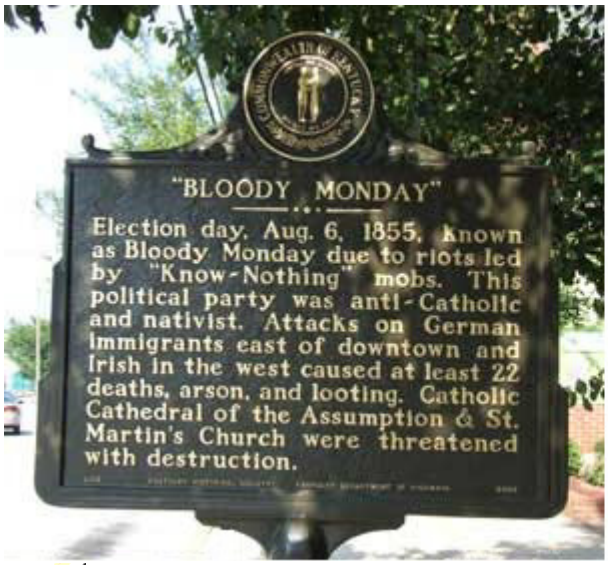
Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Romanism in America*
II. *Liberalism and Socialism*
III. *Questions of the Soul*
IV. *What Human Reason can do.*
V. *The Papal Conspiracy Exposed*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

August 5, Sunday: Since the following day would be election day, Louisville, Kentucky, Protestant rioters of the nativist or Native American Party or "Know-Nothings" slaughtered 22 German and Irish immigrants on account of their being Catholics.



August 5: 4 A.M. –On river to see swallows. They are all gone; yet Fay saw them there last night after we passed. Probably they started very early. I asked Minott if he ever saw swallows migrating, not telling him what I had seen, and he said that [he] used to get up and go out to mow very early in the morning on his meadow, as early as he could see to strike, and once at that hour, hearing a noise, he looked up and could just distinguish high overhead fifty thousand swallows. He thought it was in the latter part of August.

GEORGE MINOTT

What I saw is like what White says of the swallows, in the autumn, roosting "every night in the osier beds of the aits" of the river Thames; and his editor, Jesse, says, "Swallows in countless numbers still assemble every autumn on the willows growing on the aits of the river Thames." And Jardine, in his notes to Wilson, says that a clergyman of Rotherham describes in an anonymous pamphlet their assembling (in the words of the pamphlet) "at the willow ground, on the banks of the canal, preparatory to their migration," – early in September, 1815, daily increasing in numbers until there were tens of thousands. Divided into bands every morning and sought

their food. They finally left R. the 7th of October.
As I was paddling back at 6 A.M., saw, nearly half a mile off, a blue heron standing erect on the topmost twig of the great buttonwood on the street in front of Mr. Prichard's house, while perhaps all within were abed and asleep. Little did they think of it, and how they were presided over. He looked at first like a spring twig against the sky, till you saw him flap his wings. Presently he launched off and flew away over Mrs. Brooks's house.
It seems that I used to tie a regular granny's knot in my shoe-strings, and I learned of myself-rediscovered-to tie a true square knot, or what sailors sometimes call a reef-knot. It needed to be secure as in any gale, to withstand the wringing and twisting I gave it in my walks.
The common small violet lespedeza out, elliptic-leaved, one inch long. The small white spreading polygala, twenty rods behind Wyman site, sometime. Very common this year.
It is the wet season, and there is a luxuriant dark foliage. I hear a yellow-legs flying over, — phe phe phe, phe phe phe.

8 P.M. On river to see swallows.
— At this hour the robins fly to high, thick oaks (as this swamp white oak) to roost for the night. The wings of the chimney swallows flying near me make a whistling sound like a duck's. Is not this peculiar among the swallows? They flutter much for want of tail. I see martins about. Now many swallows in the twi-light, after circling' eight feet high, come back two or three hundred feet high and then go down the river.

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Gratry on the Knowledge of God*
II. *Rome after the Peace*
III. *Ferrier's Institutes of Metaphysic*
IV. *Wilberforce on Church Authority*
V. *Italy and the Christian Alliance*
VI. *A Know-Nothing Legislature*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

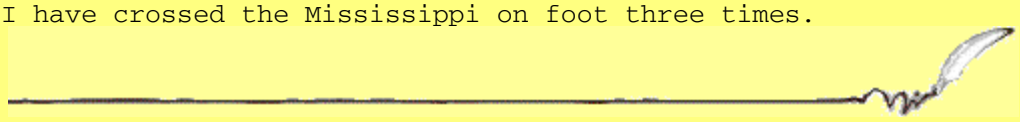
CATHOLICISM

I. *The Temporal Power of the Pope*
II. *Hume's Philosophical Works*
III. *The Know-Nothing Platform*
IV. *Ventura on Philosophy and Catholicity*
V. *Wordworth's Poetical Works*
VI. *The Irish in America*

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

December 31, Monday: Waldo Emerson to his journal in Davenport, Iowa, in regard to the 2d bridge to be thrown over the Mississippi River:

> I have crossed the Mississippi on foot three times.



Before the close of 1855, Father Isaac Hecker had fallen in with a group of Roman Catholics –among them Father Jeremiah W. Cummings, Father Ambrose Manahan, Dr. Levi Silliman Ives, and George Hecker[61]– that was engaging James McMaster of New York, the fellow he had sailed off toward Belgium with in August 1845 who had dropped out of priest training, to edit a Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register as a venue for their evangelistic writings. Boston having gotten "too Irish" for a nativist's tastes, Orestes Augustus Brownson would take this funding opportunity to relocate his family and his journal to Manhattan. During this period the influence of the European liberal Catholicism of the French writer, Count Charles Montalembert, and that of the Italian politician and philosopher, Vincenzo Gioberti, would begin to be readily apparent in Brownson's writings. Representative of this development is his piece "The Mission of America," in which he declares the providential destiny of America to be to bring Catholicism to contemporary Western civilization as a variety of social order that is specifically Christian.

61.George Hecker lavished money from the family business upon Catholic causes, including his brother's ministry, and even made cash presents to financially challenged individuals such as Orestes Augustus Brownson, Henry Hewit, M.D., Father Augustine F. Hewit's brother who also had converted, and James McMaster.

1856

Pope Gregory XVI. To CATHOLIC CITIZENS! THE POPE'S BULL [FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE], AND THE WORDS OF DANIEL O'CONNELL [ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.] New York, [1856.]

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

However, the Southern Commercial Convention, an association of white Christian gentlemen meeting in Savannah, Georgia, was not entirely sure that it agreed with the Pope in Rome. They again considered the need to secure a repeal of the slave-trade laws:

> W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The growth of the movement is best followed in the action of the Southern Commercial Convention, an annual gathering which seems to have been fairly representative of a considerable part of Southern opinion. In the convention that met at New Orleans in 1855, McGimsey of Louisiana introduced a resolution instructing the Southern Congressmen to secure the repeal of the slave-trade laws. This resolution went to the Committee on Resolutions, and was not reported.[62] In 1856, in the convention at Savannah, W.B. Goulden of Georgia moved that the members of Congress be requested to bestir themselves energetically to have repealed all laws which forbade the slave-trade. By a vote of 67 to 18 the convention refused to debate the motion, but appointed a committee to present at the next convention the facts relating to a reopening of the trade.[63] In regard to this action a pamphlet of the day said: "There were introduced into the convention two leading measures, viz.: the laying of a State tariff on northern goods, and the reopening of the slave-trade; the one to advance our commercial interest, the other our agricultural interest, and which, when taken together, as they were doubtless intended to be, and although they have each been attacked by presses of doubtful service to the South, are characterized in the private judgment of politicians as one of the completest southern remedies ever submitted to popular action.... The proposition to revive, or more properly to reopen, the slave trade is as yet but imperfectly understood, in its intentions and probable results, by the people of the South, and but little appreciated by them. It has been received in all parts of the country with an undefined sort of repugnance, a sort of squeamishness, which is incident to all such violations of moral prejudices, and invariably wears off on familiarity with the subject. The South will commence by enduring, and end by embracing the project."[64] The matter being now fully before the public through these motions, Governor Adams's message, and newspaper and pamphlet discussion, the radical party pushed the project with all

62. De Bow's Review, XVIII. 628.
63. De Bow's Review, XXII. 91, 102, 217, 221-2.
64. From a pamphlet entitled "A New Southern Policy, or the Slave Trade as meaning Union and Conservatism;" quoted in Etheridge's speech, February 21, 1857: CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 34th Congress, 3d session, Appendix, page 366.

energy.W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: This record of the Commercial

Conventions probably gives a true reflection of the development of extreme opinion on the question of reopening the slave-trade. First, it is noticeable that on this point there was a distinct divergence of opinion and interest between the Gulf and the Border States, and it was this more than any moral repugnance that checked the radicals. The whole movement represented the economic revolt of the slave-consuming cotton-belt against their base of labor supply. This revolt was only prevented from gaining its ultimate end by the fact that the Gulf States could not get on without the active political co-operation of the Border States. Thus, although such hot-heads as Spratt were not able, even as late as 1859, to carry a substantial majority of the South with them in an attempt to reopen the trade at all hazards, yet the agitation did succeed in sweeping away nearly all theoretical opposition to the trade, and left the majority of Southern people in an attitude which regarded the reopening of the African slave-trade as merely a question of expediency. This growth of Southern opinion is clearly to be followed in the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, in Congress, and in many significant movements. The Charleston Standard in a series of articles strongly advocated the reopening of the trade; the Richmond Examiner, though opposing the scheme as a Virginia paper should, was brought to "acknowledge that the laws which condemn the Slave-trade imply an aspersion upon the character of the South.[65] In March, 1859, the National Era said: "There can be no doubt that the idea of reviving the African Slave Trade is gaining ground in the South. Some two months ago we could quote strong articles from ultra Southern journals against the traffic; but of late we have been sorry to observe in the same journals an ominous silence upon the subject, while the advocates of 'free trade in negroes' are earnest and active."[66] The Savannah Republican, which at first declared the movement to be of no serious intent, conceded, in 1859, that it was gaining favor, and that nine-tenths of the Democratic Congressional Convention favored it, and that even those who did not advocate a revival demanded the abolition of the laws.[67] A correspondent from South Carolina writes, December 18, 1859: "The nefarious project of opening it [i.e., the slave trade] has been started here in that prurient temper of the times which manifests itself in disunion schemes.... My State is strangely and terribly infected with all this sort of thing.... One feeling that gives a countenance to the opening of the slave trade is, that it will be a sort of spite to the North and defiance of their opinions."[68] The New Orleans Delta declared that those who voted for the slave-trade in Congress were men

65. Quoted in 24TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 54.
66. Quoted in 26TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 43.
67. 27TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, pages 19-20.
68. Letter of W.C. Preston, in the National Intelligencer, April 3, 1863. Also published in the pamphlet, THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE: THE SECRET PURPOSE, etc., page 26.

"whose names will be honored hereafter for the unflinching manner in which they stood up for principle, for truth, and consistency, as well as the vital interests of the South."[69]

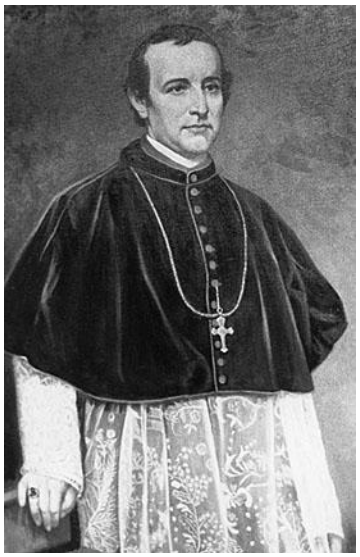
A workman discovered a reliquary hidden inside a wall at Charroux in the diocese of Poitiers, where in the early 12th Century the monks had been claiming to be in the possession of the actual foreskin of Jesus Christ (seven other such claims had been being made, in other regions of Christendom). A new church would be constructed to house this tissue sample, and at the dedication ceremony it would be alleged that one could still see coagulated blood on it. (It would not be until the 20th Century that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church would begin its present campaign to discourage such "irreverent curiosity.")

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

Land was acquired in mid-Manhattan for a park. 300,000 Catholic immigrants arrived in New-York during the year, each bringing an estimated average of $68 (which means that by the standard of those times, they were not paupers). The Democratic incumbent mayor, Fernando Wood, won re-election, defeating Know-Nothing candidate Isaac O. Baker, Republican Anthony J. Bleeker, and fellow Democrat James S. Libby.

Archbishop John Joseph Hughes, speaking in Baltimore, revealed the statistic that Catholics were leaving the Church in America for Protestantism at more than three times the rate at which American Protestants were being converted to Catholicism.

ISAAC HECKER
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON



69. Quoted in Etheridge's speech: CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 34th Congress, 3d session, Appendix, page 366.

The small Redemptorist group in America received two more converts from the Episcopal Church, George Deshon, who had graduated from the West Point Military Academy, and Francis A. Baker, who had been the Episcopalian rector of Baltimore. The missioners began an extended tour of the American South, where they would attract many Protestants to their Catholic teachings. One of the talks that Father Isaac Hecker gave in April in Norfolk, Virginia, responding to popular complaints against Catholicism, would be phenomenally successful. Popular success was leading the five convert priests of that order in America to challenge the emphasis being placed by their leader, the new Bavarian provincial superior, Father George Ruland, upon ministry to German-speaking Catholic immigrants. They decided that willy nilly, they had to staff a mission house with English speakers.

In Holyoke, an Irish Catholic Church was established, St. Jerome's, for the spiritual guidance of droves of new laborers.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Constitution of the Church*
II. *The "End of Controversy" Controverted*
III. *Catholicity and Literature*
IV. *Transcendental Road to Rome*
V. *Great Britain and the United States*
VI. *Le Correspondant*

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

May 23, Friday: When informed of the burning of the town of Lawrence in the Kansas Territory, Captain John Brown went from his cabin into the forest to "converse with God."

When he returned, it was to order his sons to sharpen the broadswords they had procured in Ohio. Captain Brown and his little band of Osawatomie faithful led by God, carrying surveying equipment to mask their sacred duty, set off on their little expedition to use the latest thing in efficient slaughter, the Sharps rifles known as "Beecher's Bibles" largely donated to them by the congregation of the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, to good effect.

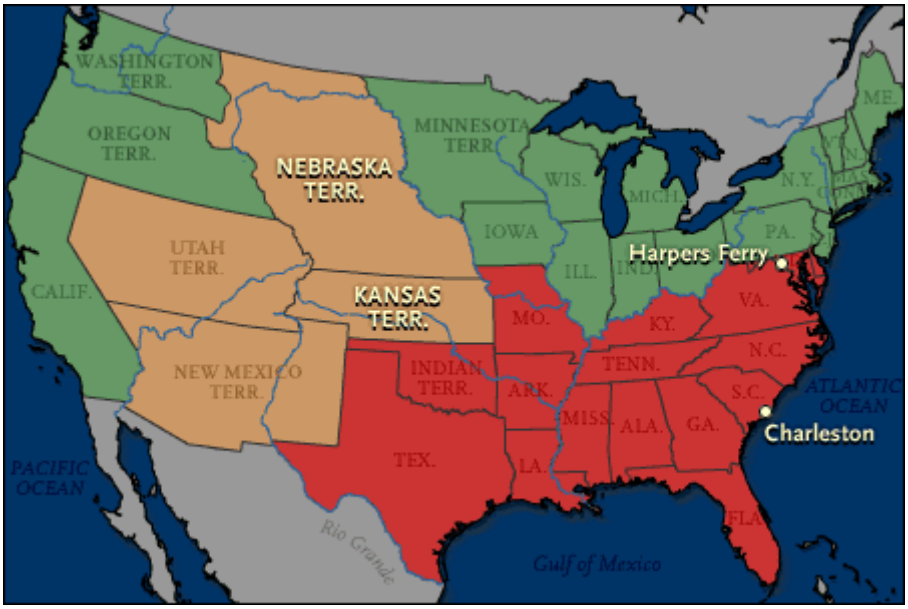
CATHOLICISM

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

A Catholic family of six, that of James P. Doyle, had ventured from Tennessee into the Kansas Territory for the same reason that the New England Emigrant Aid Company was encouraging white people to travel to the Kansas Territory from New England — that is, in order to "get to a free state where there would be no slave labor to hinder white men from making a fair day's wage." In other words, this family consisted of, or



conceived that it consisted of, economic refugees fleeing from the unfair competition of America's people of color. They had been building themselves an isolated cabin on the bank of Pottawatomie Creek, about a march from the cluster of cabins known as Brown's Station, and this midnight visit was the Brown party's first stop on their quest for revenge for the burning of Lawrence. The evidence against Doyle, of course, was that he spoke with a Southern drawl. According to Edmund Wilson's PATRIOTIC GORE:[70]

> The murdered boys and their father were part of a family of illiterate poor whites who had emigrated from Tennessee in order to get away, precisely, from the competition of slave labor, and none of these people owned slaves. But Brown, who had circulated among them in his role of land surveyor, had previously satisfied himself that "each one had committed murder in his heart, and, according to the Scriptures... were guilty of murder, and I felt justified in having them killed."

Sparing Mahala Doyle and her young daughter, and a son who was but 14 years of age, Brown would order Doyle and the two adult sons, William age 22 and Drury age 20, out of the cabin into the dark yard. The vengeance party would split open their heads with the cutlasses (I have no indication as to whether they allowed these Catholics to say their rosaries first). For some reason, perhaps an attempt at resistance, Drury Doyle's arms would get themselves hacked off. Then the party would go on down along the creek, and an hour later they would be able to kill an actual proslavery person, Allen Wilkinson, and steal his horses, in the presence of his sick wife and several of their young children. Afterward they would go back to the family's

70. Richard F. Teichgraeber III has commented that Henry Thoreau's deep contempt for newspapers would have caused him to disbelieve or ignore the reports of John Brown's massacre on Pottawatomie Creek. I do not agree. Thoreau's contempt for news reports was in fact an entirely selective contempt.

barn and take saddles for these horses. Riding on down the bank of Pottawatomie Creek, they would discover a William Sherman, cutting off his left hand "except a little piece of skin" and splitting open his head and leaving him lying in the water, confiscating his horse and bowie knife. A nice night's work for nightriders for justice, doing God's work in the world! This affair would be complete by the 26th.

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

During the "Indian War" in the Rogue River Valley of Oregon, John Beeson, a Methodist, had made himself an outspoken advocate for the Indians, and against the slaughter and atrocities committed by the whites. On this day he needed to flee from his homestead due to threats from the surrounding community of white people (my information is that both the local newspaper and the local minister were talking up the idea of holding a tar-and-feathers party with him as the guest of honor, and that this caused him to feel that he needed to sneak away in the middle of the night). He would not feel safe in returning to Oregon for more than a decade.[71] During that period he would publish A PLEA FOR THE INDIANS ... and lecture across the eastern United States as an advocate for native American rights.

PLEA FOR THE INDIANS

May 23. P.M. — To Heywood Spring.

Sorrel well open on west side of railroad causeway against H. Wheeler's land. Noticed the earliest willow catkins turned to masses of cotton yesterday; also a little of the mouse-ear down begins to be loose. Hear often and distinctly, apparently from H. Wheeler's black spruce wood-lot, the *phe phee-ar* of the new muscicapa. Red-eye and wood thrush. Houstonias whiten the fields, and looked yesterday like snow, a sugaring of snow, on the side of Lee's Hill. Heard partridges drum yesterday and to-day. Observed the pads yesterday just begun to spread out on the surface with wrinkled edges and here and there a bullet-like bud; the red white lily pads still more rare as yet.

The stellaria at Heywood Spring must be the same with that near the E. Hosmer Spring, though the former has commonly fewer styles and rather slenderer leaves. It appears to be the *S. borealis*, though the leaves

71. Evidently, however, he would manage to hold onto the family claim to the homestead land along Wagner Creek.

are *narrowly* lanceolate; has three to seven styles; a few petals (cleft almost to the bottom) or none; pods, some larger than the ca1yx and apparently ten-ribbed; petals, now about the length of the sepals.
After sunset on river.
A warm summer-like night. A bullfrog trumps once. A large devil's-needle goes by after sundown. The ring of toads is loud and incessant. It seems more prolonged than it is. I think it not more than two seconds in each case. At the same time I hear a low, stertorous, dry, but hard-cored note from some frog in the meadows and along the riverside; often heard in past years but not accounted for. Is it a *Rana palustris*?
Dor-bugs hum in the yard, — and were heard against the windows some nights ago. The cat is springing into the air for them.

CAT

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Protestantism in the Sixteenth Century*
II. *Revival of Letters and the Reformation*
III. *The Blakes and Flanagans*
IV. *Army and Navy*
V. *Montalambert on England*
VI. *The Day-Star of Freedom*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Church and the Republic*
II. *The Effects of the Reformation*
III. *The Unholy Alliance*
IV. *Reason and Faith*
V. *Pere Gratry's Logic*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Mission in America*
II. *The Council of Trent and its Results*
III. *The Church and Modern Civilization*
IV. *E.H. Derby to his Son*
V. *The Presidential Election*
VI. *The Church in the United States*
VII. *Inkerman*
VIII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Lecture Season of '56/57, at the Odeon Hall in Boston:

18th Season of The Lowell Institute

Dr. George W. Burnap.
Anthropology . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

Professor Guglielmo Gajani.
Early Italian Reformers . . . . . ***6*** **lectures**

Lieutenant M.F. Maury.
Wind and Currents of the Sea . . . . . ***6*** **lectures**

Reverend Henry Giles.
Human Life in Shakespeare . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

Dr. David B. Reid.
Ventilation and Acoustics . . . . . ***6*** **lectures**

Reverend William R. Alger.
The History of the Doctrine of a Future Life . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

Professor William B. Rogers.
Elementary Laws of Physics . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

December 25, Christmas Day: Alabama became the first state to officially recognize the celebration of Christmas as a holiday.

Five days earlier, a family of father, mother, and four children had been sold to a slave trader in Richmond, Virginia, allegedly because the wife and mother, Mrs. Brown, had resisted the sexual advances of the family's owner, Colonel John Franic. The husband and father, Robert Brown, having failed to persuade another white man in the Martinsburg area of what is now West Virginia to purchase the family, decided to attempt an escape. On this frigid night of one of the coldest American winters on record, carrying with him a likeness of his wife and a lock of her hair, with locks of hair from each of their 4 children, he swam a horse across the Potomac River and then rode about 40 miles before his horse gave out. He continued on foot, and it would take several days and nights of travel for him to reach Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he had friends who, he hoped, would be able to shelter him. He would adopt the alias Thomas Jones and on New Year's Night would reach Philadelphia and the warmth of the home of a member of the Underground Railroad Vigilance Committee.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow commented: "We are in a transition state about Christmas here in New England. The old Puritan feeling prevents it from being a cheerful hearty holiday; though every year makes it more so."

The Virginia Central Railroad had engaged a French engineer, Claudius Crozet, at $3,000 per annum, to design and then supervise the construction of 4 tunnels through the Blue Ridge. Much of the labor had been supplied by Irish immigrants. The pay scale began at 75 cents a day, but workers doing the most dangerous work were given $1.37 1/2. Slaves who labored were paid the same, but their wages were of course paid to their owners, and because they had economic value, they were not allowed anywhere near the black-powder blasting. Two of the slaves were killed when a runaway flatcar hurtled down Afton mountain toward a parked train engine in Waynesboro. Michael Curren, an Irishman who lost his hands in a black powder explosion, was denied any pay while under medical care. These laborers lived in virtual shantytowns and had in 1854 suffered an outbreak of cholera killing 28 on the Augusta side and seven on the Afton side. Some were from County Cork and were Catholic, while others, on the far side of the mountain, were from the north of Ireland and were Protestant — so there was the constant danger of an inter-Irish riot. Air was pumped into the tunnel by mules on a treadmill. Inside Afton mountain, the 1st of these 4 tunnels was completed on this day, when the Irish laborers digging from each end broke through the final few feet of rock with their chisels, sledgehammers, and black powder explosive charges. The two tunnels actually met within half an inch of being dead centered on each other! Train service on the new line would begin in April 1858 and would continue until a new, wider tunnel would open in 1944.

In the afternoon Thoreau walked to Lee's Cliff: "A strong wind from the northwest is gathering the snow into picturesque drifts behind the walls.... Sanborn got some white spruce and some usnea for Christmas in the swamp. I thought the last would be the most interesting.... Take long walks in stormy weather or through deep snows in the fields and woods, if you would keep your spirits up."

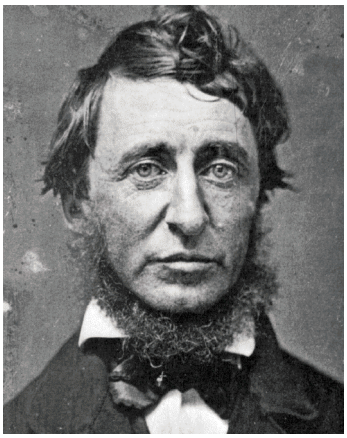
Dec. 25. P.M. — To Lee's Cliff.
A strong wind from the northwest is gathering the snow into picturesque drifts behind the walls. As usual they resemble shells more than anything, sometimes prows of vessels, also the folds of a white napkin or counterpane dropped over a bonneted head. There are no such picturesque snow-drifts as are formed behind loose and open stone walls. Already yesterday it had drifted so much, i.e. so much ground was bare, that there were as many carts as sleighs in the streets.
Just beyond Hubbard's Bridge, on Conant's Brook Meadow, I am surprised to find a. tract of ice, some thirty by seven or eight rods, blown quite bare. It shows how unstable the snow is.
Sanborn got some white spruce and some usnea for Christmas in the swamp. I thought the last would be the most interesting and *weird*.

On the north sides of the walls we go over boots and get them full, then let ourselves down into the shellwork on the south side, so beyond the brows of hills.
At Lee's Cliff I pushed aside the snow with my foot and got some fresh green catnip for Min.
I see the numerous tracks there, too, of foxes, or else hares, that have been running about in the light snow.
Called at the Conantum House. It grieves me to see these interesting relics, this and the house at the Baker Farm, going to complete ruin.
Met William Wheeler's shaggy gray terrier, or Indian dog, going home. He got out of the road into the field and went round to avoid us.
Take long walks in stormy weather or through deep snows in the fields and woods, if you would keep your spirits up. Deal with brute nature. Be cold and hungry and weary.

CAT

DOG

On this Christmas day Francis Ellingwood Abbot discussed poetry with Henry Thoreau, a person who was "somewhat known for his writings."



We have the discussion per Harvard College sophomore Frank's journal — although we really have no idea how much of this conversation represented sophomoronic elaboration as the sophomore was later writing it down:

> Here I am in the good town of Concord... At present I wish to record a conversation between Henry David Thoreau, Mr. Ricketson and myself.
> Mr. Ricketson: We went to Baker farm yesterday through all the snow, Mr. Abbot; perhaps you recollect the description of Baker farm in "Walden."
> Mr. Abbot (greatly confused and overwhelmed with a sense of ignorance): I regret to say I have never met the book, although I have been desirous to see it.
> Mr. Ricketson: What! Never read "Walden"! Dear me, let me show you this passage: (quotes) "My way led through Pleasant Meadow, an adjunct to Baker Farm, that retreat of which a poet has since sung, beginning,—
>
> Thy entry us a pleasant field.
> Which some mossy fruit trees yield
> Partly to a ruddy brook,
> By gliding musquash undertook
> And mercurial trout

Dancing about

Mr. Abbot (mentally ejaculating): Heaven help us!
Mr. Ricketson: These are fine lines, but our friend Channing rather disregards grammar –"undertook"– bad, very bad.
Mr. Thoreau: The grammar is no objection, poets are not hampered like other men. It is not mere rhyme and grammar that make poetry; a machine might be made to turn out poetry of that kind very easily, but it would not be poetry.
Mr. Ricketson: Why not? I think it would.
Mr. Thoreau: What! Would it be poetry?
Mr. Ricketson: Yes, poetry is like architecture, you have to build in certain ways, and makes not difference whether the machine does it intelligently, or the poet does it by following his metres and feet.
Mr. Thoreau: But—
Mr. Ricketson (interrupting): I see you do not like my argument—ha! ha!
Mr. Abbot (aside): No wonder he doesn't.
Mr. Ricketson: —but I understand you, yes, I understand you. But grammar is necessary.
Mr. Thoreau: Channing writes ideas, and disregards all such trammels. Poets must be original.
Mr. Abbot (aside): Channing is original in his grammar, at least.
Mr. Thoreau: They must not try old, hackneyed measures, they must leave the old jingle and invent their own rhythm.
Mr. Abbot: Do you mean to say that every poet must invent new metres?
Mr. Thoreau: Yes. Unless he does, we are reminded of some other verse, and the charm of originality is lost. Wordsworth in his "Laodamia," and "Ode to Immortality," and even Campbell, in his battle odes, adopt their peculiar measures, and thereby avoid the monotonous jingle of other poets.
Mr. Abbot: Why, you value the casket at the expense of the jewel that it contains. Poetry does not depend on the length of the lines, nor the different intervals at which the rhymes occur; the essence of poetry is, that beautiful ideas should be beautifully expressed.
Mr. Thoreau: You seem to consider rhythm arbitrarily.
Mr. Abbot: Certainly, to a degree it is arbitrary. The poet can select his metre as he pleases: if his work is well done, it will seem to us best adapted to the measure in which it is written, whereas he might have used another, and still have been equally successful. I think Milton made a mistake in writing "Paradise Lost" wholly in the same stately style; a long poem needs variety, and Scott well understood this.
Mr. Thoreau: I must still differ; a poet must be not only original in his idea but also his rhythm; otherwise he is only an imitator, and cannot lay claim to the name of a true poet. There is endless variety in rhythm; and there is no need that one poet should slavishly follow the track of another.

Mr. Ricketson (evidently bewildered in his understanding faculties): Well, I suppose that is the way you philosophers think; but you breathe higher air that our feeble lungs can endure.

Mr. Abbot (aside, with great inward disgust, and dissent for the last remark): Fiddle-stick's end! Mutual admiration! Thoreau, Thoreau! That man of facts and metaphysics! Stick to thy facts and metaphysics.

1857

The Universalist meetinghouse erected in 1842 in Concord's town square was at this point abandoned. The Reverend Addison Grant Fay would go into the pencil business and then into gunpowder. In 1863 the meetinghouse would be purchased for use as a Catholic church.

Orestes Augustus Brownson published his religious autobiography, titled (of course — what else?) THE CONVERT. In this work he revisited the doctrine of communion by which he had originally reasoned himself into the Catholic faith, and convinced himself that he had been right all along. The blatant chauvinism of this effort, however, provoked the Irish-born prelate of New-York, by this time an archbishop, John J. Hughes, who had to service an audience of immigrants and marginalized Americans, to a show of public indignation. Brownson's response to the rage he had provoked was to moved himself, his family, and his journal across the Hudson to Elizabeth, New Jersey, where he would enjoy the relative protection of the more congenial Newark Diocese and of its leader, a fellow convert, Bishop James R. Bayley.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 6

CATHOLICISM

I. ***Brownson on the Church and the Republic***
II. ***E.H. Derby to his Son***
III. ***Maret on Reason and Revelation***
IV. ***Slavery and the Incoming Administration***
V. ***Archbishop Hughes on the Catholic Press***
VI. **Literary Notices and Criticisms**

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Spring: Bishop James R. Bayley invited the Redemptorists to establish their English-speaking religious house in Newark but when Father Clarence Walworth communicated this to Father George Ruland, he not only repudiated it on account of its "laxity and nationalism" but also wrote off to the Catholic congregation's headquarters in Rome to have them repudiate it as well. Indignant at this misrepresentation of their goal and their motives, the dissident priests delegated Father Isaac Hecker to plead their case in person in Rome, before Father Nicholas Mauron, the rector major of the Redemptorist Fathers, but then Father George Ruland **of course** refused permission for Father Thomas to go over his head to Rome. This manifested itself as a dispute over the interpretation of a Redemptorist writing in regard to rights of direct access to the superior general of the order.

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 7

CATHOLICISM

I. *E.H. Derby to his Son*
II. *Prayer Books*
III. *Spiritual Despotism*
IV. *Ailey Moore*
V. *The Slavery Question Once More*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

Waldo Emerson wrote in his journal:

> *There is certainly a convenience in the money scale in the absence of finer metres. In the South a slave is bluntly but accurately valued at 500 to 1000 dollars, if a good working field hand; if a mechanic, as carpenter or smith, at 12, 15, or 20 hundred. A Mulatto girl, if beautiful, rises at once very naturally to a high estimation. If beautiful & sprightly-witted, one who is a joy when present, a perpetual entertainment to the eye, &, when absent, a happy remembrance, $2500 & upwards of our money.*

July 12, Sunday: There had been no Catholic church in the parish of Carrigaholt in West Clare, Ireland because, with the landlords being Protestant, there was nowhere to erect such an edifice. For years Father Michael Meehan celebrated Mass in a makeshift tent, and conducted marriages, baptized children, offered religious education, and administered the Last Sacrament to Catholics dying of cholera. In 1852, perhaps inspired by a Bathing Box on the beach in Killkee, he schemed to replace this tent with a wooden box on four wheels. Timber was obtained from Limerick and Owen Collins constructed what would come to be known as "the little ark," covered over with tarred canvas. Windows ran along both sides and inside was a low altar with a statue of the Sacred Heart with above this a crucifix. Since the beach in Kilbaha was public, the box could be parked there. Finally a suitable piece of land was provided at Moneen and on this day the first stone for a church of "Our Lady, Star of the Sea" was laid and the little ark rolled to the site to be used until that edifice was ready. The new building would be dedicated on October 10, 1858 at a ceremony attended by 3,000 worshipers, and the little ark placed inside the church doors (it can be seen in the church at Moneen today).

In Belfast on this evening, confrontations began between crowds of Catholic and crowds of Protestant citizens. This would continue into 10 days of violent rioting (many local policemen would unite with the Protestant side and only a minority attempt to provide a police function).

An interesting article appeared on the front page of the Daily Alta California:

CHINESE

Gross Misconduct by a Government Official.

EDITORS ALTA: I would like to inquire of you, whether a Custom House official is empowered to strike an inoffensive Chinaman, because he dared to ask the reason why he insulted his wife?

The facts of the case are these: The ship "Winged Arrow" arrived from China on Friday, July 10th, having Chow Sanis (a respectable Chinese merchant, residing in San Francisco for the last five years) and wife and family on board. He had them removed from the ship shortly after they arrived, and landed them at Pacific wharf. As the Chinaman and his family came on to the wharf, the above-named petty official very rudely caught hold of the Chinaman's wife, and handled her roughly, without even stating who he was. The Chinaman very naturally wanted to know from the official the reason why he insulted his wife, when the cowardly ruffian struck him a severe blow on the face. There were a half a dozen white men, good citizens, that witnessed the whole affair. If the Collector, Mr. Washington, does his duty, he will give the contempt'ble coward his walking papers; as no true American citizen will insult any person, even an equal, much less those who have no remedy by an appeal on their own testimony in our courts of law.

A BOATMAN.

August 5, Wednesday: The Atlantic cable.

Believing the journey to be both within the rules and in the best interests of the Redemptorist order despite the opposition of the superior, Isaac Hecker's brother George gave him some bakery money and Father Thomas sailed for Europe. On this day of departure his mentor, Orestes Augustus Brownson, posted one final letter of encouragement to him. In his luggage he carried a number of letters of recommendation from foremost members of the American hierarchy, and in addition from outstanding laypersons such as Brownson, Dr. Levi Silliman Ives, and Louis B. Binsse. When Father Thomas would present himself in Rome, the church authorities wouldn't even wait for him to open his mouth. He would be summarily informed that his abandonment of his post in America had amounted to a violation not only of his vow of obedience but also of his vow of poverty, he would be summarily dismissed from the ordered community, and he would be peremptorily instructed in effect "You, outa here!" At this point the only thing the defrocked Hecker would

have going for him was the fact that the American continents were classified as missionary territory. He could appeal to the Cardinal Alessandro Barnabo, the prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith whose jurisdiction over missionary territory included the Church in the USA. The secretary in that office, Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, of course sympathized with his plight –which would have been ridiculously extreme even in the days when Christians went to Rome to attend the Circus in the Colosseum– and Hecker would be shown how to prepare the necessary legal brief laying out his basis for a direct appeal to Pope Pius IX. This was obviously gonna take a while, so, to kill time in Rome, Hecker would write for the benefit of Vatican officials about the state of affairs in the New World "missions." At first he would merely be attempting to put his mentor Brownson's essay "Mission of America" into the Italian, but he would end up writing a fresh piece, anonymous of course, for *Civiltà Cattolica*. In this opinion piece he would plump for the problematic notions that a.) a free man tends to be a good Catholic, and that b.) a free nation tends to be the most promising field for apostolic zeal.

The record indicates that Hecker was unable to persuade Il Papa of the advantages of religious freedom. –Quite to the contrary, the head of the Roman Catholic Church would point out to Hecker that already

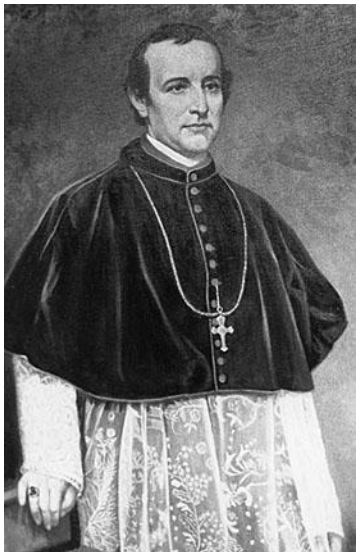
> *in the United States there exists a too unrestricted freedom; all the refugees and revolutionists gather there.*

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 8

I. ***The Primacy of Peter***
II. ***The Church and the Constitution***
III. ***Aspirations of Nature***
IV. ***C.J. Canon's Works***
V. ***Le Vert's Souvenirs of Travel***
VI. ***British Preponderance***
VII. **Literary Notices and Criticisms**

November/December: In New-York, Isaac Hecker's ASPIRATIONS OF NATURE was finally achieving publication. This made Hecker hopeful that book sales and favorable reviews –especially a favorable review from Orestes Augustus Brownson, who had an excellent reputation in Rome– would support the Redemptorist order's struggle against its own superior for permission to create an English-speaking mission house –a position to which he himself had become committed and for which he had sacrificed a great deal indeed– and would substantiate his positive appraisal of the convert apostolate. But Hecker's faith was misplaced. Instead of defending him in print, Brownson attacked him in print. The allegations made by this author in regard to the spiritual and moral qualities of the American national character were made to seem as egregiously wishful as they actually were. The idea that the philosophical and cultural fringe known as Transcendentalism participated in the mainstream of this nation's religious history was made to seem as off-the-wall as it actually was. The convert movement was portrayed as tinged by a mood of accommodationism and as motivated covertly by an agenda to reconstruct the Universal Church according to an American plan. The author of this work did not understand about original sin and was making immanentist assumptions about human nature aspiring to God which were contrary to the Catholic understanding. Against the Calvinists and Jansenists, Hecker had attempted to vindicate the rights of human nature and the powers of reason; against the rationalists and naturalists, Hecker had attempted to assert the necessity of grace and revelation. However, while presenting the Catholic position in regard to the basic goodness of human nature, Hecker had interpreted the Council of Trent as teaching that by his transgression Adam had lost the holiness and justice wherein he had been constituted. Hecker attempted to present a popular and imprecise argument whereby these absolutely gratuitous gifts of sanctifying grace and original integrity could not have been part of Adam and Eve's *indebita naturæ*, their human nature, for when Adam and Eve sinned, the gifts were forfeit. It is because of this original sin that we are now born into our situation of privation with respect to supernatural justice and integrity, and yet our human nature hasn't altered, we remains essentially as good as before and we remain in possession of our *debita naturæ*, our natural abilities and rights. Brownson took advantage of this imprecision by charging that Hecker was endorsing the *status naturae puræ* theory of a "natural state of purity" whereby whatever was

natural was inherently good. Of course this is preposterous, Hecker was attempting no such thing, he had merely plunged into a murky pool of theology that was way over his head. But now Hecker the culprit stood in the dock accused of having overestimated the human capacity to do good in our fallen condition without the aid of God's grace. Such an unnecessary and categorical dismissal raises the question of what Brownson was really up to, in authoring such a review of Hecker's book. One may suspect this popular editor of in this manner attempting to cut his reputation loose from that of a cleric who happened at that point to be in a whole lot of trouble. One may also suspect, and Hecker did in fact suspect, that Brownson was playing a cheap trick, recycling some charges that had previously been laid at his own door by Archbishop John Joseph Hughes of New York by passing them on to Hecker. Tag, Thomas, you're it! Brownson's letter of September 29, 1857, and its significant variant version, bear on this.



Winter: Early in the winter Henry Thoreau completely filled his 1st COMMONPLACE BOOK and began the 2nd, which is now in the which is in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library and bears on its label the same inscription as the original volume, *"Extracts, mostly upon Natural History. Henry D. Thoreau."*

Lecture Season of ’57/58, at the Odeon Hall in Boston:

19th Season of The Lowell Institute

Reverend Henry W. Bellows.
Treatment of Social Diseases . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

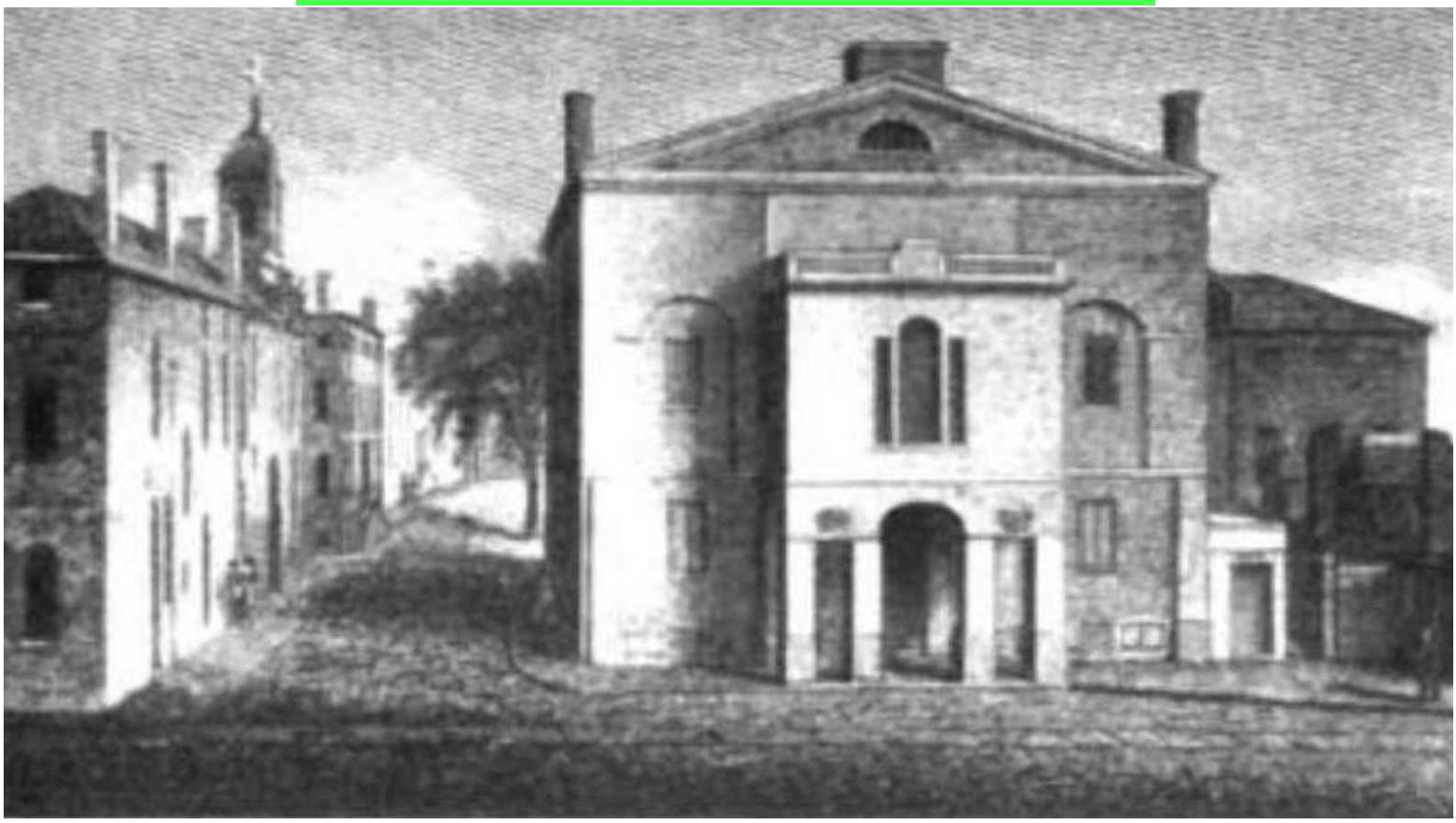
Reinhold Solger.
History of the Reformation . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

Reverend Thomas T. Stone.
English Literature . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

Professor Francis Bowen.
Practical English Philosophers and Metaphysicians
from Bacon to Sir William Hamilton . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

Reverend John Lord.
Light of the New Civilization . . . . . ***12*** **lectures**

Dr. Isaac Ray.
Mental Hygiene . . . . . ***4*** **lectures**



THE LOWELL INSTITUTE

Late in the year, appearing in *Civiltà Cattolica* in two installments, was Isaac Hecker's "The Present and Future Prospects of the Catholic Faith in North America" promising the demise of American Protestantism and the triumph of American Catholicism. Now, if you had been looking for two pleasant promises more seemly for a Roman pontiff to hear from an American "native" in need of his blessing, you'd have had to look in a whole bunch of closets and you'd have had to look for a long long time. To make his case, Hecker provided an analysis of the democratic political system which, although it had the disadvantage of being preposterously tendentious, had the advantage of alleging something that it would be really nice for the supreme pontiff to be able to believe: that the concept of human nature underlying the system of democracy corresponded to his own doctrines.

The record does not indicate that the Pope was persuaded of the advantages of religious freedom. –Quite to the contrary,

> *in the United States there exists a too unrestricted freedom; all the refugees and revolutionists gather there.*

When Isaac Hecker's case finally came to the attention of Pius IX, he passed it on by normal channels. After that, there wasn't a prayer that Hecker would be able to wiggle back into the Redemptorist Order of St. Alphonsus which had expelled him. Well, but on the other hand, Hecker had been playing this game by its rules, and a large number of people in the Eternal City did appreciate that and were looking for a way to bend the system in such manner as to retain such a pliable and productive tool as him. After all is said and done, how about this: why not think big, why not set up your own new congregation devoted entirely to the conversion of the American people, with yourself as the maximum leader? Meanwhile, the ante in this game was being raised considerably because Hecker's confreres in America were forwarding the necessary paperwork for their separation from the ordered community, so that they would be able to continue their missionary work without all this interference from above. Continuing to handle this as a discipline problem was going to be a tough row for Rome to hoe — because the long-term stakes might involve the loss of the United States of America as a Catholic nation. Stay tuned to this game of hardball.

1858

On the basis of the notes taken by the poet Klemens Brentano of the testimony of Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich, Father Schmoeger would be publishing THE LIFE OF OUR LORD in three volumes (completing in the year 1880). Never mind that the writing seemed Antisemitic, what's that got to do with anything?

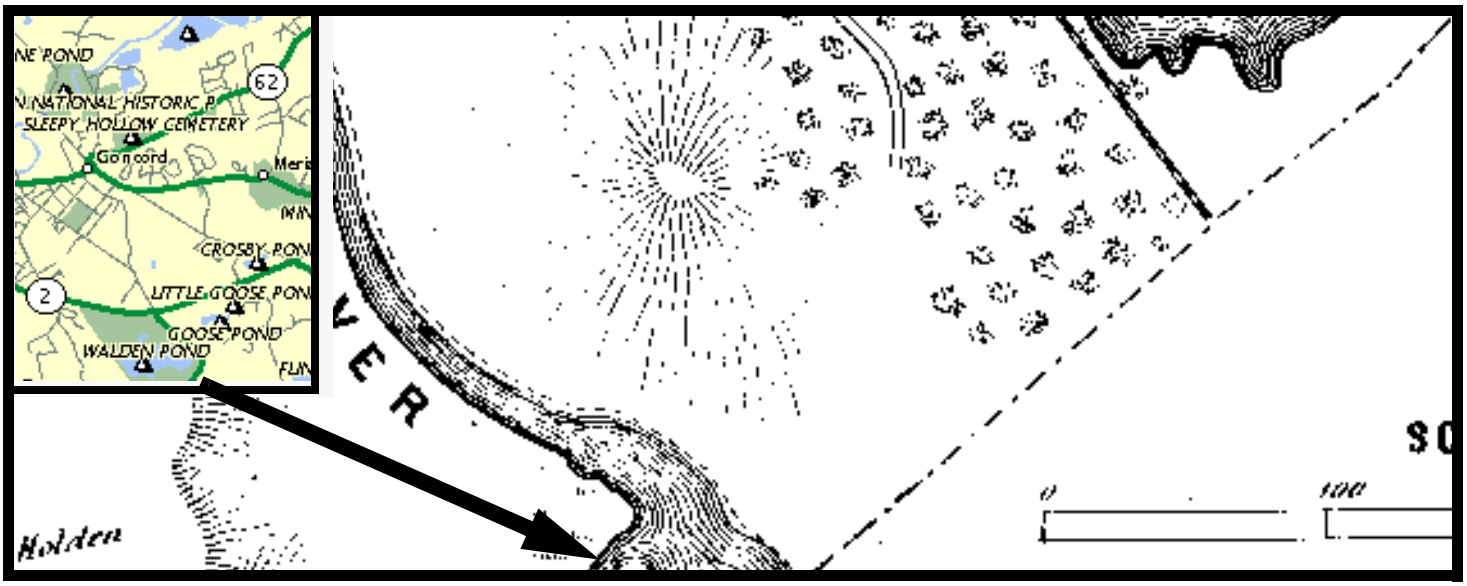
CATHOLICISM
ANTISEMITISM

March: Mrs. Anna Barker Ward, wife of the banker Samuel Gray Ward, a lady who had started out as a Quaker before turning Unitarian, was converted to Roman Catholicism in Rome by Father Thomas (Isaac Hecker) of the just-approved-by-the-Pope "Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle," and Waldo Emerson had an indignant reaction. Why on earth would she choose the Pope in Rome over himself? Emerson thought poorly of such antics: "This running into the Catholic Church is disgusting, just when one is looking amiably around at the culture and performance of the young people, and fancying that the new generation is an advance on the last." He had been considering this lady as an archetype of all that was proper in American womanhood: "Her simple faith seemed to be, that by dealing nobly with all, all would show themselves noble.... She can afford to be sincere. The wind is not purer than she is." –And now she had chosen "repose" over "truth," so, was he going to need to begin to consider her as just another dupe? "I grieve that she has flung herself into the Church of Rome, suddenly. She was **born** for social grace, & that faith makes such carnage of social relations!" In a letter, he reminded Mrs. Ward that even though it would be in Rome itself that she would encounter a Catholic priest, that man was probably in actuality merely a transplanted Irishman (how embarrassing).

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

March 6, Saturday: In the afternoon Henry Thoreau went up the river on the ice to Fair Haven Pond:

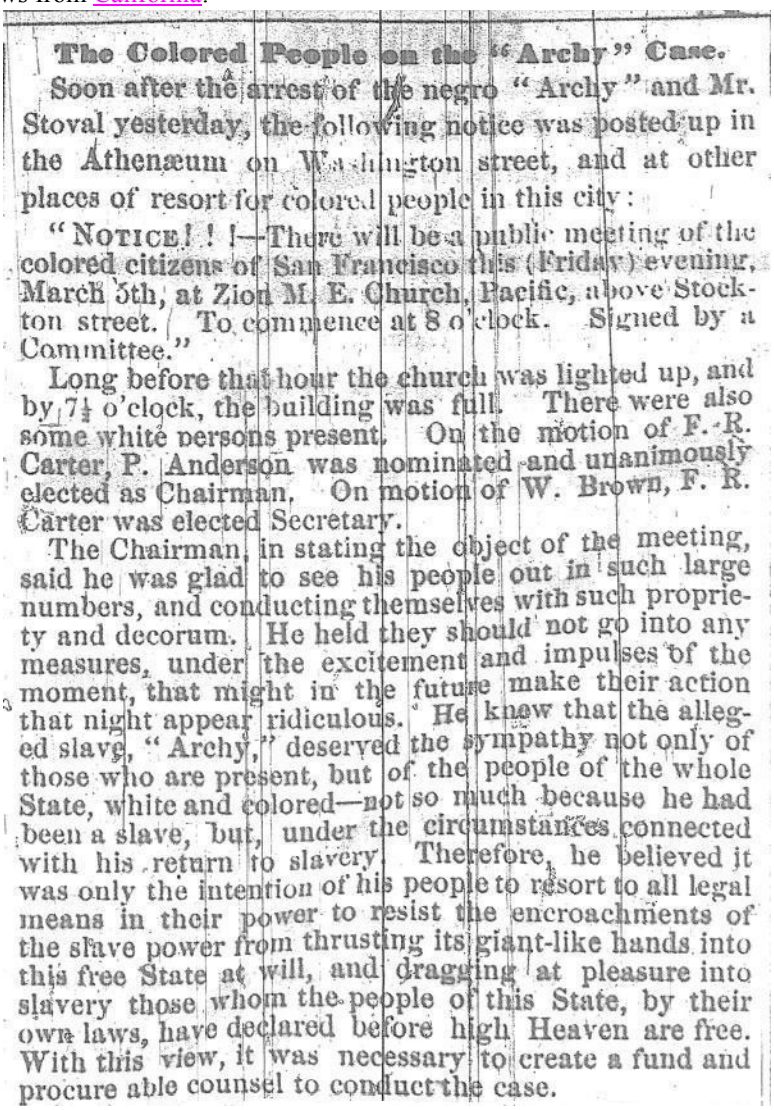


William Cooper Nell petitioned the Massachusetts Legislature to declare the Dred Scott decision unconstitutional (this petition would of course be unsuccessful).

With the blessing of the Pope, the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars dispensed the dissident Redemptorist fathers working in the United States, Father Francis A. Baker, Father George Deshon, Father Thomas (Isaac Hecker), Father Augustine F. Hewit, and Father Clarence A. Walworth from the vows they had made to their Roman Catholic order, and enabling them to continue their sacerdotal ministry under the supervision of a local diocese.

PAULIST FATHERS

More great news from California:



The Colored People on the "Archy" Case.

Soon after the arrest of the negro "Archy" and Mr. Stoval yesterday, the following notice was posted up in the Athenæum on Washington street, and at other places of resort for colored people in this city:

"NOTICE!!!—There will be a public meeting of the colored citizens of San Francisco this (Friday) evening, March 5th, at Zion M. E. Church, Pacific, above Stockton street. To commence at 8 o'clock. Signed by a Committee."

Long before that hour the church was lighted up, and by 7½ o'clock, the building was full. There were also some white persons present. On the motion of F. R. Carter, P. Anderson was nominated and unanimously elected as Chairman. On motion of W. Brown, F. R. Carter was elected Secretary.

The Chairman, in stating the object of the meeting, said he was glad to see his people out in such large numbers, and conducting themselves with such propriety and decorum. He held they should not go into any measures, under the excitement and impulses of the moment, that might in the future make their action that night appear ridiculous. He knew that the alleged slave, "Archy," deserved the sympathy not only of those who are present, but of the people of the whole State, white and colored—not so much because he had been a slave, but, under the circumstances connected with his return to slavery. Therefore, he believed it was only the intention of his people to resort to all legal means in their power to resist the encroachments of the slave power from thrusting its giant-like hands into this free State at will, and dragging at pleasure into slavery those whom the people of this State, by their own laws, have declared before high Heaven are free. With this view, it was necessary to create a fund and procure able counsel to conduct the case.

On the motion of the Rev. J. J. Moore, a Committee of seven were appointed by the Chair, to collect funds to defray what expenses might be incurred. The Chairman appointed James Brown chairman of said Committee, and Peter Lester, Treasurer. A motion was made and passed that seven women be also appointed for the same purpose. The chair mentioned that Peter Lester was also their Treasurer.

Resolutions were then introduced, relative to the propriety of requesting the colored churches generally to take up collections the coming Sunday to aid the fund. A motion was next made to strike out the word "colored" and insert "Christian." After considerable discussion among the Rev. J. J. Moore, Jacob Francis, W. F. Keeling and others, the resolution as amended was passed.

The meeting was then addressed by the Rev. Mr. Benton, the Rev. J. J. Moore, M. W. Gibbs, D. W. Ruggles and others, urging the colored people generally not to commit any overt act, as it might be the means of withdrawing instead of adding sympathy for the alleged slave "Archy." At the same time, they all believed it was their right, and also it was proper, to resort to all legal means in their power to assist by their purses in paying whatever expenses might be incurred under the circumstances.

A call was then made for a general collection throughout the house, which resulted in realizing the sum of $150.

A motion was then made to adjourn, subject to the call of a Committee on Finance, and the assemblage dispersed.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 9

I. *Conversations of our Club*

II. *England and Naples*

III. *Common Schools*

IV. *The Church an Organism*

V. Literary Notices

CATHOLICISM

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

May: Isaac Hecker landed in America and rejoined his four co-workers. They were living in his brother George Hecker's home in New-York. A deal would soon be cut with Archbishop John Joseph Hughes of New-York whereby they reconstituted themselves as the Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, but this time for what it was worth with "promises" rather than "vows." Required as an order to establish a parish and create a residence or "convent" (contrary to common usage, this term does not imply the presence of nuns) they decided to situate themselves in "Shantyopolis," a poor Irish area on Manhattan's West Side.

PAULIST FATHERS

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 10

CATHOLICISM

I. *Theiner's ANNALES ECCLESIASTICI*
II. *Mammonism and the Poor*
III. *Conversations of our Club*
IV. *Our Colleges*
V. *The Princeton Review and the Convert*

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

July 10, Saturday: The Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle placed itself under the leadership of Father Thomas (Isaac Hecker), and had his portrait done in oil by George Peter Alexander Healy:

PAULIST FATHERS

In Tuckerman's Ravine in New Hampshire:

July 10. Saturday. Wentworth says he once collected one hundred pounds of spruce gum and sold it at Biddeford for forty cents per pound. Says there are "sable lines" about here. They trap them, but rarely see them. His neighbor, who lives on the hill behind where we camped on the 6th, has four hours more sun than he. He can, accordingly, make hay better, but W. beats him in corn. The days are about forty minutes longer on top of Mt. Washington than at seashore, according to guide-book. The sun set to us here at least an hour earlier than usual.

This ravine at the bottom of which we were, looking westward up it, had a rim somewhat like that of the crater of a volcano. The head of it bore from camp about N. 65° W., looking nearer than it was; the highest rock, with the outline of a face on it on the south rim, S. 32° W.; a very steep cliff on the opposite side, N. 20° W.; and over the last we judged was the summit of Mt. Washington. As I understood Wentworth, this was in Pingree's Grant; the Glen House in Pinkham's Grant. To-day and yesterday clouds were continually drifting over the summit, commonly extending about down to the edge of the ravine. When we looked up that way, the black patch made by our fire looked like a shadow on the mountainside.

When I tasted the water under the snow arch the day before, I was disappointed at its warmth, though it was in fact melted snow; but half a mile lower it tasted colder. Probably, the ice being cooled by the neighborhood of the snow, it seemed thus warmer by contrast.

The only animals we saw about our camp were a few red squirrels. W. said there were striped ones about the mountains. The *Fringilla hyemalis* was most common in the upper part of the ravine, and I saw a large bird of prey, perhaps an eagle, sailing over the head of the ravine. The wood thrush and veery sang regularly, especially morning and evening. But, above all, the peculiar and memorable songster was that Monadnock-like one, keeping up an exceedingly brisk and lively strain. It was remarkable for its incessant twittering flow. Yet we never got within sight of the bird, at least while singing, so that I could not identify it, and my lameness prevented my pursuing it. I heard it afterward, even in the Franconia Notch. It was surprising for its steady and uninterrupted flow, for when one stopped, another appeared to take up the strain. It reminded me of a fine corkscrew stream issuing with incessant lisping tinkle from a cork, flowing rapidly, and I said that he had pulled out the spile and left it running.[Thoreau seems here to be describing the song of the winter wren.] That was the rhythm, but with a sharper tinkle of course. It had no more variety than that, but it was more remarkable for its continuance and monotonousness than any bird's note I ever heard. It evidently belongs only to cool mountainsides, high up amid the fir and spruce. I saw once flitting through the fir-tops restlessly a small white and dark bird, sylvia-like, which may have been it. Sometimes they appeared to be attracted by our smoke. The note was so incessant that at length you only noticed when it ceased.

The black flies were of various sizes here, much larger than I noticed in Maine. They compelled me most of the time to sit in the smoke, which I preferred to wearing a veil. They lie along your forehead in a line, where your hat touches it, or behind your ears, or about your throat (if not protected by a beard), or into the rims of the eyes, or between the knuckles, and there suck till they are crushed. But fortunately they do not last far into the evening, and a wind or a fog disperses them. I did not mind them much, but I noticed that men working on the highway made a fire to keep them off. I find many of them accidentally pressed in my botany and plant book. A botanist's books, if he has ever visited the primitive northern woods, will be pretty sure to contain these specimens of the black fly. Anything but mosquitoes by night. Plenty of fly-blowing flies, but I saw no ants in the dead wood; some spiders.

In the afternoon, Hoar, Blake, and Brown ascended the slide on the south to the highest rock. They were more than an hour getting up, but we heard them shout distinctly from the top. Hoar found near the edge of the ravine there, between the snow there and edge, *Rhododendron Lapponicum*, some time out of bloom,[72] growing in the midst of empetrum and moss; *Arctostaphylos alpina*, going to seed; *Polygonum viviparum*, in prime;[73] and *Salix herbacea*[74] a pretty, trailing, roundish-leaved willow, going to seed, but apparently not so early as the *S.*

72. According to Durand, at 68° in Greenland.
73. According to Durand, at all Kane's stations.
74. According to Durand, at 73° in Greenland.

Uva-ursi.

August 15, Sunday: In a ceremony at St. Peter's in New-York attended by her mother and father, her sister Kate, and Horace Greeley, Margaret Fox accepted baptism as a Roman Catholic. This amounted to turning her back not only on her family's Methodist origins, but also on her family's entire career as spiritualist mediums.

The New-York Herald would proclaim that what this meant was that she was publicly repudiating all the rappings and other goings-on, but Greeley's Tribune would respond that it was in no way any acknowledgement of "fraud or deception." However, from this point Margaret would seldom be willing to serve as a spirit medium.

CATHOLICISM
SPIRITUALISM

August 15: P.M.–Down river to Abner Buttrick's. Rain in the night and dog-day weather again, after two clear days. I do not like the name "dog-days." Can we not have a new name for this season? It is the season of mould and mildew, and foggy, muggy, often rainy weather.
The front-rank polygonum is apparently in prime, or perhaps not quite.l Wild oats, apparently in prime. This is quite interesting and handsome, so[75] tall and loose. The lower, spreading and loosely drooping, dangling or

blown one side like a flag, staminate branches of its ample panicle are of a lively yellowish green, contrasting with the very,~ distant upright pistillate branches, suggesting a spear with a small flag at the base of its head. It is our wild grain, unharvested.

The black willows are already being imbrowned. It must be the effect of the water, for we have had no drought. The smaller white maples are very generally turned a dull red, and their long row, seen against the fresh green of Ball's Hill, is very surprising. The leaves evidently come to maturity or die sooner in water and wet weather. They are redder now than in autumn, and set off the landscape wonderfully. The Great Meadows are not a quarter shorn yet. The swamp white oaks, ash trees, etc., which stand along the shore have horizontal lines and furrows at different heights on their trunks, where the ice of past winters has rubbed against them.

Might not the potamogeton be called waving weed

I notice the black willows from my boat's place to Abner Buttrick's, to see where they grow, distinguishing ten places. In seven instances they are on the concave or female side distinctly. Then there is one clump just below mouth of Mill Brook on male side, one tree at Simmonds's boat-house, male side, and one by oak on Heywood Shore. The principal are on the sand-bars or points formed along the concave side. Almost the only exceptions to their growing on the concave side exclusively are a few mouths of brooks and edges of swamps, where, apparently, there is an eddy or slow current. Similar was my observation on the Assabet as far up as Woodis Park. The localities I noticed to-day were: mouth of Mill Brook (and up it); sand-bar along shore just below, opposite; opposite Simmonds's boat-house; one at boat-house; Hornbeam Cape; Flint's meadow, along opposite boys' bath-place; one by oak below bath place on south side; at meadow fence, south side; point of the diving ash; south side opposite bath-place by wall. Up Assabet the places were (the 1~th): south side above Rock; Willow Swamp; Willow Bay (below Dove Rock); Willow Island; swift place, south side; mouth of Spencer Brook.

Wars are not yet over. I hear one in the outskirts learning to drum every night; and think you there will be no field for him? He relies on his instincts. He is instinctively meeting a demand.

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 11

CATHOLICISM

I. *Revivals and Retreats*
II. *Rome and its Ruler*
III. *Conversations of our Club*
IV. *Necessity of Divine Revelation*
V. *Clapp's Autobiographical Sketches*

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

75. Vide l9th.

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 12

CATHOLICISM

I. *Conversations of our Club*
II. *Catholicity in the Nineteenth Century*
III. *Alice Sherwin, and the English Schism*
IV. *An Exposition of the Apocalypse*
V. *Domestic Education*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

December 7, Tuesday: Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, Enrico "Iron Hand" de Tonti's *RELATION DE LA LOUISIANA OU MISSISSIPPI PAR LE CHEVALIER DE TONTI* (1734).[76]

Thoreau also checked out Volume IV of the five volumes of Benjamin Franklin French's HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF LOUISIANA, EMBRACING MANY RARE AND VALUABLE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE NATURAL, CIVIL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THAT STATE. COMPILED WITH HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, AND AN INTRODUCTION... (New York: Wiley & Putnam). Part I of this, Historical Documents from 1678-1691, contains La Salle's memoir of the discovery of the Mississippi, Joutel's journal, and Hennepin's account of the Mississippi. Part II contains Marquette and Joliet's voyage to discover the Mississippi, De Soto's expedition, and [Dr. Daniel] Coxe's "Carolana." Part III contains La Harpe's journal of the establishment of the French in Louisiana, Charlevoix's journal, etc. Part IV, the volume from which Thoreau was extracting into his Indian Notebook #11, printed in 1852, contains narratives of the voyages, missions, and travels among the Indians, by Marquette, Joliet, Dablon, Allouez, Le Clercq, La Salle, Hennepin, Membre, and Douay, with biographical and bibliographical notices of these missionaries and their works, by John Gilmary Shea, and contains the 1673 Thevenot chart of the "R. Mitchisipi ou grand Riviere" indicating the native tribes along its tributaries, "Carte de la decouverte faite l'an 1673. dans l'Amerique Septentrionale."

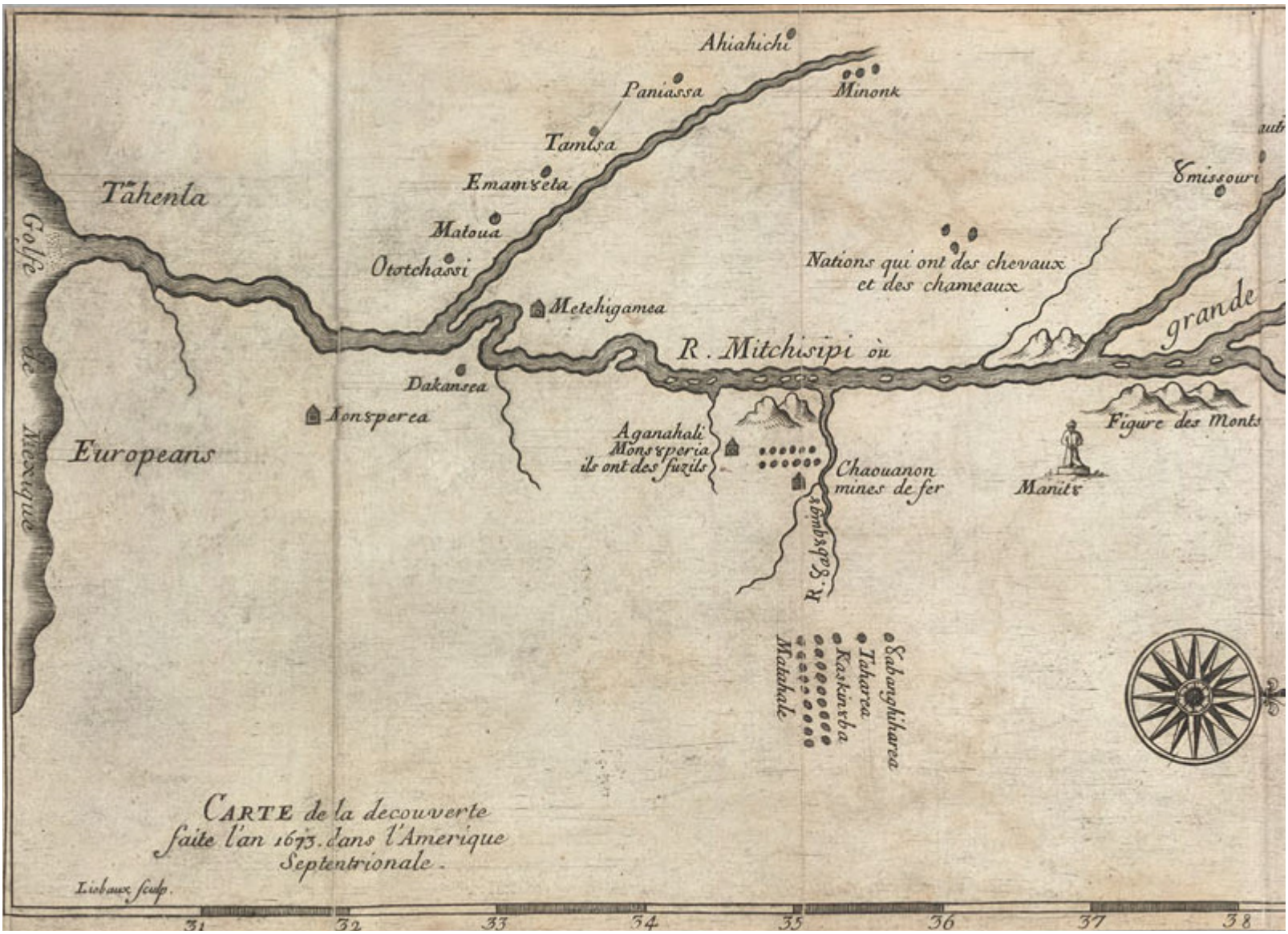
THE MITCHISIPI RIVER

Part V contains Dumont's memoir of transactions with the Indians of Louisiana, from 1712 to 1740, and Champégny's memoirs.

76. Henry, Chevalier de Tonti was born in Gaeta, Italy in about 1650, a son of Lorenzo Tonti. He entered the French army as a cadet and served in addition in the French navy. In 1678 he accompanied René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle (1643-1687) to Canada. In 1680, during an exploration of the Mississippi he was left in command of Fort Crevecoeur on the Illinois River near Peoria, Illinois. After making an unsuccessful attempt to found a settlement in Arkansas, in 1685 he took part in an expedition of the Western Indians against the Senecas. He twice went down the Mississippi to its mouth while in search of La Salle, and then needed to go down the river a third time to meet M. D'Iberville. During September 1704 he died at Fort Saint Loûis (now Mobile, Alabama). There is a report by him in Margry's *RELATIONS ET MEMOIRES*, and an English translation of this report, "An Account of Monsieur de la Salle's Last Discoveries in North America. Presented to the French King, and Published by the Chevalier Tonti, Governour of Fort St. Louis, in the Province of the Illinois ...," would be printed in London by J. Tonson, S. Buckley, and R. Knaplock in 1698 and reprinted in New-York in 1814. Refer to Benjamin Franklin French's HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA (Volume I, 1846).

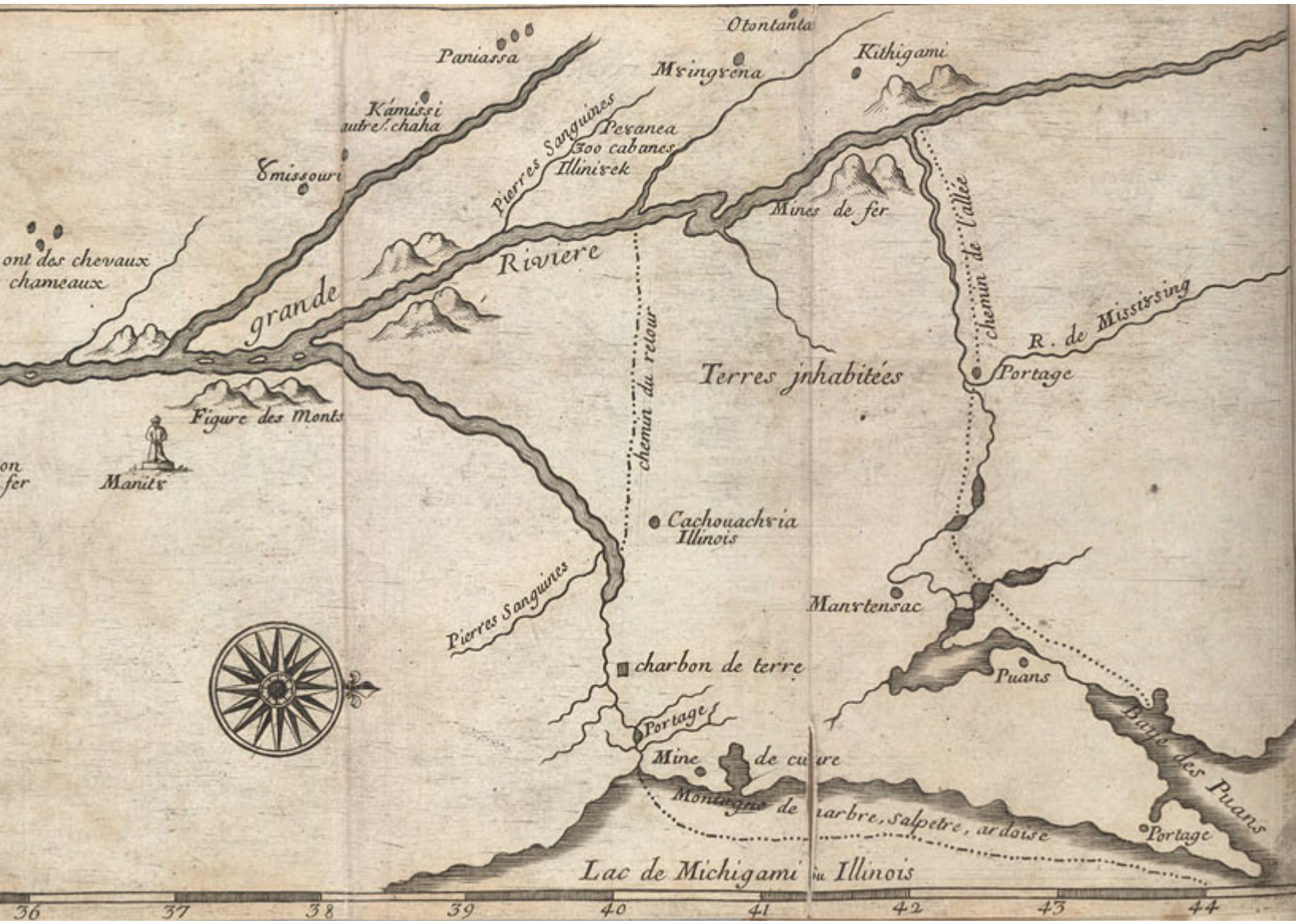
CATHOLICISM

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

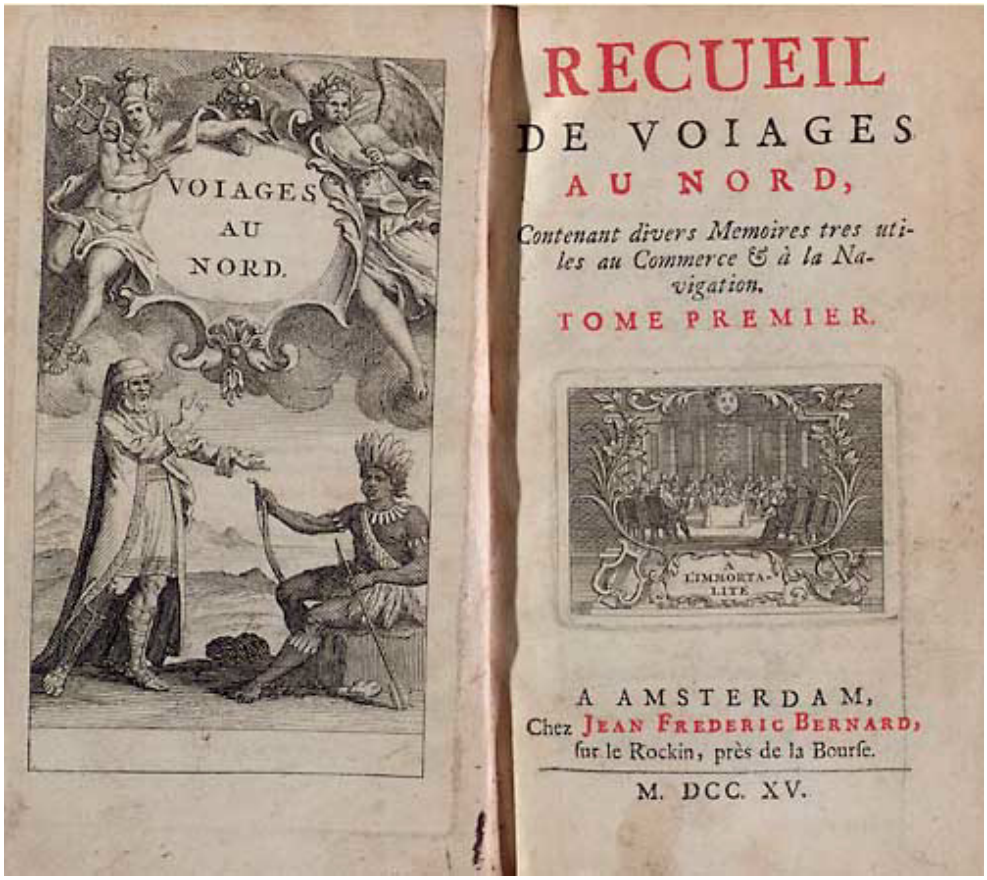


ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM



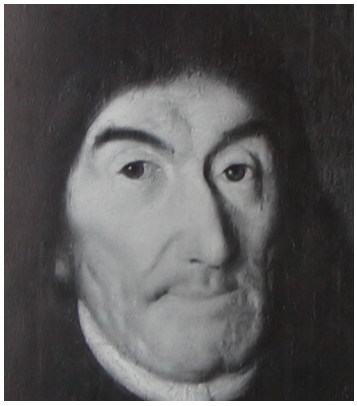
Thoreau also checked out Jean-Frédéric Bernard's *RECUEIL DE VOYAGES AU NORD, CONTENANT DIVERS MÉMOIRES TRÈS UTILES AU COMMERCE & À LA NAVIGATION, 1715-1738* (A Amsterdam, Chez J.F. Bernard), and would make extracts in his Indian Notebook #11. According to the edition statement contained in the 4th volume, this is the 4th edition of the work and Volume 2 had been printed in 1715, Volumes 1 and 3 in 1716, Volume 6 in 1723, Volume 5 in 1724, Volume 7 in 1725, and Volume 8 in 1727 (of the final two of the 10 volumes, Volumes 9 and 10, this 1732 printing says nothing, of course because they had not yet been put through the press).



Unfortunately, Google Books has scanned so far of these ten volumes only Volume 4 — so that is all I am able to provide for you here:

JEAN-FRÉDÉRIC BERNARD

Thoreau also checked out Father Louis Hennepin's *VOYAGES | CURIEUX ET NOUVEAUX | DE MESSIEURS | HENNEPIN & DE LA BORDE, | OU L'ON VOIT UNE DESCRIPTION TRÈS PARTICULIERE, D'UN GRAND PAYS DANS L'AMERIQUE, ENTRE LE | NOUVEAU MEXIQUE, & LA MER GLACIALE, AVEC UNE RELATION CURIEUSE DES | CARAIBES SAUVAGES DES ISLES ANTILLES DE L'AMERIQUE, | LEURS MŒURS, COÛTUMES, RELIGION &C. | LE TOUTE ACCOMPAGNÉ DES CARTES & FIGURES NECESSAIRES.* | [Emblem.] | *A AMSTERDAM, AUX DEPENS DE LA COMPAGNIE. MDCXI* (this was an exact reprint of the edition of 1704, with merely a slight change to the title page).



Sieur de la Borde is a mysterious figure, for all we know for sure is that he worked, perhaps as a lay brother, for a short period with Jesuit missionaries, especially with Father Simon at the mission on St. Vincent Island in the Antilles.

I am guessing that he was part of the Langlade family that had come over from Castle Sarrasin in Bassee, Guyenne, France (at first known as the family Mouet de Moras) that had settled at Trois-Rivières, Québec in

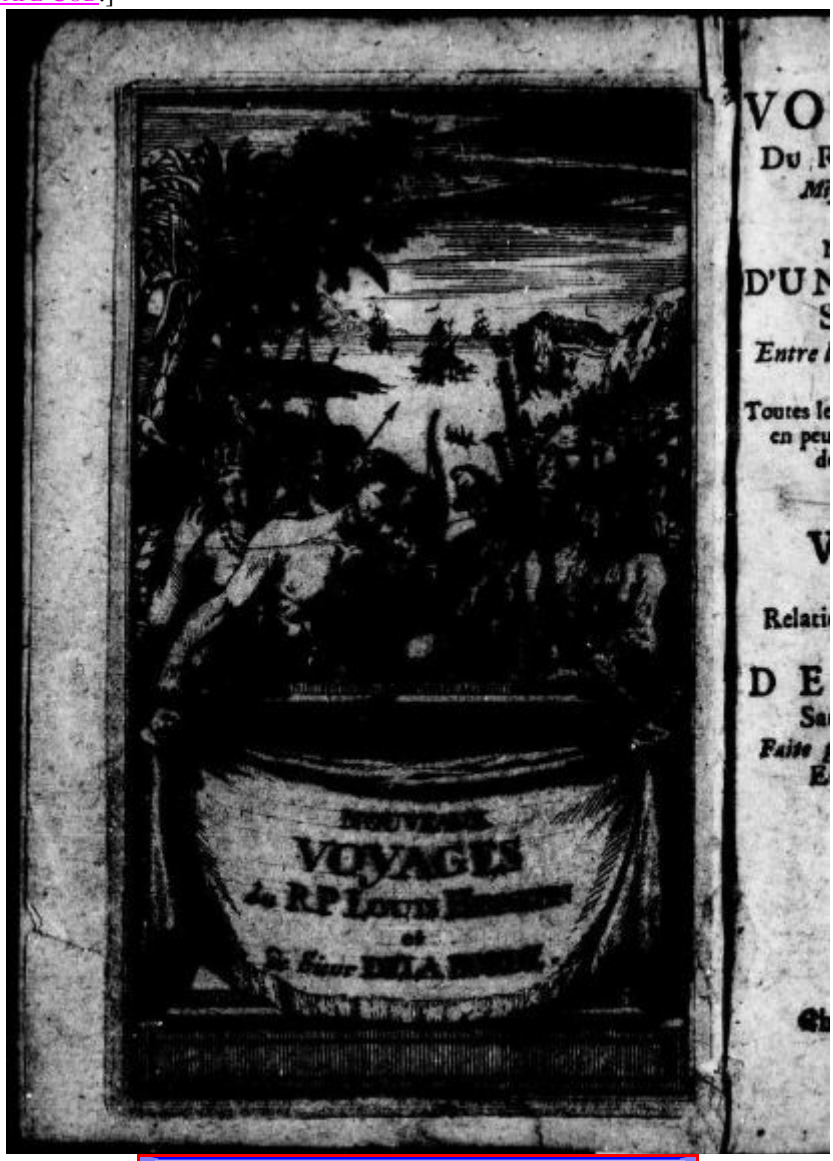
1668, and I am guessing that his full name was Louis Mouet De Moras, Sieur de la Borde and that he was the 4th of the sons of Pierre Mouet, Landlord of Moras, who was an ensign in the Carignan-Salières regiment, with Marie Toupin, Madame de Moras (born on August 19, 1651 at Québec, died on March 13, 1722/1723 at Trois-Rivières),

1. — MOUET, PIERRE, (1) b 1639, fils de Bertrand et de Marthe de Thosin, de Castel-Sarrasin, en Basse Guyenne ; s 24 nov. 1693.
TOUPIN, Marie, [TOUSSAINT I.
s 14 mars 1723.
Pierre, b 1er nov. 1669 ; m 18 avril 1694, à Elizabeth JUTRAS ; s 31 oct. 1708. — *Jacques*, b 26 janv. 1672. — *René*, b 1er mars 1674. — *Louis*, (2) b 9 oct. 1676 ; s 27 mars 1699. — *Michel*, b 20 janv. 1679 ; m 30 janv. 1725, à Catherine DESJORDIS. — *Marie-Madeleine*, b 2 juillet 1681 ; s 8 déc. 1703. — *Joseph*, b 21 juillet 1683. — *Thérèse*, b 14 mars 1688 ; m 27 oct. 1715, à Michel TROTIER.

(1) Sieur de Moras, enseigne dans la compagnie de Loubias, régiment de Carignan.
(2) Sieur de la Borde.

that he had been baptized on October 9, 1676 and would die on March 27, 1699 (but this is guesswork based on family genealogies, and does not at all jibe with an original date of his publication of 1674 at Paris; none of this makes sense if his book was published before he was born, and everything of this makes somewhat more sense if his book actually was published in 1694, when he was perhaps 18 years of age and had perhaps already in his teens as a lay brother assisted Father Simon at his mission in St. Vincent Island, and simply went through the press with a numerical typo on its title page).

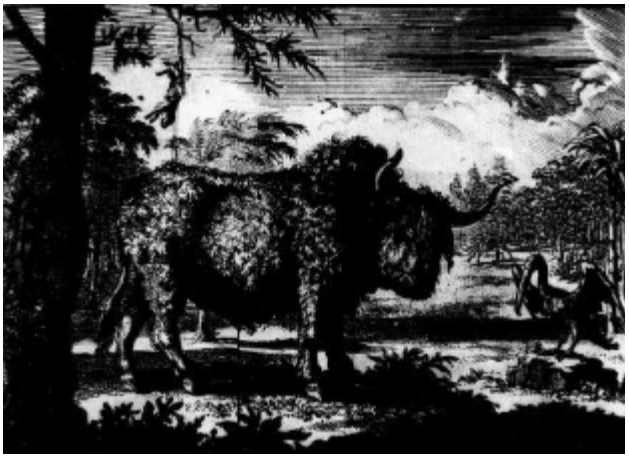
Thoreau would extract something about heavy surf from this source, for use in Chapter 8 “The Highland Light” of CAPE COD.]

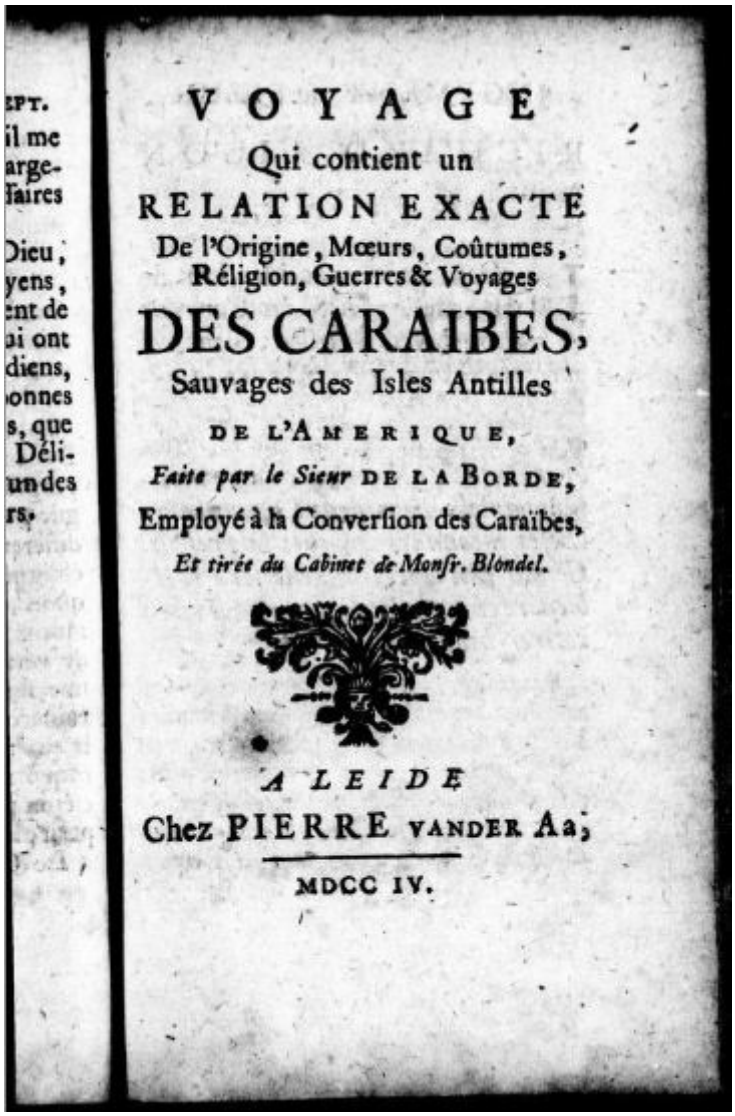


CURIEUX ET NOUVEAU

CATHOLICISM

ROMAN CATHOLICISM





EPT.
il me
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faires

Dieu,
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Déli-
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VOYAGE
Qui contient un
RELATION EXACTE
De l'Origine, Mœurs, Coûtumes,
Réligion, Guerres & Voyages
DES CARAIBES,
Sauvages des Isles Antilles
DE L'AMERIQUE,
Faite par le Sieur DE LA BORDE,
Employé à la Converſion des Caraïbes,
Et tirée du Cabinet de Monſr. Blondel.

A LEIDE
Chez PIERRE VANDER Aa,
MDCC IV.

CAPE COD: Our host said that you would be surprised if you were on the beach when the wind blew a hurricane directly on to it, to see that none of the drift-wood came ashore, but all was carried directly northward and parallel with the shore as fast as a man can walk, by the inshore current, which sets strongly in that direction at flood tide. The strongest swimmers also are carried along with it, and never gain an inch toward the beach. Even a large rock has been moved half a mile northward along the beach. He assured us that the sea was never still on the back side of the Cape, but ran commonly as high as your head, so that a great part of the time you could not launch a boat there, and even in the calmest weather the waves run six or eight feet up the beach, though then you could get off on a plank. Champlain and Poitrincourt could not land here in 1606, on account of the swell (*la houlle*), yet the savages came off to them in a canoe. In the Sieur de la Borde's "Relation des Caraibes," my edition of which was published at Amsterdam in 1711, at page 530 he says:-

PEOPLE OF CAPE COD

CHAMPLAIN
POITRINCOURT

DE LA BORDE

> "Couroumon a Caraibe, also a star [*i.e.* a god], makes the great *lames à la mer*, and overturns canoes. *Lames à la mer* are the long *vagues* which are not broken (*entrecoupees*), and such as one sees come to land all in one piece, from one end of a beach to another, so that, however little wind there may be, a shallop or a canoe could hardly land (*aborder terre*) without turning over, or being filled with water."

But on the Bay side the water even at its edge is often as smooth and still as in a pond. Commonly there are no boats used along this beach. There was a boat belonging to the Highland Light which the next keeper after he had been there a year had not launched, though he said that there was good fishing just off the shore. Generally the Life Boats cannot be used when needed. When the waves run very high it is impossible to get a boat off, however skilfully you steer it, for it will often be completely covered by the curving edge of the approaching breaker as by an arch, and so filled with water, or it will be lifted up by its bows, turned directly over backwards and all the contents spilled out. A spar thirty feet long is served in the same way.

I heard of a party who went off fishing back of Wellfleet some years ago, in two boats, in calm weather, who, when they had laden their boats with fish, and approached the land again, found such a swell breaking on it, though there was no wind, that they were afraid to enter it. At first they thought to pull for Provincetown, but night was coming on, and that was many miles distant. Their case seemed a desperate one. As often as they approached the shore and saw the terrible breakers that intervened, they were deterred. In short, they were thoroughly frightened. Finally, having thrown their fish overboard, those in one boat chose a favorable opportunity, and succeeded, by skill and good luck, in reaching the land, but they were unwilling to take the responsibility of telling the others when to come in, and as the other helmsman was inexperienced, their boat was swamped at once, yet all managed to save themselves.

The full title of the book to which Thoreau refers in CAPE COD, "the Sieur de la Borde's 'Relation des Caraibes,' my edition of which was published at Amsterdam in 1711," is *VOYAGES | CURIEUX ET NOUVEAUX | DE MESSIEURS | HENNEPIN & DE LA BORDE, | OU L'ON VOIT UNE DESCRIPTION TRÈS PARTICULIERE, D'UN GRAND PAYS DANS L'AMERIQUE, ENTRE LE | NOUVEAU MEXIQUE, & LA MER GLACIALE, AVEC UNE RELATION CURIEUSE DES | CARAIBES SAUVAGES DES ISLES ANTILLES DE L'AMERIQUE, | LEURS MŒURS, COÛTUMES, RELIGION &C. | LE TOUTE ACCOMPAGNÉ DES CARTES & FIGURES NECESSAIRES.* | [Emblem.] | *A AMSTERDAM, AUX DEPENS DE LA COMPAGNIE. MDCXI* (this is an exceedingly rare volume, but was a mere reprint of the more available edition of 1704, with slight change in the title page). The original date of his publication *RELATION CURIEUSE DES CARAIBES SAUVAGES DES ISLES ANTILLES DE L'AMERIQUE* had been 1674, when it had appeared at Paris under the title *RELATION DE L'ORIGINE, MOEURS, COÛTUMES, RELIGION, GUERRES & VOYAGES DES CARAIBES, SAUVAGES DES ISLES ANTILLES DE L'AMERIQUE. FAITE PAR LE SIEUR DE LA BORDE EMPLOYE A LA CONVERSION DES CARAIBES, ESTANT AVEC LE R.P. SIMON JESUITE; ET TIREE DU CABINET DE MONSIEUR BLOUDEL* ... DIVIDED INTO 12 COMPARTMENTS, EXHIBITING THE UTENSILS, DWELLINGS, AND MANUFACTURES OF THE CARIBS.

While he was in Cambridge, Thoreau also checked out Père Claude Dablon's RELATION OF THE VOYAGES OF FATHER JAMES MARQUETTE, 1673-75 (1677).

"There is no Frigate like a Book
To take us Lands away"
— Emily Dickinson

After leaving the Harvard Library with his load of books of the history of French Catholic[77] exploration to study, such as JESUIT RELATIONS for 1670-1672, from which he would copy into his Indian Notebook #11, Thoreau visited the Boston Society of Natural History to do some ornithology.

77. It never ceases to amaze me how Thoreau, with his Huguenot family history of persecution by French Catholics, and despite the rampant anti-Catholicism that marred the USer attitudes of those times, was able so benignly to consider the positive accomplishments of French Catholics! Clearly he carried with him no grudge at all in regard to what had been in its day the largest mass religious expulsion and genocide (prior, of course, to the Holocaust).

December 7. To Boston.
At Natural History Rooms.
The egg of Turdus solitarius is light-bluish with pale-brown spots. This is apparently mine which I call hermit thrush, though mine is [sic] redder and distincter brown spots.
The egg of Turdus brunneus (called hermit thrush) is a clear blue.
The rail's egg (of Concord, which I have seen) is not the Virginia rail's, which is smaller and nearly pure white, nor the clapper rail's, which is larger. Is it the sora rail's (of which there is no egg in this collection)?
My egg found in R.W.E.'s garden is not the white-throated sparrow's egg.
Dr. Bryant calls my seringo (i.e. the faint-noted bird) Savannah sparrow. He says Cooper's hawk is just like the sharp-shinned, only a little larger commonly. He could not tell them apart. Neither he nor Brewer[78] can identify eggs always. Could match some gulls' eggs out of another basket full of a different species as well as out of the same basket.

On this day his letter arrived in New Bedford, so in the evening Friend Daniel Ricketson was waiting for the train from Boston at the Tarkiln Hill depot at the head of the river, and picked up Thoreau with his load of books, and Thomas Cholmondeley, and took them to his Shanty — where they talked of the English poets Thomas Gray, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, William Wordsworth, etc. until they retired at 10 PM.

On this day Thoreau was being written to by Ticknor & Fields in Boston.

Boston Decr 7/58
Henry D. Thoreau Esq
Concord Mass.
Dear Sir
Referring to our file of letters for 1857 we find a note from you of which the enclosed is a copy. As our letter –to which it is a reply– was missent, we doubt not but our answer to yours of a few months since has been subjected to the same, or a similar irregularity.
Respectfully
Yours &c.
Ticknor & Fields
pr Clark

78. Thomas Mayo Brewer had written in the Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History for the years 1851-1854, on page 324 of volume 4, that Thoreau copied into his Commonplace Book #2. Spencer Fullerton Baird, Thomas Mayo Brewer, and Robert Ridgway would create the 3-volume A HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICAN BIRDS. LAND BIRDS (Boston: Little, Brown, 1874-1884). Brewer's specialty in bird study was nesting and eggs.

1859

POEMS READ AT THE OPENING OF THE FRATERNITY LECTURES, 1858-59 (Boston: Printed for the Fraternity). This consisted of a poem "America" read by Franklin Benjamin Sanborn at the opening of the initial session on October 5, 1858, portions of which would also be read before the Concord Lyceum on November 1, 1859, and a poem "Character" read by Rufus Leighton, Jr. at the opening of the 2d session on October 4, 1859.

Publication of the anonymous volume POPE OR PRESIDENT? STARTLING DISCOVERIES OF ROMANISM AS REVEALED BY ITS OWN WRITERS.

SURVEY OF AMERICAN ANTI-CATHOLICISM

In the Eliot Public School in Boston's North End, a Catholic student, required to recite the Ten Commandments as per the King James translation of the BIBLE,[79] caused a furor by refusing his teacher's demand. The teacher of course punished this student, the known ringleader of a group of students who had sadly fallen under the influence of one Father John Wiget, a parish priest. After about half an hour of being struck across the palm with a rattan cane, young Thomas Wall found that he had become able to read from the King James BIBLE — but on the following day some 300 Irish children would be truant.

English landlords in Ireland tended to prefer Irish tenants over English tenants because the Irish tenants were more profitable. An English tenant needed to be negotiated with –and your mileage might vary– whereas under the standing regulations an Irish Catholic tenant could be forced to pay as rent, hands down, a staggering standard 1/4th of his annual crop — and that's just the way it had to be.

It was reported in the Boston Courier that the custom of segregated pews, for black members to be seated separately from white members, was "in New England's churches largely a memory." The newspaper meant, of course, in its good-sounding story, New England's **Protestant** churches — for no Catholic edifice in New England had ever permitted black attendance of any sort and thus no Catholic church in New England had ever had any occasion for such embarrassing segregation of its seating. Also, the paper failed to mention just how it was that the problem of segregated seating in the Protestant churches had been solved: largely, the issue was being defanged by taking the pressure off the white Protestant churches, by the creation of new Protestant churches that were de-facto 100% black. **Segregation, rather than being eliminated in the Protestant churches of America, was being totalized, just like it always had been in the Catholic churches of America.**

79. The Catholic and Protestant translations of the commandments differ in significant details, such as in their numbering, and both differ substantially from Jewish interpretations, a Jewish reading of "Thou shalt not steal," for instance, being that this one did not originally have to do with the theft of objects, which was covered adequately under "coveting one's neighbor's possessions," but dealt instead probably with such activities as kidnapping.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 13

CATHOLICISM

I. *Usury Laws*
II. *Catholicity and Civilization*
III. *The Humanists*
IV. *Primitive Elements of Thought*
V. *Conversations on Theocracy*
VI. *Popular Amusements*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

SummerBrownson's Quarterly Review, No. 14

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Church and the Revolution*
II. *Politics at Home and Abroad*
III. *The Mortara Case*
IV. *Religious Controversy*
V. *Pere Felix on Progress*

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 15

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Church and the Revolution*
II. *Public and Parochial Schools*
III. *Complete Works of Gerald Griffin*
IV. *Lamennais and Gregory XVI*
V. *Napoleonic Ideas*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Late in the year, Father Isaac Hecker's Church of St. Paul the Apostle opened its doors in "Shantyopolis," a poor Irish area on Manhattan's West Side. Do not think of it, however, as the impressive "Saint Paul's" edifice of the Paulist Fathers which now exists there.

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 16:

I. *The Immaculate Conception*
II. *Charlemagne – His Scholarship*
III. *Ecclesiastical Seminaries*
IV. *Divorce and Divorce Laws*
V. *Romanic and Germanic Orders*
VI. *The Roman Question*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1860

Frederick Douglass was not being overly impressed by the new Republican Party and its reliance upon the thinking of Hinton Rowan Helper. In a letter to his "British Anti-Slavery Friends" in this year, he explained that in the USA these Republicans were "only negatively anti-slavery." He specified to them precisely what he meant by such a strange locution:

> It is opposed to the political power of slavery, rather than to slavery itself.

Douglass was registering the Irish Catholic American hatred of American blacks, especially the ones who were free, and as one might expect, he was responding in kind:

> Irish Catholics, and especially Irish Americans, are not simply ignored or critiqued, they are systematically cast out of Douglass's circle.
>
> — Richard Hardack, "The Slavery of Romanism: The Casting Out of the Irish in the Work of Frederick Douglass," page 116, LIBERATING SOJOURN

His rhetoric was full of drunken Irish, usually caught in the act of voting while needing to be propped up by two able-bodied helpers, but that wasn't the worst of it for Douglass was not merely a victim of but also a master at racist rhetoric:

> [W]e want no black Ireland in America. We want no aggrieved class.
>
> [T]hese people lacked only a black skin and wooly hair, to complete their likeness to the plantation Negro. The open, uneducated mouth, ..., [etc., etc.]

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. ***Christianity or Gentilism?***
II. ***The Soul's Activity***
III. ***Manahan's Triumph of the Church***
IV. ***The Bible Against Protestants***
V. ***The True Cross***
VI. ***The Yankee in Irelans***
VII. **Literary Notices and Criticisms**

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Limits of Religious Thought*
II. *ETUDES DE THEOLOGIE*
III. *Ventura on Christian Politics*
IV. *Burnett's Path to the Church*
V. *American College at Rome*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Papal Power*
II. *Dr. Arnold, and Catholic Education*
III. *The Tyranny of Progress*
IV. *Politics at Home*
V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Rationalism and Traditionalism*
II. *Ireland*
III. *Rights of the Temporal*
IV. *Vocations to the Priesthood*
V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

During the winter lecture season of ’60/61, at the Odeon Hall in Boston:

21st Season of The Lowell Institute

Reverend James Walker.
Philosophy of Religion . . . . . **12 lectures**

Honorable George P. Marsh.
Origin and History of the English Language . . . . . **12 lectures**

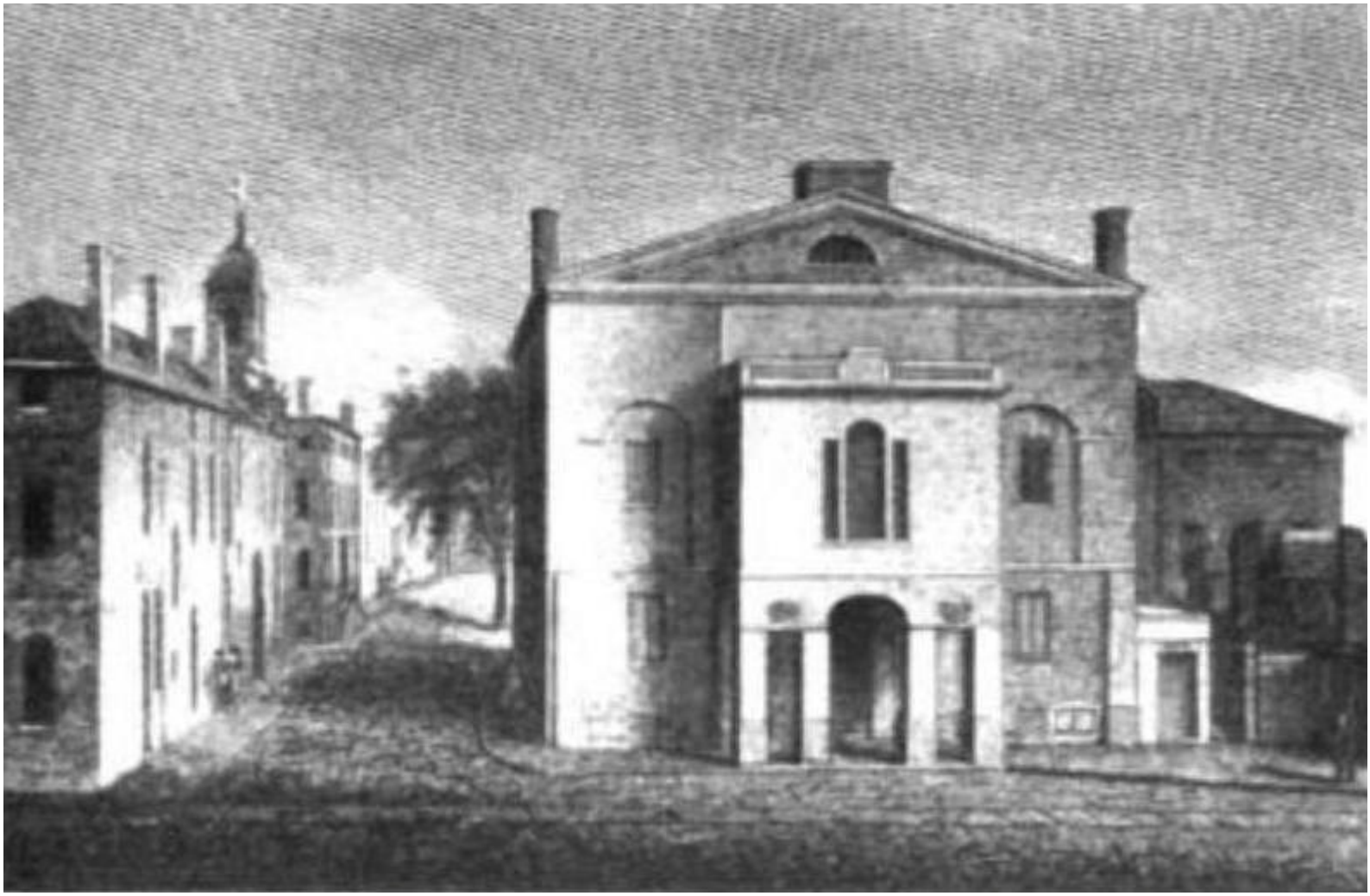
Reverend Mark Hopkins.
Moral Philosophy . . . . . **12 lectures**

Professor Benjamin Peirce.
Mathematics in the Cosmos . . . . . **12 lectures**

Professor Josiah P. Cooke, Jr.
Chemistry of the Atmosphere as illustrating
the Wisdom, Power, and Goodness of God . . . . . **12 lectures**

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM



April 15, Sunday: The visions of Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich received a sympathetic write-up in Le Monde.

CATHOLICISM

April 15. Strong northwest wind and cold. Thin ice this forenoon along meadow-side, and lasts all day.

2 P. M.—Thermometer 37. To Conantum.
At Conantum pitch pines hear the first pine warbler. Have not heard snipe yet. Is it because the meadows, having been bare, have not been thawed?
See ripples spread fan-like over Fair Haven Pond, from Lee's Cliff, as over Ripple Lake.
Crowfoot abundant; say in prime. A cedar under the Cliff abundantly out; how long? Some still not out. Say 13th. Mouse-ear. Turritis about out; say 16th.
Some little ferns already fairly unfolded, four or five inches long, there close under the base of the rocks, apparently Woodsia Ilvensis?
See and hear the seringo, — rather time [SIC] compared with song sparrow. Probably see bay-wing **[Vesper Sparrow** ***Pooecetes gramineus***] (surely the 16th) about walls.
The arbor-vitae appears to be much of it effete.
At this season of the year, we are continually expecting warmer weather than we have.

1861

Harvard College awarded an honorary LLD to John Bernard Fitzpatrick, the Catholic Bishop of Boston.

NEW "HARVARD MEN"

The Paulist Fathers led by Father Isaac Hecker began to publish selected homilies, in a popular series.

February 4, Monday: Sophia Dana Ripley died of cancer. The funeral would be in her widowed husband the Reverend George Ripley's old church on Purchase Street, which had become a Catholic church. She would be buried in the Dana family tomb in the Old Burying Ground near Harvard Square. From a photograph taken of her while ill, her portrait would be painted in crayon by Richard Morrell Staigg. Her husband, not considering this portrait to be a good likeness, would donate it to the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, who would lose it. Father Thomas (Isaac Hecker) would write of Sophia that:

> The poor, the sick, the little children in our City Institutes, particularly those on Randall's Island, were the object of her laborious and systematic care, up to her last illness.... She had a wonderful zeal for reclaiming abandoned women, and it was owing chiefly to her exertions that the Sisters of the Good Shepherd were brought for that purpose.... I said to her on her deathbed: "My dear Friend, if God should restore you again to health, I would not know how to give you any better advice than simply to recommend you to take up again your labors of love at the point where your illness compelled you to break them off." I regard Mrs. Ripley's conversion as a striking testimony to the power of Catholic truth over a clear mind, a strong will, early prejudices, and the opposition of the world. I believe that the grace to believe was accorded to her by Heaven in reward for the straightforwardness, earnestness and purity with which she labored at Brook Farm to carry out the precepts of this charity. And I regard her Catholic life as a beautiful exemplification of the Spirit and teaching of the Church. She is that "valiant woman," of whom the Holy Scripture speaks. "Her works praise her in the gates, and her children" —the orphan whose tears she dried, and the outcast and abandoned to whom she brought back hope and virtue— "rise up and call her blessed."

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Ward's Philosophical Introduction*
II. *Catholic Education in the United States*
III. *Separation of Church and State*
IV. *Seminaries and Seminarians*
V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

May 7, Tuesday: Tennessee seceded.

IRISH

The Catholic Archbishop of New-York, John Hughes, pledged to a Southern co-religionist his neutrality: he would neither encourage his "Catholics to take part in" the suppression of the insurrection of the South, nor advise them "not to do so."

The Reverend Moncure Daniel Conway wrote to President Abraham Lincoln offering to the federal government precisely what Conway didn't have: military intelligence about the territory surrounding his home plantation in Virginia. (If the President forwarded this goofball offer to the War Department, someone had enough military intelligence to ignore it.)[80]

[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR 7 MAY]

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Christ the Spirit*
II. *Pope and Emperor*
III. *Early Christianity in England*
IV. *Xavier De' Ravignan*
V. *The Monks of the West*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

80. In a curiously similar gesture, Elvis Presley would offer his services as a drug informant for the federal administration.

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Gioberti's PHILOSOPHY OF REVELATION*
II. *Avignon and the Schism*
III. *Catholic Polemics*
IV. *The Great Rebellion*
V. *Sardinia and Rome*

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

October 12, Saturday: The Catholic Archbishop of New-York, John Hughes, placed an editorial he himself had written in his "official organ," the Metropolitan Record. The article declared that although American Catholics would fight to preserve the federal union, they were not going to fight to end human enslavement. Human enslavement existed by virtue of "Divine permission of God's providence." Not only was God in favor of slavery, God was in favor of the international slave trade, a trade in human beings which was no "moral transgression of the law of God." To the contrary, the good Archbishop pointed out, God wants us to be "humane masters" and God wants us to "take care of these unfortunate people." Theologically, Hughes considered himself to be on very safe ground, as his God was a God who had condemned men to live by the sweat of their brow on account of the original sin of their ancestor Adam despite the fact that they themselves "had no part in the commission of original sin." How could a God who very generally punished children for the sins of their parents be opposed in particular to the condition of enslavement being passed on from owned black parents to owned black children?

IRISH

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

CATHOLICISM

I. *Various Objections Answered*
II. *The Philosophy of Religion*
III. *Reading and Study of the Scriptures*
IV. *Slavery and the War*
V. The End of the Volume

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1862

Professor Joseph Leidy came to be in charge of autopsies at Salterlee General Hospital of the US Army in West Philadelphia.

The Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy moved their St. Aloysius orphanage in Providence, Rhode Island from their convent on Claverick Street into a newer building on Prairie Avenue.

In New-York, Quakers founded a Friends Employment Society to train young women to work in hospitals and other jobs.

With the beginning of civil war, for financial reasons the Female (later Woman's) Medical College of Pennsylvania was forced to discontinue its instruction. Friend Ann Preston was, however, able to open the doors of her new Woman's Hospital on North College Avenue in Philadelphia, and was able to raise enough money to send her colleague Dr. Emeline Horton Cleveland off to the Maternité hospital in Paris to study

obstetrics — so that upon her return the new hospital could have a resident physician.

The federal Congress passed the Morrill Act which established land-grant colleges in rural areas: through such land-grant colleges, millions of women would be able to acquire low-cost degrees. The Homestead Act promised 160 acres of free land to anyone regardless of gender, who would live on it and improve it for five years: many single women would “prove up claims” under this act, especially teachers who would be able to work the land during the summer vacation.

In 1841, three women had already receive full baccalaureate degrees from Oberlin College, but Mary Hosford, Elizabeth Smith Prall, and Caroline Mary Rudd were white. In this year’s graduating class at Oberlin College, Mary Jane Patterson became the 1st African-American woman to receive a full baccalaureate degree.

November/December: Waldo Emerson to his journal, in regard to Father Isaac Hecker and Anna H. Barker Ward, former Quaker, former Unitarian, wife of the wealthy New-York banker Samuel Gray Ward:

> *Isaac Hecker, the Catholic priest, came to see me, & desired to read lectures on the Catholic Church, in Concord. I told him that nobody would come to hear him, such was the aversion of people, at present, to theological questions; & not only so, but the drifting of the human mind was now quite in another direction than to any churches. Nor could I possibly affect the smallest interest in anything that regarded his church. We are used to this whim of a man's choosing to put on & wear a painted petticoat, as we are to whims of artists who wear a medieval cap or beard, & attach importance to it; but, of course, they must say nothing about it to us, & we will never notice it to them, but will carry on general conversation, with utter reticence as to each other's whimsies: but if once they speak of it, they are not the men we took them for, & we do not talk with them twice. But I doubt if any impression can be made on Father Isaac. He converted Mrs Ward, &, like the lion that has eaten a man, he wants to be at it again, & convert somebody.*

December: In its support for the armies of the Union, William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator was becoming more and more downright chauvinist –tendentiously ambiguous statements such as that "the true fight is only begun" – statements such as "Never was death more nobly laughed to scorn" (which would indicate were they to be taken with any seriousness that what soldiers were going out to the battlefields for was to be killed, rather than in order to kill others).

Irish Catholic Archbishop John Joseph Hughes warned Secretary of State William H. Seward in general terms without naming the names of any of the penitents, of the sort of talk that was going down in the confessionals of his Catholic churches in the city of New-York. Some of his confessors were commenting that "**their** fighting" was fighting that was "to be done in the streets of this city." Very clearly, the federal government was being made aware of the anti-draft white race riots that were about to begin.

At the Gatling Gun Company factory in Indianapolis, Dr. Richard Jordan Gatling's initial production run of 6 weapons of mass destruction were destroyed by fire. This was most unsettling for the good doctor, who had been able to persuade himself that by increasing the efficiency of war killing and thus making for himself a shit-pot full of money, he could decrease the war killing. Dr. Gatling would arrange for a 2d production run, of 13 of these weapons of mass destruction, to be manufactured at the Cincinnati Type Factory.

GATLING'S MACHINE GUN

1863

The Universalist meetinghouse erected in 1842 in Concord's town square and abandoned in 1857 was purchased for use as a Catholic church.

In "The Saint of Our Day," a homily on sanctification, Father Isaac Hecker attempted to suggest to the Congregation of St. Paul in New-York a redefinition of the meaning of Christian Perfection suitable to the needs of the 19th Century. His friend Orestes Augustus Brownson attacked him again, as he had attacked him upon the occasion of the publication of his book ASPIRATIONS OF NATURE in November 1857, for failing to grasp the delusive nature of original sin and how difficult it was for us to get past our own self-delusiveness without the help of the outside perspective on ourselves provided by revelations from God.

PAULIST FATHERS

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Faith and Theology*
II. *The Antiquity of the Faith*
III. *Conscripts and Volunteers*
IV. *Mrs. Sadlier's OLD AND NEW*
V. *The President's Message*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Faith and Reason – Revelation and Science*
II. *Sermons by the Paulists*
III. *Mr. Conway and the Union*
IV. *The "Six Days" of GENESIS*
V. *Reform and Reformers*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

July 13, Monday through July 16, Thursday: Antebellum white anti-slavery people were **forced** to have categorically excessive positive feelings for the American black as victim, because the race issue was so troublesome and dangerous that the only alternative attitude available to them would have been an unacceptably bitter resentment of American blacks in all their troublesomeness. In fact this submerged resentment did from time to time come to the surface, as in the New-York anti-draft riot of this summer, and ever and again would need to be pushed down into the cultural unconsciousness.

During this four-day period in steamy New-York, a largely Irish proslavery Copperhead mob attacked the Colored Orphan Asylum at 5th Avenue and 43d Street, driving the orphans into the street. One of the orphans, ten year old, by the name of Jane Barry, was killed when the rioters were heaving a bureau out of a window and by accident it landed on top of her.

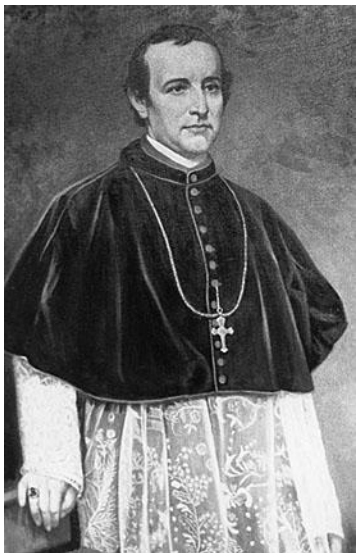
TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

During the four days in which this sort of thing would be going on, the mob would also lynch some citizens of African descent, lightening people up by hanging them from lamp-posts. Sometimes they lightened them up by cutting off their fingers and toes.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

In regard to a Mr. William Jones whom they hanged from a tree on Clarkson Street, they lit a fire beneath him as he swung. After they had strongarmed a disabled black coachman by the name of Abraham Franklin from his home and strung him up in this manner, an 18-year-old Irishman by the name of Patrick Butler dragged the corpse of Abraham Franklin through the streets by the genitals, to general applause. The mob drove some

blacks into the river, where they drowned. The Roman Catholic bishop there, John Joseph Hughes, who had



been born in Ireland, helped bring this to a stop, but mostly, what brought it to a stop was the arrival of US Army troops still alive after an intense struggle which had taken place at Gettysburg PA (July 2d and 3d) to take military control over the streets of the city.[81] For these four days the city police made themselves very scarce –precisely as the white-dominated LAPD would make itself scarce while the 1992 riots in LA were starting, though perhaps for quite opposite tactical reasons– while these gangs of "outraged citizens" went into black neighborhoods and set them to the torch. The question of the day among these outraged whites was, "Is it not outrageous that Irish men are being drafted by the Union government in Washington DC, merely to send them off and endanger their precious lives in order to obtain freedom for these unworthy black people?" In other words, these race riots were draft riots, with anger directed against the distant government that was offering to let rich men escape the draft for a cash payment of $300, and yet were redirected against innocent and helpless local people.

81. This factoid has been offered by some in a demonstration that it is not categorically correct to presume that during this period, due to the intensity of the economic competition, the American Irish were hopelessly hostile to American blacks on a racial basis. If it makes you feel better to suppose this, fine, but factor into your thinking that once upon a time during a correspondence with the convert to Catholicism Orestes Augustus Brownson, Archbishop John Joseph Hughes declared himself as perplexed and frustrated at the insanity of a crusade to end human enslavement in America:

> [S]ometimes it has appeared to us that abolitionism ... stands in need of a strait jacket and the humane protection of a lunatic asylum.

The complex of events would be described by Herman Melville in "The House-Top: A Night Piece":

> No sleep. The sultriness pervades the air
> And blinds the brain — a dense oppression, such
> As tawny tigers feel in matted shades,
> Vexing their blood and making apt for ravage.
> Beneath the stars the roofy desert spreads
> Vacant as Libya. All is hushed near by.
> Yet fitfully from far breaks a mixed surf
> Of muffled sound, the Atheist roar of riot.
> Yonder, where parching Sirius set in drought,
> Balefully glares red Arson — there — and there.
> The town is taken by its rats — ship-rats
> And rats of the wharves. All civil charms
> And priestly spells which late held hearts in awe —
> Fear-bound, subjected to a better sway
> Than sway of self; these like a dream dissolve
> And man rebounds whole aeons back in nature.
> Hail to the low dull rumble, dull and dead,
> And ponderous drag that jars the wall.
> Wise Draco comes, deep in the midnight roll
> Of black artillery; he comes, though late;
> In code corroborating Calvin's creed
> And cynic tyrannies of honest kings;
> He comes, nor parlies; and the Town, redeemed,
> Gives thanks devout; nor, being thankful, heeds
> The grimy slur on the Republic's faith implied,
> Which holds that man is naturally good,
> And — more — is Nature's Roman, never to be scourged.

The rioters, it would turn out, had been able to disrupt police communications merely by clipping single telegraph lines. This would have the effect of forcing the police to become intensely aware of their need to establish multiple independent routes for information flow: redundancy. And it was this sort of concern for the reliability which comes only through redundancy which would eventually lead to Dr. Douglas C. Engelbart's proposal in 1950 that we establish a national information network. Just as it was the police in 1863 that first grasped the need for local redundancy, it would be the military in 1950 that would first grasp the need for national redundancy. This was achieved by asking the military hard questions such as "How does the East Coast give orders to the West Coast after Castro has taken out the Midwest?" and the result would be an item in the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology, the military ARPAnet of 1969.

Commenting on the Scorsese movie "Gangs of New York": "In my own research of New York history, through first-person accounts and newspaper reports, I have found that our past was often at least as violent and squalid, if not more so, than the movie depicts."
— Kevin Baker

Eric Foner refers to this event as "the largest civil insurrection in American history other than the South's rebellion. Nevertheless it has been the sort of non-event which Mary McCarthy, writing in 1946, would term, like Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the phenomenon of the "hole in human history." There is such a hole in human history, it would seem, at every point at which an atrocity has been committed by some group which then "won." —For instance, the hole in Concord history which resulted from the racial mass murder on the watershed of Walden Pond as of the Massachusetts race war in 1675-1676.—For instance, the hole in human history which resulted from the use of Christian Dakota as hostages during this race war of 1863. Writing thirty years after the fact of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Ralph Lapp, who had worked on the A-bomb, would ask "If the memory of things is to deter, where is that memory?" He would add that "Hiroshima has been taken out of the American conscience, eviscerated, extirpated." We might easily say "The New-York draft riot of 1863 has been taken out of the American conscience, eviscerated, extirpated."

Speaking of holes in American history, one hole was left when the bulk of the private papers of Friend Isaac T. Hopper were destroyed in the sacking and torching of the home of his daughter Abby Hopper Gibbons. The home was known to the Copperhead rioters to have been one that had housed antislavery activists. Abby herself was not endangered by the proslavery New-York rioters because at the time she was nursing wounded at the front. However, we have been forced to reconstruct the detail of Friend Hopper's life out of what Lydia Maria Child had included in her 1853 biography of him.[82]

82. Lydia Maria Child. ISAAC T. HOPPER: A TRUE LIFE (Boston: Jewett)

A TRUE LIFE

Here are these New-York draft riots, as they would be described in Frederick Douglass's 1893 LIFE AND TIMES:

> This [race prejudice] was especially true of New York, where there was a large Irish population. The attempt to enforce the draft in that city was met by mobs, riot, and bloodshed ... the Irish began to hang, stab, and murder the negroes in New York.

Douglass had come to detest the American Irish and lower-class Catholics in general. At one point he would become reflective, attempting to figure out why it was that these marginal whites were "among our bitterest persecutors." Here is his rumination, in which, to put the matter in the vernacular, his concept was simply that what had been going around had been coming around:

> It is said that a negro always makes the most cruel negro driver.... The Irishman has been persecuted for his religion about as rigorously as the black man has been for his color.
>
> * * *
>
> They [the immigrant Irish, arriving as foreigners] are taught to believe that he [the native-born American negroes] eats the bread that belongs to them.

What Douglass had to say to Ireland in 1893, by way of amelioration of this hostile standoff, was utterly blunt and hostile:

> [S]end no more such children here.

(For background, on the following screens appears the article "The Conscription a Great National Benefit" as it was printed on this day in The New-York Times.)

The National Enrollment Act, the enforcement of which was commenced in this City on Saturday, will be carried into execution until the quota of the State of New York and of every State in the Union shall be raised and in the field. It may not be necessary that a man of those drafted shall ever go into line of battle during this war. Yet it is a national blessing that the Conscription has been imposed. It is a matter of prime concern that it should now be settled, once for all, whether this Government is or is not strong enough to compel military service in its defence. More than any other one thing, this will determine our durability as a Republic and our formidableness as a nation. Once establish that not only the property, but the personal military service of every ablebodied citizen is a the command of the national authorities, constitutionally exercised, and both successful rebellion and successful invasion are at once made impossible for all time to come. From that time it will be set down as a known fact that the United States is the most solidly based Government on the face of the earth.

The standing reproach against the Republican form of government hitherto has been, that its superior freedom was obtained at the expense of its security. It has been deemed a very comfortable sort of Government for fair weather, but quite unfit for a storm. A Federal Republic, made up like ours of distinct States, has been considered particularly weak. Every philosophical writer who has treated of our institutions, has put his finger upon the weakness of the central authority as the special reason for doubting their perpetuity. De Tocqueville himself, much as he admired our constitutional system, did not hesitate to say, "It appears to me unquestionable that if any portion of the Union seriously desired to separate itself from the other States, they would not be able, nor indeed would they attempt, to prevent it." and to illustrate the helplessness of the federal authority, he cites from a letter of Jefferson's to Lafayette the statement that, "during the War of 1812, four of the Eastern States were only attached to the Union like so many inanimate bodies to living men." Everybody knows that one of the chief embarrassments of that war was the unwillingness of some of the State authorities to surrender the control of their military forces to the Federal Executive. Another of these embarrassments was the great difficulty of keeping the armies up to the necessary figure, notwithstanding extraordinary bounties for the encouragement of the enlistments. The Secretary of War, at that period, in his strait for soldiers, proposed a Conscription system, but it was deemed by Congress dangerous and impracticable, and hardly obtained a

hearing.

In fact, up to the last year the popular mind had scarcely bethought itself for a moment that the power of an unlimited Conscription was, with the sanction of Congress, one of the living powers of the government in time of war. The general notion was that Conscription was a feature that belonged exclusively to despotic Governments, and that the American reliance could only be upon volunteered effort, as prompted by patriotic feeling or pecuniary inducements. It was not until the second year of this terrible rebellion that the public mind began seriously to question whether it would answer to depend entirely upon these precarious stimulants; and even then it began to question only in a whisper. Even the boldest shrank; for they well understood how quickly the factious enemies of the Government would seize upon the old hated word Conscription, and do their best with it to make the war itself odious. But as the war lingered on without result, the Government gradually braced itself up to the responsibility of demanding under the mild name of a National Enrollment bill, what was in reality nothing less than a Conscription law on the European model. Congress, after deliberation, framed and passed such a law. The great practical question now to be determined is whether such a law can be sustained or not in other words, whether this American Republic has or has not the plenary power of its own defence which is possessed by a European monarchy.

For a time after the act was passed, the chiefs of faction were free in their threats that any attempt to carry it out should be resisted by force and arms. In some few localities they succeeded in working up popular passion against its first processes, even to a fighting place; but it was very quickly made apparent that the people at large would never sustain any such resort to violence, and that it was worse than idle to contend thus with the Government. Since then, the talk of these factionists on the platform and in their newspaper organs has been that the appeal shall be carried to the ballot-box. They flatter themselves that, by working diligently upon the basest motives and meanest prejudices, they can secure popular majorities that will force a repeal of the measure, or at least deter the Government from carrying it out to its complete execution.

Well, let them do their worst. We want it determined whether the majority of the American people can be induced by any such influences to abandon the cause of their country. So far as the Government itself is concerned, we have no fear that it will fail to do its duty. Every day adds new evidence that it means to go

straight on to the complete enforcement of the act. The world will now have a better chance to judge than ever before what the real strength of this Republic is. And unless we greatly mistake, it will be seen that an overwhelming majority of the people will stand by the Government in this exercise of the mightiest of its powers; and will show a proud satisfaction in demonstrating that freemen are as capable as subjects and serfs of abiding any needful requirements for the national safety. No people on the face of the earth have such reason to submit to the extremist sacrifices for the salvation of their Government; and, if conscription be necessary to replenish its struggling armies, no population, we undertake to say, has ever endured it with more patience or cheerfulness than the American people will now do. The Government is the people's Government, and the people will never consent that their Government shall suffer in a critical hour for the want of a power which is not grudged even the worse Government when its existence is threatened. When it is once understood that our national authority has the right, under the Constitution, to every dollar and every right arm in the country for its protection, and that the great people recognize and stand by that right, thenceforward, for all time to come this Republic will command a respect, both at home and abroad, far beyond any ever accorded to it before. It will be a new and priceless security against all future rebellion and wanton foreign attack.

LABOR COMPETITION AND THE NEW YORK DRAFT RIOTS OF 1863

By Albon P. Man, Jr.

Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, October 1951

The New York draft riots of July, 1863, had their origin largely in a fear of black labor competition which possessed the city's, Irish unskilled workers. Upon emancipation, they believed, great numbers of Negroes would cross the Mason-Dixon line, underbid them in the Northern labor market and deprive them of jobs. Similar fears helped produce mass anti-Negro violence in World Wars I and II, also periods of acute labor shortage. The movement of Negro strikebreakers into the East St. Louis, Illinois, area, for example, touched off the demonstrations which occurred there in July, 1917,[83] while the upgrading of a few Negro employees signalled the start of the ugly Philadelphia transit strike of August, 1944.[84]

But the New York draft disturbances remain the bloodiest race riots of American history. Police figures on deaths among the white rioters ranged from 1,200 to 1,500, and it is impossible to know how many bodies of Negro victims of the lynch mobs were borne away by the waters on either side of Manhattan Island.[85] Significantly, the Negro population of the metropolis dropped 20% between 1860 and 1865, declining from 12,472 to 9,945.[86]

This article will seek to answer some of the more important questions bearing upon the white workers' dread of labor competition from contrabands: What predictions as to the consequences of emancipation were made by pro-slavery politicians and journalists between the campaign of 1860 and the sultry week of July 12, 1863? How did abolitionists and Republicans try to allay the fear stirred up in the minds of white workers by opponents of emancipation? Did former slaves within Union lines in the South really wish to go northward at that time? Was there any appreciable migration to the North? In addition, this article will examine the actual, rather than anticipated, labor competition between whites and Negroes in various occupations in New York, with special attention to the crucial longshore field and to the anti-Negro violence which marked the waterfront strikes of 1855 and 1863.[87] For that violence was to be repeated, intensified a thousandfold, in the draft riots immediately following the strikes of 1863.

At the outset, mention should be made of the fact that before the spurt in immigration in the decades of the forties and

83. Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, They Seek a City (Garden City, 1945), pp. 125-131.
84. New York Times, August 2-11, 14-18, 1944.
85. William Osborn Stoddard, The Volcano Under the City (New York, 1887), p. 293; New York Herald, July 18, 1863.
86. United States Census Office, 8th Census, 1860; Population of the United States in 1860 (Washington, 1864), pp. 335, 337.
87. For a preliminary but suggestive treatment of the subject of labor competition, see Williston H. Lofton, "Northern Labor and the Negro during the Civil War," Journal of Negro History, XXXIV (July, 1949), 251.

fifties, such occupations in New York as those of longshoremen, hod-carriers, brickmakers, whitewashers, coachmen, stablemen, porters, bootblacks, barbers, and waiters in hotels and restaurants had been almost wholly in the hands of colored men.[88] Domestic maids, cooks, scullions, laundresses and seamstresses were generally colored women. They were secure in these types of employment and earned relatively good wages. But with the huge influx of white foreigners, particularly after the Irish famine of 1846, their position changed radically.

The unskilled Irish swarmed into the menial occupations which had been monopolized by the colored. Offering to work for any wages they could obtain, they reduced the Negroes' earnings drastically and deprived many of employment.[89]

As Frederick Douglass wrote, admonishing Negroes to learn trades or perish: "Every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment by some newly arrived emigrant whose hunger and whose color are thought to give him a better title to the place."[90] Thus the Irish themselves had earlier subjected Negroes to the same job rivalry that Democratic politicians and journalists prophesied would be offered to the Irish by former slaves from the South. To those dire predictions, especially as uttered during the election campaigns of 1860, 1861 and 1862 and after the Emancipation Proclamation and adoption of the draft act in March, 1863, we shall now turn.

At the Democratic rally on October 8, 1860, to ratify the coalition Douglas-Breckinridge-Bell slate of presidential electors in New York, James W. Gerard, prominent lawyer and candidate for Congress, ventured a typical prediction of intensified Negro-white labor competition in the event of emancipation.[91] He warned his listeners-above all, his "friends from Ireland" and immigrants from other countries-that the Republican party was an abolition party:

> *Abraham Lincoln, if honest to his party, means to do his best that the free men of the North shall make free the laboring population of the South. (Cries of "Never," and cheers.) ... I call upon all adopted citizens to stand up and vote against Abraham Lincoln, or you will have negro labor dragging you from your free labor.*

Speaking again later in the month, Gerard returned to this theme, cautioning Irish and German laborers not to vote Republican lest in casting their ballots to exclude slavery, they "exclude bread from their own table."[92]

88. The New Moral World (Owenite newspaper), June 29, 1844, in John R. Commons et al., A Documentary History of American Industrial Society (Cleveland, 1910-1911), IX, 60, 61; G. E. Haynes, The Negro at Work in New York City (New York, 1912), pp. 67, 68, 97; A.A. Payne, "The Negro in New York prior to 1860," Howard Review, I (June, 1923), 1-64; Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, The Black Worker (New York, 1931), pp. 12, 13.
89. J.H. Harmon, A.G. Lindsay and C.G. Woodson, The Negro as a Business Man (Washington, 1929), p. 4; Lindsay, "The Economic Condition of the Negroes of New York Prior to 1861,11 Journal of Negro History, VI (April, 1921), 193-196; Charles E. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925 (New York, 1927), pp. 75-77.
90. Quoted in Charles E. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925 (New York, 1927), pp. 61, 62.
91. Herald, October 9, 1860.

Likewise, General Leslie Combs, of Kentucky, declared at a Democratic mass meeting in New York during the campaign of 1860 that if the slaves in the South were liberated, they would come North and take away the jobs of white longshoremen and other laborers. He warned:

> *Let the four millions of slaves in the South be set at liberty, and left to their own free will and desires, and we should very soon have, not the great conflict so long predicted between free labor and slave labor, but a terrible conflict between white labor and black labor. (Applause.) ... The unemployed slaves will be found among you in sufficient numbers to compete with you at your wharves and your docks, and in every branch of labor in which white people alone are now employed.*[93]

Pro-South business houses, too, brought pressure to bear upon their employees to vote for the fusion Democratic ticket, to preserve themselves from Negro competition.[94]

During the campaign of 1860, the virulently anti-Negro Herald also carried editorials foretelling catastrophe if Lincoln were elected. A wholesale exodus of four million Negroes from the South would occur. If they were anything like the fugitive slaves "of the most vicious and degraded, character" who had already emigrated to the North, it said on one occasion, they would refuse to work and would steal the fruits of Northern industry and burden Northern workers with taxes for their maintenance." The Herald did not hesitate to contradict itself in its arguments, however, for after dwelling one day upon the supposed laziness of freed Negroes, the tax burden for their support, and their criminal tendencies, on another day it would raise the spectre of job competition from apparently hard-working contrabands:

> *Hundreds of thousands will emigrate to their friends - the republicans -- North, and be placed by them side by side in competition with white men. Are you ready to divide your patrimony with the negro? Are you ready to work with him in competition to work more than you do now for Less pay? If you are, vote for the republican candidate.*[95]

Similar to this was the final appeal of James Gordon Bennett, editor of the Herald, to Irish and German laborers on election day, 1860: "If Lincoln is elected to-day, you will have to compete with the labor of four million emancipated negroes.... The North will be flooded with free negroes, and the labor of the white man will be depreciated and degraded."[96]

Even the surge of patriotism which swept the city immediately

92. Herald, October 28, 1860.
93. Herald, October 25, 1860.
94. Basil Lea Lee, Discontent in New York City, 1861-1865 (Washington, 1943), p. 7.
95. Herald, October 1, 1860.
96. Herald, November 5, 1860.

after the attack on Port Sumter did not delete from Democratic newspapers the theme of Negro labor competition upon emancipation.[97] It was reiterated by the demagogic Fernando Wood in campaigning for the office of mayor of New York in the fall of 1861. He charged that his Republican opponent was the candidate of a party which would fill regiments with Irish and German laborers and then bring Negroes North to take their jobs away.[98] Wood also used the inconsistent argument that the support of contraband paupers in the North would be a crushing financial burden."[99] He played upon fear of Negro labor competition most often in bidding for Irish votes.[100] In the mayoralty campaign of 1861 the Herald once more used its stock prediction of the displacement of white workers, notably the Irish, by black workers, should the Republicans prevail.[101]

In the interval between the campaigns of 1861 and 1862, there were few allusions by politicians and press to the danger of Negro labor competition in the event of emancipation. But with the appearance of the preliminary proclamation of emancipation in September, 1862, and the Seymour Wadsworth contest for the New York governorship that year, the old warnings were re-echoed. George Francis Train, the Irish nationalist, said that the abolitionists were "combining to manacle the white man" and were engaged in a "conspiracy against the Irish," whom they sought to degrade by placing Negroes to work beside the[102] Another Irish-American leader, Richard O'Gorman, describing himself as "a sincere friend of the negro," spoke of the impolicy of freeing the black man from the civilizing restraints of servitude.[103] "May not these poor people, joying their newly acquired freedom, swarm on us here in the North?" he asked.

Congressman Samuel S. Cox, of Ohio, felt sure that New Yorkers would elect the Democratic candidate for Governor, Horatio Seymour, because "they would never consent to have negroes compete with them. "I Indeed, he suggested that when whites and freed Negroes clashed in New York's labor market, blood would flow and colored men would get the worst of it.[104] In his campaign pronouncements Seymour himself was more restrained in criticizing Lincoln's preliminary proclamation on the score of Negro labor competition.[105] Of course, the Herald ran true to form editorials on the menace of Negro labor, addressed to Irish and German laborers. "The Irish and German immigrants, to say nothing of native laborers of the white race, must feel enraptured," Bennett wrote, "at the prospect of hordes of darkeys overrunning the Northern States and working for half wages, and thus ousting them from employment.'[106]

97. Herald, November 6, 1860.
98. Herald, April 20, 1861; Irish American, May 24, 1861.
99. Herald, November 28, 1861; New York Tribune, November 28, 1861; Lee, op. cit., p. 289.
100. Herald, November 30, 1861; Tribune, November 30, 1861.
101. Harper's Weekly, V (December 21, 1861), 802, 803.
102. Herald, October 20, 31, November 27, 28, 1861.
103. Herald, September 24, 1862; Tribune, October 2, 1862; Irish American, October 11, 1862.
104. Herald, November 8, 1862.
105. Herald, October 29, 1862.

Promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, and adoption of the conscription act on March 3, 1863, caused a new outburst. The rabid New York Weekly Caucasian rejoiced that the Proclamation had led the Metropolitan Record, which had been the official organ of the Catholic Archbishop of New York, to oppose the war and asserted that its course was generally approved by Irish Americans, who did not relish the thought of having Negroes on their economic level.[107] The newly-formed Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge, an anti-emancipation propaganda group in New York City, published as its first pamphlet a letter written by Henry Clay twenty years before, depicting a horrible doom for white labor in the North if slavery were abolished. As Orestes A. Brownson, one of the few leading anti-slavery Catholics, wrote, Democratic leaders and journalists in this period convinced the Irish that in resisting the draft they were simply refusing to fight for their own economic suicide.[108]

How did Republicans and Abolitionists deal with these predictions of their opponents? In 1860 and 1861 they failed to answer them at all. In 1862, however, they began to grasp the fact that the labor competition argument was making a deep impression upon the working people of New York, particularly the Irish, and that it could no longer be allowed to go unchallenged. In fact, Horace Greeley declared on the eve of the election of 1862 that it was the most common argument advanced against the abolition of slavery.[109]

From the summer of 1862 on, Greeley and other Republican and abolitionist leaders undertook to refute it on every possible occasion. Whatever Negroes had migrated to the North had done so to escape slavery, they said. Eliminate, slavery, and the movement northward would stop, the Negro having an exceptionally strong attachment to the locality in which he was born, according to General Hunter.[110] Furthermore, with the terror of the auction block removed, the colored population of the North would go south, as it was by nature better suited to the climate there and more adept at raising cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar than earning a living at other pursuits in the North. It was therefore clearly to the interest of white workers, including Irish laborers, to support emancipation.[111]

This was the approach of James S. Wadsworth, in his message in October, 1862, accepting the Union party's nomination for Governor of New York and defending Lincoln's preliminary proclamation against the Negro labor competition arguments Daniel S. Dickinson, erstwhile Democratic leader, reasoned the

106. Herald, October 30, 1862; Tribune, October 30, 1862.
107. De Alva Stanwood Alexsinder, Political History of the State of New York (New York, 1906-1923), III, 27-29; Sidney D. Brummer, Political History of New York State during the Period of the Civil War (New York, 1911), pp. 238-240.
108. Herald, October 20, 1862; see also Herald, October 13, 21, November 1, 1862.
109. New York Weekly Caucasian, March 28, 1863.
110. Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge, Papers (New York, 1863), no. 1.
111. Orestes Augustus Brownson, "Catholics and the Anti-draft Riots," Brownson's Quarterly Review, Third New York Series, IV (October 1863), 401.

same way, as did Secretary of War Stanton, Senator Charles Sumner, Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, Major General Cassius M. Clay (who was most disturbed by the effect of the competition idea upon the Irish), and Robert Dale Owen.[112]

Greeley also ridiculed the inconsistency of anti-emancipationists in contending that former slaves would work so hard and so cheaply that they would displace white men and then adding in the same breath that they would be indolent paupers whose upkeep would drain the public treasury.[113]

In his extremely eloquent oration on the Emancipation Proclamation, on February 6, 1863, at the Cooper Institute, Frederick Douglass similarly heaped scorn upon such logic.[114] Once Greeley was bold enough to declare that even if there were an influx of fugitives into the North, it would not injure white workers, because the normal labor force of the North had been depleted by the demands of the army and needed supplementing.[115] The Negroes would produce as much as they would consume, he insisted, observing not very convincingly that they would, moreover, leave whites free to secure "higher, easier, better recompensed positions."[116]

Lincoln himself took note of the Negro labor competition argument against the emancipation program in his message to Congress on December 1, 1862.[117] His answer was colonization: "Reduce the supply of black labor by colonizing the black laborers out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and the wages of, white labor." But Lincoln denied that even without the deportation of freed slaves there would be any mass migration northward and supplanting of white workers, since Negroes would no longer have to flee from bondage in the South.

Unfortunately, information on whether there was actually any movement of freed Negroes from the South to the Northeast is scanty, incidental and inconclusive.[118]

There is a hint here and there buried in the fine print of a Civil War newspaper, a random suggestion in an obscure pamphlet, but no authoritative or extended treatment of this interesting problem. The Tribune would, at one time, admit unqualifiedly that Negroes were leaving the South in considerable numbers to escape slavery. "Were slavery dead tomorrow, the main current of negro migration would flow southward, not northward," wrote Greeley in January, 1863.[119] To the same effect he declared in

112. Tribune, November 5, 1862.
113. Tribune, August 4, 1862.
114. Harper's Weekly, VI (August 23, 1862), 530, 531; Tribune, August 28, November 5, 1862; January 12, March 23, April 16, 1863; R. Dale Owen, J. McKayes and Samuel G. Howe, Preliminary and also the Final Report of the American Freedinen's Inquiry Commission. United States Congress. Senate Executive Documents, No. 53, 38th Cong., lot seas., p. 8, 1864.
115. Herald, October 6, 1862; Tribune, October 6, 23, 1862; Brummer, op. cit, pp. 238-240.
116. Tribune, October 7, 9, 22, November 24, December 5, 1862; Herald, October 8, 17, 1862.
117. Tribune, July 5, August 6, 1862; March 27, 1863.
118. Tribune, February 7, 1863; National Anti-Slavery Standard, February 14, 1863.
119. Tribune, October 17, 1862.

March: "There is at present a very general exodus of poor people from the region cursed by the Slaveholders' Rebellion ... Black men are fleeing to escape from Slavery to traitors."[120] Yet within a month of making this last assertion he said of liberated slaves: "It is quite certain that up to this time many thousands have been liberated, but as far as we can learn, very few have come among us."[121] This, however, was contradicted in January 1863 by Fincher's Trades Review, which stated that a large number of colored persons had already reached the Northern states and that many of them were filling positions formerly occupied by white men. The leading labor paper of its time then proceeded to demand that the government place restrictions on the ingress of emancipated slaves into the North.

It is doubtless true that by the summer of 1863 thousands of former slaves had left Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi for Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas and Minnesota, despite stringent laws passed by some midwestern states forbidding the immigration of contrabands lest whites be deprived of employment.[122] So many Negroes left Missouri, in fact, that it was predicted that crops would perish or remain undeveloped for want of labor.[123] The codes of these states which excluded former slaves but urgently needed agricultural workers to replace men serving in the army were hotly denounced by abolitionists as examples of the absurd lengths to which fear of Negro labor competition could carry white people.[124] But the opposition to emancipation could still point to the northward movement of Negroes in the midwest and predict a similar influx into New York and consequent unemployment for white men.[125]

Into the Middle Atlantic states only a negligible migration of freed Negroes took place. The demand for colored labor in Washington, D.C., and on Maryland plantations exceeded the Supply.[126] Three hundred contrabands did arrive in Washington in the summer of 1862 from various parts of Virginia, but the men among them were promptly hired about government hospitals and camps and on public works, while the women did washing for the soldiers.[127] The advent of a small number of contrabands in Chester County, Pennsylvania, however, did cause some excitement, which was reported in the New York press. False rumors arose that they were so numerous that they took work away from whites and accepted employment for ten cents a day. These

120. The idea of giving Negroes land confiscated from rebels was hailed by Greeley and Roscoe Conkling as removing the apprehension of white workers that the North would be swamped by an influx of freedmen. Tribune, February 12, March 21, 1863; Loyal National League, Opinions of Loyalists Concerning the Great Questions of the Times ... Mass Meeting on Union Square, New York, on the 1lth of April, 1863 (New York, 1863), p. 96.
121. Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln - the War Years (New York, 1941), I, 620, 621.
122. Woodson Is volume pioneered in this field. Carter G. Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration (Washington, 1918).
123. Tribune, January 12, 1863.
124. Tribune, March 27, 1863; Anti-Slavery Standard, March 7, 1863.
125. Tribune, April 16, 1863.
126. Fincher's Trades Review, June 13, 1863.
127. Tribune, August 4, October 30, 1862; Herald, September 22, 1862; Anti-Slavery Standard, January 30, June 30, 1863. On the fear of an influx of contrabands into Kentucky, see Governor Robinson's message to the Kentucky legislature upon the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. Tribune, January 12, 1863.

statements led to assaults upon Negroes in Northern cities.[128] When about a hundred fugitives who came from the South by boat landed in Philadelphia in March, 1862, an immense crowd greeted them with shrieks of abuse.[129] There was probably a trickle of Negroes into New Jersey also, for anti-administration forces there called upon the legislature early in 1863 to bar former slaves from the state.[130]

Some migration of Negroes to New York City did unquestionably occur, at least enough to give an appearance of validity to the predictions of politicians and press and the fear of the Irish proletariat regarding black labor competition.[131] Refugees may well have settled in the Five Points neighborhood, in close proximity to the Irish.[132] During the longshore strike a month before the draft riots it was reported that three carloads of contrabands had reached Jersey City and that the Negroes then took the ferry to New York.[133] One source suggests that the colored workers used to break the strikes of longshoremen in 1863 were emancipated slaves, but there is no definite proof of that.[134] It does, seem, though, that the Negroes sheltered in the Seventh Avenue Arsenal during the draft riots included contrabands,[135] and not to be forgotten is that shout by "someone with an Irish accent" who interrupted Archbishop John Hughes's speech appealing to Catholics to abstain from rioting: "Let the niggers stay in the South!"[136] The following day, speaking of Negroes "that float hither from the South," the Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register urged that they be "driven out again, imprisoned or exterminated."[137] Such a furor could hardly have arisen without some pretext.

But that the pretext was small is apparent from the available information on whether the Negros of the South did really wish to go north in 1862 and 1863. Although it was well known that General Hunter, commander of the army's Department of the South, at Port Royal, South Carolina, gave passes to the North to all Negroes seeking them, he stated in July, 1862, that not more than a dozen had applied to him for such passes since his arrival.[138] Hunter branded the idea of a general migration of Negroes to the North a "carefully fostered delusion." The superintendent in charge of contrabands in Washington, D. C., made a special investigation into the supposed desire of former

128. Anti-Slavery Standard, June 20, 1863.
129. Tribune July 9, 1862; Anti-Slavery Standard, May 9, 30, 1863. Minnesota farmers did employ contrabands in place of whites serving in the army. Anti-Slavery Standard, May 30, 1863.
130. Tribune, October 30, 1862.
131. Anti-Slavery Standard, January 10, 1863.
132. Tribune, August 11, 1862.
133. Tribune, July 11, August 6, 1962; Anti-Slavery Standard, March 28, 1863.
134. Tribune, April 3, 1862.
135. Tribune, January 12, 1863.
136. Woodson's work has an account of the migration of fugitives to New York City in the first half of the century. Woodson, op. cit., pp. 82-86.
137. Committee of Representatives of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends upon the Condition and Wants of the Colored Refugees, Report (New York, 1862), P. 20.
138. Tribune, June 10, 1863; Committee of New York Meeting of Friends, op. cit., p. 14.

slaves to emigrate to the North and found it non-existent.[139] Of those who came under his charge during his first four months in office, not thirty-five were willing to go farther north.

The most thorough attempt to ascertain whether Southern Negroes wished to move to the North was made by a special committee of the Emancipation League.[140] Late in 1862 this committee sent a questionnaire to the different superintendents of contrabands in the South containing the following query, among others: "Do they desire to go North? In the event of general emancipation, and fair treatment at home, would there, in your judgment, be any disposition to go North?" Even though the question was obviously loaded, the answers received leave little room for doubt that the contrabands did not wish to leave the South. The reply from Fortress Monroe, Virginia, was typical: Very few are willing to go North, except for safety. I have had applications from large numbers wishing servants, and offering good wages, lying over for months, because of the unwillingness of any to go." The results of this survey were confirmed by a report of the American Freedmen is Inquiry Commission in June, 1863, that there was no disposition on the part of Negro refugees within Union lines in South Carolina and Florida to go north.[141]

The preceding pages have described the manner in which political leaders and journalists in New York played upon the fear of white workers that freed Negroes would compete with them for jobs. They have also discussed the extent to which there was a movement of contrabands from the South who could compete with them. It is now appropriate to look into the competition actually taking place between Negroes and whites before the draft riots of July, 1863.

Such competition was omnipresent in the South, to be sure. It greatly heightened the tension between Negroes and poor whites, with slaves used in skilled capacities both on plantations and in towns and cities, as well, where their masters easily underbid white mechanics. It extended to almost all branches of manual labor.[142] Everywhere the Southern white worker turned, the Negro seemed to deprive him of a job, except for the most dangerous occupations, in which it would be folly to expose a valuable slave to injury or death.[143]

In the North, some contrabands were competing with white workers by June, 1863, at least according to Fincher's Trades Review, and this development drew a cry for restrictions by the Federal government upon the movement of emancipated slaves into free states.[144] Although our information about racial competition in the longshore field, which will be explored below, is rather plentiful, the press was not very specific about other areas in

139. Spero and Harris, op. cit., p. 17.
140. Tribune, July 18, 1863; Herald, July 18, 1863.
141. Herald, July 18, 1863; Daily News, July 18, 1863; Irish American, July 18, 1863.
142. Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register, July 18, 1863.
143. Tribune, August 4, 1862.
144. Tribune, November 7, 1862.

which the new rivalry was occurring. Random reports did tell of trouble in Washington, D. C., where navy yard workers showed hostility toward twenty or thirty colored calkers brought from Baltimore,[145] and of the replacement of white domestic servants by Negro contrabands in St. Louis.[146] The agitation throughout the North during the Civil War for state laws banning the immigration of Negroes from the South can also be taken as a probable indication of job competition between blacks and whites.

In New York, the ousting of the Democratic party from control of the Federal government in 1861 appeared ominously to bring even political patronage to Negroes. Colored men were appointed to positions in the custom house, replacing good Irish Democrats, said the newspapers, and depressing the wages paid custom house employees.[147] When, in July, 1862, Negro workers were substituted for whites on a ferry line in New York harbor, and the press carried rumors of contrabands' taking away the jobs of white men in Pennsylvania by agreeing to work for ten cents a day, it seemed high time to stop this trend.[148] The method of doing so which was applied by a mob of Irishmen in Brooklyn in August, 1862, may well have been suggested by attacks in recent weeks upon Negroes in Cincinnati and Toledo, Ohio, and Evansville, Indiana.[149]

In the midst of an Irish neighborhood in south Brooklyn stood two tobacco factories.[150] All the employees of one were colored, numbering from fifty to seventy-five and consisting mostly of women and children. About 250 persons, colored and white, were employed in the other and worked harmoniously side by side. The resentment against the employment of the Negroes that had been smoldering among the Irish in that area finally broke into flames on August 4, 1862, when a mob of from two to three thousand whites, stirred up by pothouse politicians I talk of competition from contrabands, smashed their way into one of the factories, shouting "Down with the nagurs!" Many were drunk from liquor dispensed at the neighborhood's numerous rum-shops, where the attack on the factory was planned. Failing to reach the Negro employees barricaded on the second floor, they prepared to set fire to the place and were prevented from doing so only by the arrival of a strong detachment of police, who quelled the riot, after a fashion, by clubbing the, Negroes.

The rioters may be said to have won their point, however. Although one tobacco factory closed down entirely, the proprietor of the other promised not to hire any more colored

145. Tribune, January 27, 1863; Anti-Slavery Standard, February 7, 1863.
146. R. Dale Owen et at, op. cit., p. 8.
147. Spero and Harris, op. cit., pp. 5-11. In an emancipation debate with George Francis Train in New York, Cassius M. Clay gave an excellent description of the underbidding of free labor by slave labor in the South. Herald, November 2, 1862. See also Charles Nordhoff, America for Free Working Men! (New York, 1865), p. 1.
148. Charles Nordhoff, America for Free Working Men! (New York, 1865), pp. 12, 13.
149. Fincher's Trades Review, June 13, 1863; Frank Tracy Carlton, History and Problem of Organized Labor (Boston and New York, 1920), p. 64.
150. Herald, September 26, 1862.

workers.[151] Thus the effectiveness of mob violence in reducing black labor competition was fully demonstrated. Greeley raged, but his editorial lectures to the rioters were scarcely of a type which would cause them to repent, conceding the very competition that had incensed them in the first place. In a characteristic piece he flayed Democratic leaders for playing upon the Irishman's fear of black labor competition and then continued in this dubious manner:

> *Least of all have the laboring white men of the United States, native or foreign, cause to hate the negro. He takes off from them the discredit of the lowest social place, and does offices which leave them free to compete for the higher rewards of industry.... The fugitive colored porter, waiter, or stevedore promotes some shrewd Irish lad to keep a shop, to become constable, or alderman, or to go to Congress.... The transformation of four million chattel slaves into four million free citizens ... will benefit no class so much as that whose tasks they assume and whose toils they relieve.*[152]

In the weeks following the attack on the tobacco factory, there were a number of cases in Brooklyn and New York City in which gangs of Irishmen beat up individual Negroes.[153] A secret organization of workingmen formed in New York at this time inserted in its otherwise radical statement of principles a warning about the danger of emancipated slave labor.[154] In refusing to work with Negroes, the longshoremen, whose strikes and anti-Negro violence will be discussed presently, were not unique. The Tribune cited the typical experience of a Negro cooper, a refugee from the South, who had just been refused work at several barrel-making establishments in New York. The employer at each place told him: "Yes, I have work; I would like to employ you; but my journeymen would all leave me if I did, and I cannot."[155]

Another movement of workingmen at this time expressed apprehension about Negro competition. It consisted of whites concerned over the importation of cheap labor from abroad by employers, with the cooperation of the Lincoln administrations Iron and shipbuilding workers, in particular, faced the prospect of wage reductions occasioned by an influx of foreigners. Early in February, 1863, they held a mass meeting at Tammany Hall, primarily to protest the importation of foreign labor. It is noteworthy, however, that they also adopted an angry statement denouncing steps by employers "to bring hordes of blacks from the South, as well as whites from Europe, to fill the shops, yards and other places of labor, and by that means compel -us to compete with them for the support of our families." To cope with this menace, they declared their intention "to effect a

151. Freeman's Tourna, January 17, 1863.
152. Lee, op. cit., pp. 137, 138.
153. Lee, op. cit., p. 139; Tribune, August 6, 1862.
154. Tribune, August 8, 1862.
155. Tribune, August 5, 6, 1862; Lee, op. cit., pp. 139, 140.

common organization of all the artisans and laborers throughout the country against the anticipated inundation of contrabands in Northern cities." One speaker at this gathering of ironworkers charged that their masters had already started to introduce contrabands in their midst.[156]

But the fiercest competition, with the most violent and far-reaching results, occurred in the longshore field. The remainder of this article will be devoted chiefly to an analysis of longshore work, labor organization among waterfront workers, their strikes of 1855, 1862, and 1863, and their violence against Negro strikebreakers.

Almost all longshoremen in New York City were Irish.[157] Strictly speaking, it is incorrect to classify their work as unskilled labor.[158] It required a degree of special competence to perform the more difficult branches of the work which could be acquired only by years of experience and which raised it above the level of what is ordinarily known as common labor. It was, however, an exhausting, hazardous, casual, and oversupplied occupation.[159] The irregular employment of longshoremen resulted in unstable earnings which made a settled standard of living impossible.[160] One of the persistent complaints of striking longshoremen in 1855, 1862, and 1863 was that they averaged only three or four days of work a week. At the October, 1862, pay rate of $1.50 a day, this meant that they earned between $4.50 and $6.00 a week, which was low even according to Civil War wage standards.

Their irregularity of employment and hanging about piers in the hope of being hired also led longshoremen to drift into waterfront bars and encouraged drinking.[161] Many of the waterfront assaults on Negroes by longshoremen during the spring of 1863 and at the time of the draft riots planned in groggeries on West Street and South Street, across from the piers.[162] Press reports to that effect were borne out by the testimony of the police captain in charge of stopping fights between whites and Negroes along the waterfront in April, 1863: "The trouble is due more to the influence of rum than anything else."[163]

Nevertheless, having no steady jobs to be endangered, longshoremen flared up at bad treatment more quickly than men in other trades. Hence their readiness to strike."[164] The first longshore strike in New York of which there is record took place in February, 1836, when for several days the men paraded through

156. Tribune, January 24, 1863.
157. Tribune, August 8, 1862.
158. Tribune, August 21, 22, 29, September 4, 6, 1862.
159. Tribune, August 8, 1862.
160. Tribune, November 25, 1862; January 24, 1863.
161. Weekly Caucasian, February 14, 1863; Tribune, February 7, 1863.
162. Nor were urban occupations the only ones in which there were complaints of racial competition. A few days before the draft riots, contrabands obtained from a Government agent were reported working for no pay on farms near New York City. Daily News, July 10, 1863.
163. Charles B. Barnes, The Longshoremen (New York, 1915), p. 5.
164. Charles B. Barnes, The Longshoremen (New York, 1915), pp. 51-54.

the streets and before the docks in what amounted to a kind of picketing's.[165] The strike of 1836 eventually became so violent that the civil authorities called out a regiment of soldiers, which, abundantly supplied with ammunition, established itself at City Hall, thereby intimidating the longshoremen.

The earliest permanent associations of New York longshoremen were formed for benevolent purposes. The Longshoremen's Union Benevolent Society, the organization of longshoremen most frequently mentioned by the press during the first two years of the Civil War, was founded in 1852 and had as its chief functions to provide relief to members who were injured or sick, to aid in the burial of deceased members, and to give financial assistance to their widows and orphans.[166] It was overwhelmingly Irish in make-up. But although members complained at its meetings of the high cost of living during the war, calling for wage increases and threatening to strike, the Longshoremen's U. B. Society, as it was called, never had any power as a labor union in the present-day sense of the term.

Negro-white friction on the waterfront became pronounced in the middle fifties. In December 1854, the merchants of New York reduced the wages of longshoremen from $1.75 to $1.50, using as one reason for the slash the allegation that the Longshoremen's U. B. Society had "attempted to dictate to them."[167] A strike, not led by the Society, broke out. Gangs of strikers visited ships from which other longshoremen were still unloading cargo, forced them to desist, and beat them as they came ashore. The merchants, however, called the police, under whose protection the work of loading and unloading vessels was resumed. When employers replaced striking Irishmen with colored labor, anti-Negro violence resulted, with the whites trying to prevent the blacks from working.[168] But, handicapped by the fact that shipping was slow at the time, the strike petered out in the ensuing weeks.[169] The Negroes, having served their strikebreaking purpose, were gradually discharged by the merchants, and by the middle of February, 1855, only a few were still working, in the employ of shippers who had taken the lead in the movement to reduce wages.

There is no evidence that the Longshoremen's U. B. Society called the strikes of 1862 and 1863. By the time of the Civil War it had evidently abandoned any pretense to trade union action and confined itself exclusively to benevolent, social and Irish functions, including annual balls and St. Patrick's Day parades.[170] Its members would turn out six hundred strong on the latter occasions, dressed in handsome green and gold regalia and carrying Irish and American flags and the Society's imposing banners.

165. Charles B. Barnes, The Longshoremen (New York, 1915), pp. 129 ff.
166. Charles B. Barnes, The Longshoremen (New York, 1915), pp. 55-92; Tribune, January 19, 1855; Herald, October 22, 1862.
167. Barnes, op. cit., pp. 13 ff.
168. Herald, April 14, 1863; Anti-Slavery Standard, April 18, July 25, 1863.
169. Herald, April 16, 1863.
170. Barnes, op. cit., p. 93.

Scattered items in the press in June and July, 1863, indicate the existence of one or two other organizations of longshoremen at the time of the draft riots. In June, 1863, a Longshoremen's Association was established and within a week enrolled three hundred members.[171] During the riots it was said that white workers, in driving the Negroes from the docks, were insisting that longshore jobs be held exclusively by members of the Longshoremen's Association and such other whites as they permitted upon the waterfront.[172] The only other longshore labor organization mentioned during the strike of June, 1863, was a Joint Committee of the North and East Rivers, which agreed upon a general rate of wages to be asked of the shippers.[173]

In the interval between the winter of 1854-1855 and October, 1862, no major labor disputes occurred on the city's waterfront. In the autumn of 1862, however, the strain of having to buy with 1855 wages goods sold at war-inflated prices became too great for the longshoremen, who were then working only three days a week. On October 20 they struck. Through a representative committee they demanded that wages be increased from $1.50 a day to $1.75, overtime rates raised, and the working day reduced from nine to eight hours, giving as their reason for wanting more pay "the advanced prices of food, clothing, and other necessaries."[174] Alongside one editorial on the danger of an influx of Negro labor into the North, the Herald published another supporting the strike, which the next day brought fulsome praise from the chairman of a strikers' meeting at the Battery.[175] What role, if any, Negro strikebreakers played in this dispute is not clear, but it appears that the longshoremen failed to win an increase in wages at that time.[176]

For late in January, 1863, workers in one section of the waterfront were informed that thenceforth their pay would be only $1.12 a day instead of the $1.50 they had been receiving previously.[177] This action of the merchants started a labor war on the docks of New York which, except for brief truces, continued till the draft riots in July. Upon reduction of their wages the longshoremen went on strike. They were willing to go back at $1.25 a day provided they were employed permanently, claiming that their irregular work on the waterfront often compelled them to seek jobs elsewhere or remain idle much of the time. Press accounts of two longshore strikes in March, 1863, which refer to $1.12 a day as the prevailing rate of wages, indicate, though, that the cut was put into effect on a wide scale and that the January strike against it did not succeed.[178] But on March 23, 1863, longshoremen working on the North River

171. William Leete Stone, History of New York City (New York, 1872), pp. 486, 487.
172. Tribune, February 15, 1855; Irish American, March 22, 1862; March 28, 1863.
173. Tribune, January 18, 19, 1855.
174. Tribune, February 15, 1855; Charles Lionel Franklin, The Negro Labor Unionist of New York (New York, 1936), p. 25; Spero and Harris, op. cit., p. 197; Wesley, op. cit., pp. 79, 80.
175. Tribune, February 15, 1855.
176. Irish American, October 27, December 8, 1860; January 5, March 23, August 3, October 12, 10, November 2, 1861; February 15, March 15, 22, August 30, November 15, 1862; February 21, March 7, 14, 28, 1863.
177. Daily News, June 16, 1863.

piers of the Erie Railroad Company, having previously won back part of the slash and restored their wages to $1.25 a day, struck for $1.50.[179]

When the company foreman refused to yield to their terms and announced that he would employ other workers in their places, a thousand men gathered in the street in front of the pier. No disturbances broke out until the foreman hired a gang of Negroes to move bales of cotton. Instantly the crowd fell upon the Negroes with sticks, stones, and fists and drove them from the waterfront. The company then agreed to pay $1.50 a day but declined to hire about half the strikers. At first some measure of solidarity was shown by the group, as those whom the company offered to take back held out for the reemployment of the others. By the next morning, however, this unity had disappeared. The company hired all but sixty of the most militant strikers, and work resumed under strong police protection.[180]

The example set by the Erie Railroad longshoremen was immediately followed by employees of the Hudson River Railroad, who struck for an increase in wages from $1.12 a day to $1.50 and notified the company's directors that they would not allow any other persons to take their places for lower wages. Nevertheless, with a squad of police standing by, the company did hire both white and colored strikebreakers. Although here no violence actually broke out, the defeated workers seethed with resentment against those replacements whose dark skin made them stand out conspicuously and rendered them easy targets for revenge.

The next month, April, new strikes broke out among the longshoremen of lower Manhattan. Their exact wage demands are not clear, but for three days mobs of Irish longshoremen, inflamed by drink, beat up Negroes found working on the waterfront and chased them from the docks, shouting "Drive off the damn niggers" and "Kill the niggers."[181] "They were determined, they said, that the blacks should not drive white labor out of the market, and remonstrated against the employment of negroes along shore."[182] Four or five hundred white longshoremen took part in these disturbances, and with difficulty the Metropolitan Police saved from lynching a couple of Negroes who tried to defend themselves. At least two hundred colored longshoremen were employed on the docks at that time, and according to police they did not receive less than the usual rate of wages. In the course of this outbreak, crowds of longshoremen also hunted down and stoned Negroes in other

178. Daily News, July 17, 1863. Speaking of the longshore and railroad workers strikes in 1863, McNeil says that "assaults were made upon the non-unionists who took the place of the men on strike." (Emphasis added.) George E. McNeil, The Labor Movement-the Problem of Today (Boston and New York, 1887), p. 126. This implies the existence of a union conducting the strike. See also United States Commissioner of Labor, Third Annual Report (1887), p. 1048.
179. Herald, June 10, 1863.
180. Tribune, October 21, 22, 1862; Herald, October 21, 22, 1862.
181. Tribune
182. Wesley, op. cit., pp. 99, 100.

sections of lower Manhattan besides the waterfront, pursuing all the colored porters, cartmen and laborers within sight until routed by the locust batons of the police.

Greeley regarded the episode as the natural result of the persistent efforts of the pro-slavery press of New York to strengthen its readers' prejudices and to persuade them that "white men were to be cheated out of work by an immigration of negroes." Said he further:

> *If longshoremen or any other class of laborers do not choose to work with negroes they need not. No law compels them. But the negro, as well as the white man, has a right to work for whoever will employ and pay him, and the law, and courts, and police, and public opinion ought to protect him in that right, and will.*[183]

May was a quiet month on the waterfront, but trouble flared up again early in June, when the longshoremen of New York stopped work *en masse*, demanding an increase in pay to twenty-five cents an hour during the regular working day and overtime of fifty cents an hour after 6 PM. Five hundred of them marched from pier to pier, inducing men who were still working to quit. Their number swelled as they proceeded. When non-strikers at one pier balked at leaving work, they were attacked by the strikers and compelled to desist until the police arrived and gave them protection.[184]

After a week of fruitless negotiation between committees of strikers and shipowners, the United States government stepped in. It was a now-familiar story: Army transports, supposed to sail with cargoes of ammunition and other supplies, were being held up by the strike.[185] Accordingly, about 150 deserters from Governor's Island and sixty-five convalescent soldiers from Bedloe's Island were put to work loading the transports, as a detachment of regular troops stood guard with fixed bayonets and nearly five hundred policemen patrolled the waterfront.[186]

But the strike grew despite this formidable show of might opposing it. By the middle of June three thousand longshoremen were idle.[187] On June 18, however, a group of important shipping firms gave notice that they would pay $2.00 for a day of nine hours and twenty-five cents an hour overtime, and that was probably the formula on which the strike ended. One thousand of the strikers accepted it by returning to their jobs the next day.[188]

While the longshoremen were thus engaged in June, 1863, (with the impassioned support, it might be noted, of the pro-slavery

183. Tribune, February 2, 1863.
184. Tribune, March 25, 1863; Herald, March 25, 1863.
185. Times, March 24, 1863; Tribune, March 24, 1863; Herald, March 24, 1863.
186. Herald, March 25, 1863; Tribune, March 25, 1863.
187. Herald, April 18, 1863.
188. Herald, April 16, 1863. See also Herald, April 14, 15, 1863; Tribune, April 13-16, 1863; Anti-Slavery Standard, April 18, 1863; Lee, op. cit., pp. 141, 142.

Daily News), occupational groups closely related to them struck successfully for higher pay.[189] These included workers on canal boats and barges in the lower part of the city and freight handlers on the Hudson River Railroad and the New York Central. Another strike of Erie Railroad employees for a wage increase occurred.[190] Again the company hired strike breakers, although it is not certain that they were Negroes, and again the strikebreakers were assaulted by some of the old employees.

Similar work stoppages for higher wages took place in other northern cities during the Civil War. Negroes were often used as strikebreakers, with uniformly violent results.[191]

Such strikes are important as a partial explanation of the draft riots in those places. Perhaps the most serious disorders broke out in Buffalo. In August, 1862, striking Buffalo longshoremen demanded higher pay and sought to keep non-strikers from continuing to work at the former rates, but the racial aspect does not seem to have entered into their struggle at that time.[192] The same is true of another strike of longshoremen and grain shovellers in Buffalo in May, 1863, when they won an increase in pay to $1.50 a day.[193] Only a week before the draft riots, though, some Buffalo shippers tried to replace Irish longshoremen with colored workers, and violence ensued, with three Negroes slain and twelve badly beaten.[194] Not only did Irish longshoremen seek to prevent Negroes from working on the docks, but, in addition, mobs of other whites attacked colored inhabitants of the city generally. A prominent Democratic politician was heard to declare publicly that every Negro and every Black Republican ought to be driven out of town.[195] More truthfully than they knew, the editors of Fincher's Trades Review commented on the Buffalo situation two days before the draft riots began: "This, we fear, is but the beginning of the end."[196]

The result of this labor strife was that when resistance to the draft started in New York on July 13, 1863, longshoremen formed the van of the mobs.[197] Deputations recruiting rioters thoroughly canvassed the waterfront, so that by the second day of the upheaval the loading and unloading of ships in the harbor had stopped, except at a wharf here and there which happened to be under the guns of an armed vessel.[198] No colored dockhands were

189. Tribune, April 14, 1863.
190. Herald, June 6, 9, 1863; Tribune, June 8, 9, 20, 1863.
191. Herald, June 15, 16, 1863; Herald, June 16, 1863.
192. Similar to the longshore situation in 1863 was the strike of New York longshoremen in October, 1945, at the end of World War II. At that time, Federal authorities, pleading the piling up of military cargoes on the docks, Sent two platoons of Negro soldiers with longshore experience to unload mail and baggage from the British transport, Queen Elizabeth. Times, October 10, 11, 1945. The Negro troops performed this task amid the hissing and booing of the strikers.
193. Tribune, June 15, 1863.
194. Tribune, June 20, 1863; Herald, June 20, 1863; Daily News, June 20, 1863.
195. Tribune, June 16, 1863; Herald, June 16, 1863; Tribune, June 17, 1863.
196. Daily News, June 20, 1863.
197. Spero and Harris, Op., Cit., pp. 197, 198; Wesley, op. cit., pp. 99, 100. For an interesting account of anti-Negro violence in a Toledo, Ohio, longshore strike, during which the members of the local board of trade were sworn in as special police, see Tribune, July 11, 1862.

to be found on any pier.[199] Negroes who ventured on the streets near the waterfront or near saloons frequented by longshoremen were horribly tortured and beaten to death by bands of longshoremen and their bodies cast into the East River and Hudson River.[200] One reporter described conditions about the piers thus:

> *So determined and bitter is the feeling of the 'longshoremen against negroes that not one of the latter dares show himself upon the docks or piers even when a regular employee of the place. The white workmen have resolved, by concerted action, to keep colored men from this branch of labor, and have evinced, by their conduct toward their former comrades in work, a spirit as murderous and brutal as it is illiberal and selfish. It is a prevalent rumor, to which the authorities give full credence, and which the 'longshoremen seem proud of, that scores of these unfortunates have been thrown into the river and drowned, for no other reason than that they were obnoxious to the sensitive-minded individuals of a lighter color.*[201]

Another observer likewise noted that longshoremen made

> *no attempt to conceal their determination to keep negroes ... from that sort of labor. They insist upon it that the colored people must and shall be driven to other departments of industry, and that the work upon the docks, the stevedoring, and the various job-work therewith connected, shall be attended to solely and absolutely by members of the 'Longshoremen's Association, and such white laborers as they see fit to permit upon the premises.*[202]

The mobs along the waterfront which attacked other Negroes besides dock workers consisted, in all likelihood, of white longshoremen.[203] Next to the colored dock workers, waiters and other Negro employees in downtown hotels and restaurants were the chief objects of the rioters' fury.[204] One firm, fearful that its property might be destroyed by demonstrators who believed it to have employed colored persons, sought to avert that fate by placing in the window a sign in conspicuous capitals: "No niggers in the rear."[205]

It is not contended here that the competition of Negroes with whites ceased completely with the draft disturbances. Indeed, as early as Saturday, July 18, the last day of the riot week, a

198. Tribune, August 13, 1862.
199. Tribune, May 14, 1863; Herald, May 14, 16, 1863.
200. Fincher's Trades Review, July 11, 1863; Tribune, July 8, 1863; Herald, July 8, 1863; Daily News, July 11, 1863.
201. Tribune, July 10, 1863.
202. Fincher's Trades Review, July 11, 1863.
203. Emerson David Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War (New York, 1910), pp. 189, 190; Spero and Harris, op. cit., pp. 197, 198.
204. Daily News, July 15, 1863; Weekly Caucasian, July 18, 1863; Stoddard, op. cit., p. 158.
205. Herald, July 17, 1863.

few colored workers began to pursue their usual vocations in public without being molested.[206] On Monday, the 20th, more colored people, including waiters in several restaurants, summoned up enough courage to return to their jobs, and this trend continued in the succeeding days, to a point where even some Negro longshoremen returned to the docks of the Erie Railroad Company.[207]

But the committee of merchants formed to give relief to colored victims of the riots was forced to admit that after this civil war within a Civil War many Negroes discharged by employers who feared destruction of their property because they had hired colored workers were not taken back in their old positions, despite years of service. White workers who wished to drive their competitors from the city were responsible, said the merchants, for pressure upon employers not to reinstate Negroes. They also persuaded the street railway companies to refuse colored persons permission to ride on their cars, making it difficult for or them to travel to work.[208]

To alleviate these conditions, the committee kept its office open as an employment agency after it stopped dispensing financial relief,[209] in pursuance of a resolution, adopted at its first meeting, on July 18:

> *That we will exert all the influence we possess to protect the colored people of this city in their rights to pursue unmolested their, lawful occupations.... That we will not recognize or sanction any distinction of persons of whatever nation, religion, or color, in their natural right to labor peaceably in their vocations in the support of themselves and those dependent upon them.*[210]

Brave talk this, but its implementation was another matter. As the more timorous merchants and transportation companies continued to withhold jobs from Negro former employees, their brethren connected with the committee could only shake their heads and repeat that the whole sorry mess was the result of the merchants' having tolerated months ago the dictation of striking longshoremen as to whom they should employ and on what terms.[211]

That many, Negroes were not restored to their old jobs is also clear from editorials in the Tribune after the riots. Greeley urged the merchants of New York to welcome Negroes back "to any work they are able and willing to do at a satisfactory price,"

206. Daily News, July 17, 1863; New York Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People Suffering from the Late Riots, 1863, Report (New York, 1863), pp. 20, 21; David M. Barnes, The Draft Riots in New York (New York, 1863), p. 24; Stoddard, op. cit., p. 239.
207. Times, July 17, 1863; Anti-Slavery Standard, July 25, 1863.
208. Daily News, July 17, 1863.
209. Tribune, July 17, 1863.
210. Barnes, op. cit., p. 34; Stoddard, op. cit., pp. 80, 81, 91; Alexander, op. cit., 111, 68. Colored servants in private homes were another large class assaulted by rioters. Herald, July 17, 1863.
211. Tribune, July 20, 1863. When the danger abated, this concern denied the charge that it had disclaimed having any Negro employees, asserting that it sheltered a number of colored refugees during, the disorders. Tribune, July 21, 1863.

and, in a thrust at the Irish, urged that colored persons -- "American born and bred" -- be protected in the exercise of this right.[212] Failure to do so meant capitulation to the demands of the rioters:

> *The mob exults in the belief that, if it failed in its other objects, it [had?] at least secured possession of the labor of the city, and has driven the blacks to seek work elsewhere... . It is the duty of merchants and other employers to take pains to recall their workmen immediately, and assure them of permanent protection.*[213]

Greeley observed, nevertheless, that reluctance to reemploy Negroes persisted.[214] Of course, the great decrease in the city's colored population by 1865 also indicated a drop in the employment of Negroes.[215]

To review the main points of this article, Democratic leaders and newspapers in New York, from the secession crisis to the draft riots, constantly harped upon the note that if the slaves were freed, they would flock north and take away the jobs of Irish laborers. The election campaigns of 1860, 1861, and 1862 and Lincoln's emancipation program were the occasions for their heaviest barrages of propaganda on this score. Republicans and abolitionists were slow to answer their opponents' predictions. When they finally did reply, they argued that elimination of slavery would forestall any danger of an inundation of blacks.

Although information about the actual movement of Negroes during the Civil War is sparse, it appears that some northward migration of contrabands did take place. It was small, to be sure, but enough seemingly to give point to the warnings of anti-administration politicians and journalists and to alarm the New York proletariat, despite surveys proving that the great majority of former slaves had no desire to leave the South.

Rivalry for jobs between Negroes and Irishmen in New York had existed before the Civil War, and employers had occasionally hired black workers to break the strikes of white workers. During the war, with the numerous strikes for higher wages which it brought, the use of Negro strikebreakers by employers became much more frequent, particularly in the longshore field, dominated by the Irish. In the first half of 1863 the longshoremen of New York went On strike after strike for increased pay, only to see their places filled by colored men

212. Tribune, July 20, 1863.
213. Tribune, July 21, 22, 1863; Herald, July 30, 1863; New York Committee of Merchants, op. cit., pp. 4-6. The claim of the committee that within a few weeks the demand for colored servants had increased tenfold must be treated with caution. Herald, p. 27. It is quite possible that new Negro domestics were being sought to replace those who had fled from the city during the riots.
214. Herald, pp. 12, 13.
215. Wesim op. cit., pp. 100, 101
136. Tribune, July 21, 1863.
137. Tribune, July 25, 1863.
138. Tribune, July 20, 1863.
139. Tribune, July 21, 1863.
140. Tribune, July 23, 1863.
141. See footnote 4 supra.

working for less money under police protection. While longshore wages gradually rose, white labor on the waterfront was, obsessed with the fear of competition from Negroes which needed only the commencement of the draft to be transformed into wholesale murder. The violence inflicted upon black workers on the docks and in other occupations by the draft rioters did, in fact, result in a decline for some years to come in the job rivalry which the former had offered. Thus the rioters partially achieved their aims.

ALBON P. MAN, JR.

New York, New York

July 18, Saturday: "The Archbishop and His Flock," New-York Times:

THE ARCHBISHOP AND HIS FLOCK.

Archbishop Hughes' Address to Four Thousand "Men Not Rioters and Not Gentlemen" of the City.

He Counsels Forbearance and a Return to Work.

The citizens of New York were very generally surprised yesterday morning to find posted in every available position, and on every conspicuous bulletin, a huge placard, on which was printed the following

ADDRESS AND INVITATION.

"To the Men of New York, who are now called in many of the papers Rioters:

Men! I am not able, owing to rheumatism in my limbs, to visit you; but that is not a reason why you should not pay me a visit in your whole strength. Come, then, to-morrow, (Friday,) at 2 o'clock to my residence, northwest corner Madison-avenue and Thirty-sixth street. I shall have a speech prepared for you.

There is abundant space for the meeting around my house. I can address you from a corner of the balcony. If I should be unable to stand during my delivery, you will permit me to address you sitting; my voice is much stronger than my limbs. I take upon myself the responsibility of assuring you that in paying me this visit, or in retiring from it, you shall not be disturbed by any exhibition of municipal or military presence. You who are Catholics, or as many of you as are, have a right to visit your Bishop without molestation.

JOHN HUGHES, Archbishop of New York

New York, July 16, 1863

Very many people doubted the authenticity of the document, and argued that in the first place the Archbishop's well-known signature was John, &c., &c., and not John Hughes. They also considered the wording of the invitation not such as one so eminent in the Church, and so influential with his people would

be apt to use in communicating with a body of men, whose actions during the past week have turned our City upside down, and filled its borders with sorrow and vexation. In fact, among the newspapermen and the business community generally, the address was considered to be the emanation of some brain whose sole idea was to get a large crowd in the neighborhood of the Archbishop's house and "sell" them. Others, again, thought it a shrewd device of the authorities to gather the rioters together that they might be nabbed, or possibly fired upon. Whether any of these opinions were based on the facts of the case or not, the following report will determine:

At 1 o'clock P. M., we called upon the Archbishop and found him at work in his office. He stated that the call issued in the morning papers was a genuine one, and that he proposed to address such of his fellow citizens as should see fit to accept his invitation. His address, he said, was as yet unprepared, or rather it was unwritten, and he should of course be unable to furnish copies to the Press, and indeed the repenters must take their chances with the rest of the people. Satisfied that there was no hoax thus far we went again upon the street, where had by this time collected a crowd of perhaps five or six hundred individuals, of various ages but of one nationality. They were quiet and orderly, but disposed to regard with curious and seeking scrutiny any individual whose issue and purse permitted him the luxury of a whole coat and a clean pair of boots.

As the hour specified in the call drew near, the crowd increased in numbers, but did not change in appearance. The working element was there in great force, and it was by no means a difficult task for a reporter to gather from the expressions of the crowd the current of their thoughts, or the expected tenor of the Archbishop's address. Free allusion was made to the events of the week, and sundry comments were made upon the personal appearance of three members of the Press whose unfortunate luck took them into the hands of this unruly mob on Monday and Tuesday last.

Standing upon the front steps of the Episcopal residence were representatives from every journal of prominence in the City, many women, and a very demonstrative crowd; while in front of the house up and down the avenue stretched a dense mass of men and boys, numbering at least by this time three or four thousand people.

Through the thoughtful courtesy of Mr. O'Donnell, we were invited to take a position at the window whence the Archbishop would deliver his address.

At precisely 2 o'clock, the Archbishop, clad in purple robes, and decked with the insignia of his position, stepped upon the balcony. His appearance was the signal for immediate, enthusiastic and prolonged applause, after courteously acknowledging which he sat down, apparently overcome, by his emotions, the heat, and his severe physical infirmities. For

some moments the scene was profoundly impressive. Upon the little balcony, and in the vestments of clerical rank and power, and surrounded by various Reverends of degree and station, sat the man before whose uplifted finger, thousands had bent the knee, and in the street with open eyes and mouths stood in absolute silence a vast multitude whose deeds during the week have made the City tremble and put to the blush the worst days and scenes of revolutionary Europe, waiting anxiously for the word of encouragement or advice or of rebuke which was soon to come, while upon a neighboring balcony sat one of the highest of our judicial functionaries, prepared to applaud the one as he had already some what publicly defended the others.

Having partaken of some slight refreshment, the venerable Priest arose, and removing his cap, bowed courteously to the crowd, while upon the instant, every man in the immense assemblage took off his hat, and the united voice of the upturned faces made the City for squares around resound with hearty greeting and pious applause. Silence having been restored the Archbishop spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF ARCHISHOP HUGHES

MEN OF NEW YORK: They call you rioters and I cannot see a riotous face among you. (Cheers) I call you men of New York, not gentlemen, because gentlemen is so threadbare a term that it means nothing positive. (Applause.) Give me men, and I know of my own knowledge, that if the City were invaded by a British or any other foreign Power, (laughter.) the delicate ladies of New York, with infants at their breasts, would look for their protection to men, rather than to gentlemen. (Applause.) Of course, there is no reason why you should not be gentlemen, for there is no real difference between these terms. (Applause.) I address you of my own choice; and I would do so if I had to go on crutches. No one has prompted me to do it. My lungs are stronger than my limbs. It gratifies me that you have met in peace and good order here at this time. This, however, does not surprise me — it is what I expected. I do not address you as the President. (laughter,) or the Governor, or the Mayor, or a military officer. I address you as your father. (Cheers.) VOICE — You are worth the whole of them. And I am not going to go into the question, what has brought about this unhappy state of things. It is not my business to do so but as far as I am concerned myself, you know that I am a minister of God, and a minister of peace, who in your troubles in years past, as you know, never deserted you. (Cheers, and cries of "No, never.") With my tongue and my pen I have stood by you always, and so shall to the end of my life, so long as you are right, and I sincerely hope that you are not wrong. (Cheers.) I am not a runaway Bishop in times of danger. (A Voice — "No, you're not like BEECHER.") It has been perhaps a calamity, but I do not regret it. That I never was conscious of the sentiment of fear until the danger was over, and then sometimes I might perhaps get a little nervous. (Cheers.) I could not even in the best of

cases, as you know, fight for you.

The course of nature has denied me that privilege but I can still stand by you, I can still advise you, and, if necessary, I can die with you. (Great cheering.) As I said before, I will not enter into the question which has provoked all this excitement. No doubt there are some real grievances, but still I think that there are many imaginary ones – because in this world everything is comparative in its nature. There are no people in the world that have not some cause of grievance, and there are few that have not greater cause for complaint than we can complain of, after all. (Cheers.) Everything is comparative, and a change is not always an improvement.

When I cast my thoughts back to the land of my forefathers, and when I think of it's desolation, when I see the fertile west and south of Ireland depopulated and cattle browsing on the ruins of the cottages of the noble race that once lived there, I thank God that I was permitted to be among those who had an opportunity of coming to this country, where at least no such wretched tyranny is practiced (great cheering.) If you are Irishmen, and the papers say the rioters are all Irishmen, then I also am an Irishman, (tremendous applause) but not a rioter, for I am a man of peace. If you are Catholics, as they have said, probably to wound my feelings, then I also am a Catholic (cheers.)

I know that men are sometimes liable to get excited from a apprehension of danger, and I myself as your Bishop, have had my own troubles and my persecutions, but I think it is the best policy to bear evils patiently. The more especially when they are merely temporary and will soon pass away. I agree with the poet, that it is far better for us to bear our little inconveniences here than to rush into evils we know not of. In Europe, where most of the countries are despotic – yes, even in England, (groans,) where they have a Constitution, they are none the less despotic – and a ruler is a ruler by right, whether he be a fool or a wise man, and must occupy the throne while he lives. There is no relief there for an oppressed people, except in revolution. Revolution in any country is a desperate state, and I know of no country where it could be in worse taste than here.

In this country the Constitution gives the right to the people to make a revolution every four years. (Cheers.) But it is a different kind of a revolution. The battles of our revolutions are not battles of blood and violence, nor are the bullets bullets of lead. You know what they do. They fire paper bullets. Were you ever in Rome walking on the Corso during the Carnival? The people throw bullets – pellets of flour, and perhaps gilded, at each other. But in this country the Government is a foundation not to be destroyed. It is the right of the people every four years to correct or amend, as the printers say, the superstructure. We have the right to approve or disapprove the acts of our rulers, but not to override them, but let us preserve

the foundation, and let the American people rebuild the superstructure every four years.

If you take away the foundation, what have you, what have I, to cling to. What should we have remaining in the form of human government? I am too old now to seek another home or country, and I shall cling to the old foundation. I want the housekeepers to mind. (A Voice — And let the niggers keep South.) Everything is in the hands of the supreme people of the United States, and the majority of them, whether they make a blunder or not, I am willing to be governed by. Now, gentlemen, (laughter.) I am nearly done.

There is one thing, however, I must say. I wish to ask you a question, and I wish you to answer it, and if I should ask your counsel on another point I know you will give it to me. ("We will, we will.")

Then, is this business to go on? Should not every man in his own modest way become a preserver of the peace? I am told in the papers, that not a little property has been destroyed. I remember the anecdote of a lady who said to her child, come, my darling, come with me to Church. The child answered, what's the use, mamma. Well, that was a child's answer, and I hope he has seen the folly of it, if he has grown up, but now if property is destroyed, what is the use? It must be paid for by you and by me. No, no, but if property is lost it can be repaired or restored. But who can bring back an immortal soul? In the case of a violent and unjust assault on you without provocation, my notion is that every man has a right to defend his house or his shanty at the risk of his life. (Cheers.) The cause, however, must be just. It must be aggressive not offensive. Do you want my advice? ("Yes.") I have been hurt by the reports that you are rioters.

You cannot imagine that I could hear these things without being pained grievously. Is there not some way by which you can stop these proceedings, and support the laws, of which none have been enacted against you as Irishmen and Catholics? You have suffered enough already. No Government can stand or protect itself, unless it protects its citizens. Military force will be let loose on you, and you know what that is. The innocent will be shot down, and the guilty like to escape. Would it not be better for you to retire quietly? Not to give up your principles or convictions, (Immense cheers.) but to keep out of the crowd where immortal souls are launched into eternity, and at all events get into no trouble till you are at home. Would it not be better? There is one thing in which I would ask your advice. When these so-called riots are over and the blame is justly laid on Irish Catholics, I wish you to tell me in what country I could claim to be born? (Voice — Ireland.)

Yes, but what shall I say if these stories be true? Ireland, that never committed a single act of cruelty until she was oppressed. Ireland, that has been the mother of heroes and

poets, but never the mother of cowards. (Great applause.) When the first Apostle, St. Patrick went to Ireland, he was preceded by Polladorus, and they listened to him as you now patiently listen to me. The soil of Ireland was never soiled by a single drop of martyr's blood. It would touch me deeply to have to reverse that record. Perhaps you consider this a touch of blarney, but I assure you it is the truth. (Cries of "It is, God bless you.")

The delicacy of feeling in Ireland is very great. You know, that Ireland sometimes produces idiots, not many of them, however, (laughter) but the delicacy of the people is such that they call them "Innocents" and not idiots. Well, once there was a poor child in this way, and you know these people are not accountable for what they do, and he was very fond of raw eggs which he took and ate on all occasions. Sometimes they were not so fresh as they might be, (laughter.) and one time, as he was swallowing his favorite beverage, he heard a chicken squeak in his throat. "Ah, my dear fellow," said he, "I am very sorry but you spoke too late." And down it went. But as I said before, there are very few of that sort in Ireland. Oh, my friends, what a scene rises before me as I think of that land of my nativity, and as I glance at the long list of noble men who are exiled from their homes — such men as Field Marshal Nugent whom I knew intimately, and the O'Donnells of Spain; when I know that most of the colleges have been established by the sons of Ireland; when I know that in later days the blood of your brothers have fed the fields of the Crimea and Balaklava, and of the Delhi in India; when I think of the Government which has persecuted them, leaving nothing for them but the United States — when I think of this, I do not envy the policy of John Bull, which replaces a noble population by a set of fat bullocks. (Laughter.) I took upon myself to say that you should not be molested in paying me a visit. (Cheers.) I thank you for your kindnessó(applause.)óand I hope nothing will occur till you return home; and if by chance, as you go thither; you should meet a police officer, or a military man, why just — look at him. (Tremendous laughter and applause.)

The crowd cheered vociferously, and demanded the presence of the Archbishop again upon the balcony. He gratified them, bowed his thanks, and returned to his parlor, quite exhausted and greatly fatigued by the long standing and excitement.

After a while the crowd slowly dispersed, arguing among themselves as to what the Archbishop meant to have them do, some insisting that he refused to recognize them as rioters, and therefore they had done right; while others insisted that the venerable and suffering Priest intended to convey to them the wish that they should return to their homes and their work, and take things as they found them in their naturalized country — the land popularly supposed to be only the "home of the brave, and the land of the free."

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INQUESTS OF THE DEAD

A COLORED MAN IS DRIVEN TO DESPAIR AND SUICIDE.

Coroner Naumann held an inquest yesterday on the body of Mr. Henry Yates, a colored man, 41 years of age, who committed suicide at the house of his employer, James Martin, in Madison-street, by first cutting his throat, and then hanging himself to a cellar door by means of a small cord. The deceased resided in Water-street, and when the houses of the colored people were attacked by the mob on Thursday night, he undertook to defend his wife and children. The resistance which he offered was such as to excite them to the highest pitch, and many swore that he should be burned alive if caught. He secreted his family in the best way possible, and when resistance became hopeless he ran to the house of his employer where he was soon after found dead in the condition above stated.

Coroner Wildey held an inquest, at No. 163 East Twenty-sixth-street, on the body of MARY CORCORAN, aged 24 years, who was shot by the military while engaged in suppressing a riot on Thursday last. Deceased was standing on the walk when one of the rioters fired a pistol at the soldiers. The fire was returned, and this woman with several others, whose names we could not learn, were almost instantly killed.

James Broderick, of No. 176 East Thirty-first street, died from the effects of a gunshot wound, received at a riot in ninth-avenue.

Henry Getz was shot in the abdomen at the same time and place, and died from his wounds yesterday afternoon.

Coroner Rainey held inquests yesterday upon the bodies of quite a number who died from gunshot wounds and other injuries.

Delia Lawrence, aged 26 years, was shot in the collision in Tenth-avenue and Forty-first street.

Chas. Friebeck, Jr. shot in Second-avenue, near Forty-second street.

Michael H. Ryan, shot in Twenty-ninth street and Ninth-avenue.

Ellen Kirk, a child two years of age, accidentally shot by the mob, at No. 266 East Thirty-fifth street.

Edwin Murphy, shot in Second-avenue, near Twenty-fourth street.

A boy, name unknown, thirteen years of age, who died from injuries received in Second-avenue, corner of Twenty-first street.

James Hand, shot in Second-avenue.

An unknown man shot in Twenty-fourth street, near Second-avenue, at the time of the burning of the armory.

James Hughes, injuries received at the same time and place.

A colored man, name unknown, who died from injuries received at the hands of a mob in Thirty-second street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues. This man's head was beaten to a jelly, and there was no such thing as recognizing him.

Coroner Naumann held inquests on the following named persons:

Lewis Ebenspacher, residing at No. 111 St. Marks-place, who died from a gun-shot wound.

W. Cooper Williams, No. 303 First-avenue, shot through the heart.

Ambrose Schmidt, of No. 195 Third-street, shot.

Patrick Gaberty, No. 458 West Forty-second-street, shot.

Garrett Brady, No. 458 West Forty-second-street, shot.

Edward Suckembellie, shot.

Patrick Culpey, death from injuries received as the riot in Second-avenue, near Fourteenth-street.

William MAnnery, shot in Pitt street. The deceased resided at No. 100 Clinton-street.

A colored man, name unknown, who was hung in Madison-street by the mob.

Hugh Mann, shot through the heart at No. 277 First avenue.

An unknown man, shot at No. 304 Third-street.

Patrick Casey, who died from injuries received at No. 331 West Forty-third street.

The same Coroner held inquests on the bodies of five persons at Bellevue Hospital who dies from burns. Their names are unknown.

Also, upon the body of a colored man, who dies from the effects of burns and bruises received at the hands of the mob on the corner of Twenty-seventh-street and Seventh-avenue.

Coroner WIldey held an inquest upon the body of Peter Miller, aged 30 years, residing at No. 190 West Thirty-eighth street, who was accidentally killed by a shot from the military while they were engaged in suppressing a riot on the corner of Thirty-ninth-street and Ninth-avenue.

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A LOGICAL INFERENCE.

Judge Taney's notorious decision that "negroes have no rights which white men are bound to respect," received a curious and perfectly logical illustration during the progress of the riot in Harlem. A man was seized and brought before Justice Welch on a charge of invading the domicile of a respectable mulatto woman and attempting to destroy her goods. The woman testified that on the entrance of the rowdy he addressed her as follows: "The Constitution says that you can break into the house of a nigger, you can rob a nigger, you can burn his house and then you can

kill the nigger." He was proceeding to do so when the entrance of the Police interrupted this constitutional invader of the rights of law-abiding citizens.

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Aid for the Injured.

The suggestion was casually made in conversation yesterday in a party of three gentlemen, that something ought to be done for the families of those members of the Police, Fire and Military Departments who have been killed or injured in the defence of law and order and in the protection of life and property during the recent riots. A paper was at once put in circulation, and in less than two hours nearly twenty thousand dollars was subscribed. The utmost alacrity was shown by every one to contribute to so excellent an object:— and we run no risk in saying that before night at least $50,000 will have been contributed for this purpose. The men who have had property exposed to the depredations of the lawless mob, are quick to recognize and prompt to meet the obligations they owe to those who have so nobly interposed for its protection.

No words can state too strongly the debt and gratitude which this City owes to the handful of men who have breasted the fury of this ferocious mob. During Monday, police bore the whole brunt of the storm; And it is to the unflinching courage and admirable tenacity with which they resisted, step by step, the onset of the mob, that we owe the check that was finally put upon its predations. Less than a thousand policemen, scattered over this large City, without any warning of the coming tempest, were suddenly required to face and withstand a raging mob of tens of thousands of reckless and infuriated madmen. But for their vigorous and heroic efforts on that day, the destruction of life and property in the City would have been tenfold what it was. The firemen behaved with equal courage and devotion, doing everything in their power to extinguish the flames which the rioters had deliberately set.

First of all, the City Government has a duty. It is bound to see that every dollar's worth of the property of these poor people which has been destroyed is made good to them. The City, of course, is legally liable, as for the losses of the white people. But these latter with their superior intelligence know how to obtain their indemnity, and there is no danger that they will not promptly enough assert their rights. But these poor people are in most cases too ignorant to know how to proceed, and, what is still worse, they have been too much accustomed to every form of wrong to have any hope or courage in trying to get redress. It should be made the special business of a committee, in the Common Council, to ascertain these damages, and see that compensation is speedily made. Inaction would be superlatively cruel, and delay would be only little less so. It matters little whether you relieve an absolutely destitute man next month or never.

But there should be private action, too. The Christianity of the city should make haste to purge itself of all connection with the infernal doings of the week. In its churches, to-morrow, it should contribute liberally to the relief of the wronged, thousands of whom profess to be, and truly are, disciples of the same Master. It should be the pleasure of all true men to join in the same charity. And still further, every such man will take care to do his part toward restoring these poor people to employment, and to sustain them in its peaceful prosecution. These colored people have a right to live, an infinitely better right, so long as they behave themselves, than the miscreants who persecute them.

The shallow pretext that these colored people injuriously compete with white labor, is beneath contempt. At no time for years has manual labor been in greater demand, in this City and county, than now, owing to the great drain of ablebodied men into the war. The labor of all is needed, and no white man is prejudiced by the work of the black man. But supposing it were otherwise — that there were an actual competition, we should like to know how that is to impair the black man's right or his duty to earn a livelihood. Who has a better right to find work in the country than he who was born in the country? Who has a fairer claim to keep clear of the almshouse than he who from childhood has considered the almshouse a disgrace? But, as we have said, there is no competition in the case. On all sides labor finds more than it can do. The Irishman might as well quarrel with the black man for taking up too much of the atmosphere as for encroaching upon the labor-market. Every willing hand, white or black, is now, more than ever, in demand; and more than ever, too, a public benefit.

We have never sought to excite hostility against any race. In other days we did what we could to shield the Irish when they were fleeing before frantic mobs — mobs, we may add, that were instigated by one at least of the very Presses which have instigated the population which were then the victims, to make the present attack upon a race which never did them injury. When justice is concerned, we make no account of race unless it be to recognize that the weaker the race the higher the claim to just treatment. We affirm that is impossible for any man of Christian principle, or even the moral principle of the Pagan standard, to dispute that our colored population have been dreadfully wronged in these riots. If that be true, there is no escape from the public and private obligation to repair the wrong so far as it is possible. If New York fails to do this, it will forever stand as the foulest blot in her history.

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

I. *Orthodoxy and Unitarianism*
II. *St. Augustine and Calvinism*
III. *Walworth's GENTLE SKEPTIC*
IV. *Stand by the Government*
V. *Are Catholics Pro-Slavery and Disloyal?*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

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Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Catholics and the Anti-Draft Riots*
II. *New England Brahminism*
III. *Visions and Revelations*
IV. *Return of the Rebellious States*
V. Literary Notices and Criticisms

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1864

January: Orestes Augustus Brownson, accused on the one foot of not having sufficient regarded the this-worldly authority of the Holy Roman Catholic Church for having spoken too lightly of the Pope's responsibility for the welfare of the theocracy known as the Papal States, and accused on the other foot of not having spoken lightly enough of the Jesuit order, retreated, announcing that in the future his publications would focus upon topics that were "national and secular, devoted to philosophy, science, politics, literature, and the general interests of civilization, especially American civilization," and would "eschew theology." Nevertheless he continued to schedule a monthly overnight stay at the rectory of the Paulist Fathers in New-York, and he and Father Isaac Hecker remained in constant contact.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Our New Programme*
II. *The Federal Constitution*
III. *Vincenzo; or; Sunken Rocks*
IV. *Popular Corruption and Venality*
V. *The President's Message and Proclamation*
[President Lincoln to both Houses on Dec. 9, 1863]
VI. *General Halleck's Report*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *The Giobertian Philosophy*
II. *Stevens on Reconstruction*
III. *Abolition and Negro Equality*
IV. *The Next President*
V. *Reade's VERY HARD CASH*
VI. *Military Matters and Men*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Civil and Religious Freedom*
II. *Giobertian Philosophy*
III. *Literature, Love, and Marriage*
IV. *Lincoln or Fremont?*
V. *General Fitz, John Porter*

MAGAZINES
ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

October: Throughout the Civil War Isaac Hecker and Orestes Augustus Brownson had been rabid unionists — for only so long as the United States of America remained "one nation indivisible" was it going to be possible for them to achieve their fantasy of making it be not only "one nation under God" but also a unitary nation under the discipline of the One True Church, with the Pope in Rome as America's actual Commander-in-Chief. After two of his sons, Edward and William, had been killed and one, Henry, wounded, Brownson, depressed, would discontinue his Brownson's Quarterly Review. To ensure that the Brownsons would not be in want, Father Thomas, with financial assistance from his brothers in the family business and from others, set up an insurance annuity that would sustain that family at $1,000 per year.

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Are the United States a Nation?*
II. *Mr. Lincoln and Congress*
III. *Liberalism and Progress*
IV. *Explanations to Catholics*
V. *Chicago, Baltimore, and Cleveland*
VI. *Seward's Speech at Auburn*

CATHOLICISM

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After December 8, Thursday: A study of the Syllabus of Errors published with Pope Pius IX's encyclical *Quanta Cura* caused Orestes Augustus Brownson to transform himself from a critical liberal in the European intellectual tradition into an uncritical champion of Roman Catholic orthodoxy. He began to limit his contacts with liberal Catholics, and to attack any accommodationism, any gesture which seemed to him to represent an attempt to accommodate the Church to the contemporary *Weltgeist*. Still, when Octavius Brooks Frothingham had the temerity to criticize Father Isaac Hecker's Paulist vision of a Catholic America, Brownson would come to his defense in a lengthy pamphlet.

1865

The new Catholic owners of the former Universalist meetinghouse of Concord, erected in 1842, which they had purchased in 1863, in about this year relocated the structure from its original position on Bedford Street in the town square to where it now stands as the St. Bernard's Catholic Church of Concord.

Orestes Augustus Brownson's THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC argued that government was founded upon ethics, that nations were moral and even theocratic entities, and that therefore there was no requirement that a nation justify itself through any doctrine such as the sovereignty of its people. In this year, also, Brownson discontinued his Brownson's Quarterly Review (until 1872, when he would start it up again and keep it going until 1875).

April: Isaac Hecker launched The Catholic World: A Monthly Eclectic Magazine of General Literature and Science, intended as a learned monthly magazine for promoting the cause of Catholicism in the United States of America.

July 7, Thursday: All surviving suspects in the case of Abraham Lincoln were disposed of, including the Catholic landlady of the boarding house in which they had been staying while in Washington DC:

1867

Between this year and 1870, Father Schmoeger's life of Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich was appearing in two volumes. Never mind that the writing seemed Antisemitic, nobody cares about that.

CATHOLICISM
ANTISEMITISM

1870

Father Isaac Hecker and the Paulist Fathers established the periodical Young Catholic.

As of this point in our national trajectory merely 2% of Americans were obtaining high school diplomas.

Exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies in Rhode Island from taxation was in this year again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than $20,000 becoming taxable. (Anti-Catholic prejudice would in 1872 cause the tax exemption to be restricted further to only "buildings for free public schools or for religious worship" and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educations institutions, would become taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church would be again freed from taxation, and added to that would be the freeing from taxation of buildings of charitable institutions plus one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

At about this point, William Howitt and his family established themselves in Rome. Having begun in Quakerism and converted to Spiritualism, Mary Howitt eventually would convert from Spiritualism to Roman Catholicism.

In the course of this decade Margaret Fox and Kate Fox would journey from America to England, where their sort of Spiritualism was still attracting considerable attention.

1871

Edith O'Gorman's TRIALS AND PERSECUTIONS OF MISS EDITH O'GORMAN.

SURVEY OF AMERICAN ANTI-CATHOLICISM

Friend John Greenleaf Whittier's MIRIAM AND OTHER POEMS.

When she found that Friend John and Lucy Larcom had included an Italian poem in CHILD LIFE, Lydia Maria Child informed him that this had been a mistake for such material might have the effect of seducing a Protestant child into Catholicism! But Friend John had not included the material because of any sympathy for Popery: "Ireland is cursed with Popery. The Protestant section of the island never starves and never begs." The victims of the Irish Potato Famine, it appears, had come to pester us here in America because their superstitious religion had caused them to become lazy beggars!

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

"To understand is not to forgive. It is only to understand. It is not an end but a beginning."

— Rebecca West

1873

February 26/27: In New-York, there was a national convention to secure the religious amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which Orestes Augustus Brownson may well have attended, which afterward would issue a 94-page PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION TO SECURE THE RELIGIOUS AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES offering an account of the origin and progress of their movement. After citing, among other works in favor of a theocracy, Brownson's THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, this text offered that:

> If Government be not divine, then it is merely a voluntary association, and may be dissolved like other voluntary associations, at the will of those who are thus united; but this theory would subvert society and lead to anarchy. The experiment of the erratic Thoreau, had it been successful, would have proved him stronger than Massachusetts, stronger than the United States; would have proved the same as to every other individual under the Government, and, of course, would have subverted its very foundation. We are born under government – live, act our little part, and die under it. We have no choice in the matter. We can no more escape from it than from the blue heavens above us.... There is no divine right of kings. There are no providential rulers supernaturally raised up to govern. there is, however, a divine right of government; it is of God through the people.

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

I. Introduction to the Last Series
II. *The Papacy and the Republic*
III. *The Dollingerites, Nationalists, and the Papacy*
IV. *Religious Novels, and Woman Vs. Woman*
V. *Archbishop Manning's LECTURES*
VI. *What is the Need of Revelation*
VII. *Politics at Home*
VIII. *European Politics*
IX. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

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CATHOLICISM ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Synthetic Theology*
II. *Photographic Views*
III. *Catholic Popular Literature*
IV. *The Primeval Man Not a Savage*
V. *The Democratic Principle*
VI. *Bismarck and the Church*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

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Fall Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Whose is the Child?*
II. *Science, Philosophy, and Religion*
III. *Papal Infallibility*
IV. *Darwin's DESCENT OF MAN*
V. *The Church Above the State*
VI. *True and False Science*
VII. *Sisters of Mercy*
VIII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON
CHARLES DARWIN

Winter 1873/1874: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Refutation of Atheism*
II. *Protestantism Antichristian*
III. *Father Thebaud's Irish Race*
IV. *The Woman Question*
V. *The Christophers, or Christ-Bearers*
VI. A*t Home and Abroad*
VII. *Colonel H. S. Hewit, M. D.*
VIII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

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1874

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. *Refutation of Atheism*
II. *Education and the Republic*
III. *Holy Communion – Transubstantiation*
IV. *The Most Reverend John Hughes, D. D.*
V. *Evangelical Alliance*
VI. *Archbishop Spalding*
VII. *Home and Foreign Politics*
VIII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

CATHOLICISM

I. *Refutation of Atheism*
II. *Religion and Science*
III. *Constitutional Guaranties*
IV. *Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus*
V. *Letter from "Sacerdos"*
VI. *Brother Philip*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

CATHOLICISM

I. *Count De Montalembert*
II. *Gallicanism and Ultramontanism*
III. *Cartesianism*
IV. *Ontologism and Psychologism*
V. *Constitutional Law – the Executive Power*
VI. *Conditional Baptism*
VII. *Early and Recent Apostates*
VIII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

CATHOLICISM

I. *Answer to Objections*
II. *Controversy with Protestants*
III. *The Problem of Causality*
IV. *Authority in Matters of Faith*
V. *Letter to the Editor*
VI. *The Outlook at Home and Abroad*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

1875

In Michigan and Minnesota, women obtained the franchise to vote in school elections.

FEMINISM

Abby May Alcott opened an art gallery and workshop on the 2d floor of the Town School building, above the Concord fire engines.

Sojourner Truth issued an expanded version of her NARRATIVE, and fell ill. Frances D. Gage's retrospections about Truth's participation in the 1851 Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, retrospections which probably in large part were spurious, were republished in this volume, from the May 2d, 1863 pages of the National Anti-Slavery Standard. Again Truth did not challenge those retrospections.[216]

The new public school establishment had no clue that the 1st Amendment might be used to rule out government aid for the religious schools they sought to destroy, so what they worked toward was a new, separate constitutional amendment that would prohibit public funds, tax money, from being used for such independent schools. This was known as the Blaine Amendment, and in this year it fell short by four votes of the necessary 2/3ds margin needed for passage in the US Senate. The nativist Know-Nothing Party enrolled in the struggle, and in addition the Ku Klux Klan. The campaign for the new constitutional amendment was taken to the legislatures of the various states. Eventually, 29 state legislatures, including the state legislature of New York, would add Blaine Amendments to their state constitutions in order to destroy the Catholic school system.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Spring: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 1

CATHOLICISM

I. ***Professor Tyndall's Address***
II. ***The Last of the Napoleons***
III. ***Maria Monk's daughter***
IV. ***Mary Queen of Scots***
V. ***Papal Infallibility and Civil Allegiance***
VI. ***St. Gregory the Seventh***
VII. **Literary Notices and Criticisms**

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216. She could not write and thus was not putting this volume together herself, although it was being done with her active involvement, but also, as has been pointed out, her focus in recounting stories about herself had always been on the moral values which could be obtained thereby, the significance of which nobody in her audiences could be inclined to sniff at, rather than upon the mundane factual realities of her life, the significance of which at that time, for anyone other than herself and her loved ones, would have been at best an opportunity for attempts at humor.

Summer: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 2

I. *The Conflict of Science and Reason*
II. *Reforms and Reformers*
III. *The Prisoners of St. Lazare*
IV. *St. Gregory the Seventh*
V. *The Possible Nothing in Itself*
VI. *Newman's Reply to Gladstone*
VII. *Our Colleges*
VIII. *Father Hill's Philosophy*
IX. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

MAGAZINES
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Fall: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 3

I. *The Constitution and the Church*
II. *On Diocesan Synods*
III. *The Church and the Civil Power*
IV. *Women's Novels*
V. *Our Lady of Lourdes*
VI. *The Possible Nothing in Itself*
VII. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

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Winter: Brownson's Quarterly Review, No. 4

I. *Protestant Journalism*
II. *The Family, Christian and Pagan*
III. *Hill's ELEMENTS OF PHILOSOPHY*
IV. *The Public School System*
V. *Home Politics*
VI. Literary Notices and Criticisms

CATHOLICISM

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

Orestes Augustus Brownson discontinued his Brownson's Quarterly Review.

1881

Father Schmoeger's THE LIFE OF OUR LORD was republished in a large illustrated edition. Never mind that the writing seemed Antisemitic (Father John O'Malley, professor at the Weston Jesuit School of Theology in Cambridge, Massachusetts, would pronounce the writings to be "badly dated, naïve, sometimes ridiculous and sometimes seriously offensive").

ANNE CATHERINE EMMERICH

CATHOLICISM

ANTISEMITISM

1882

Mary Howitt converted from Spiritualism to Roman Catholicism.

1884

Father Schmoeger's life of Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich appeared in a new edition. Never mind that the writing seemed Antisemitic.

CATHOLICISM
ANTISEMITISM

August 15, Friday: Consecration of the present St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church structure in Newport, Rhode Island.

1887

Isaac Hecker's THE CHURCH AND THE AGE.

The Reverend Justin Fulton's ROME IN AMERICA.

SURVEY OF AMERICAN ANTI-CATHOLICISM

1888

In Buffalo, New York, the Assumption Roman Catholic Church was founded to serve the Polish community.

The White Caps, an Indiana Ku Klux Klan offshoot, surfaced in the city of Rochester, New York.

Publication of the Reverend Justin Fulton's WASHINGTON IN THE LAP OF ROME.

SURVEY OF AMERICAN ANTI-CATHOLICISM

1889

A steeple was added to the former Universalist meetinghouse which serves as the Catholic church for Concord, Massachusetts.

1890

Ether drinkers were becoming more numerous and diverse in Ireland as ether became more available and cheaper, and temperance campaigns and fiscal policies make alcohol less desirable, less available, and costlier. By the 1890s, the use of ether as an intoxicant by sophisticate upper classes has declined, possibly in part because of a rise in the availability and popularity of morphine which is pleasanter to use and leaves no tell-tale smell. Use continues to grow among lower classes and peasant communities of Prussia, Hungary, Austria, Russia, Norway, France, and Great Britain. As in Ireland, heavy alcohol taxes may have contributed to this phenomenon.

Parnell's divorce case at this point led to his being deposed from the leadership of the Irish Party. In a year he would be dead. It is estimated that at this point 1/8th of the population of Londonderry and Tyrone counties in Ireland were reduced by the unavailability of alcohol to the use of ether, not for purposes of anesthesia but for purposes of recreational intoxication. The spread of ether into the other counties of Ireland would be driven back by Catholicism and by the law before it could take root (helped along by the fact that a less marginal peasantry would find the drug to be less appealing than alcohol and would therefore abandon it after limited experimentation).

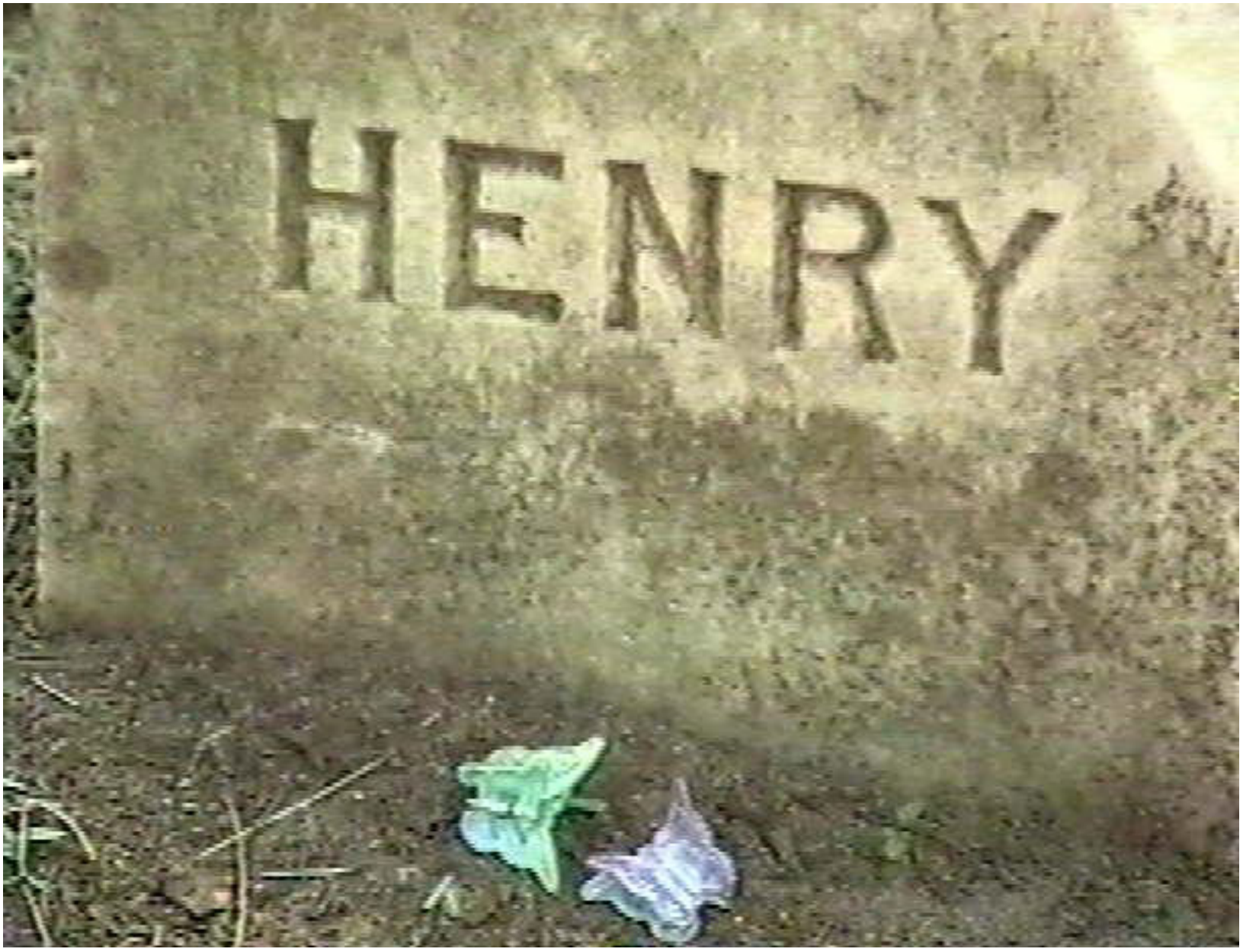
THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

1891

Mrs. George Parsons Lathrop and her husband embraced Roman Catholicism. She chose as a mission the work of helping penniless sufferers from incurable cancer and went to live in New-York slums to be near them. She founded St. Rose's Free Home for Incurable Cancer there.

Julian Hawthorne's and William Leonard Lemmon's AMERICAN LITERATURE: A TEXT-BOOK FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co.) contained unattributed personal observations about Henry Thoreau to the accuracy of which neither author would have been able to testify. By having had the

ability to “fix his gaze upon an object for a long time at a stretch,” Thoreau had been “like a pointer-dog.”



HENRY, STILL POINTING

Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) had the initial distinction of being born in Concord, though that village was then nothing but a pretty hamlet, lying between level meadows and low hills, on the banks of a loitering stream. Here, it is true, the first blood of the Revolution had been shed, more than forty years

before; but that fact might have lapsed into oblivion had not Emerson's "Hymn," recited on the site of the conflict, in 1836, put a life into the event that is still vigorous. Thoreau was, remotely, of French extraction, and he had a swarthy, Norman cast of features: but his ancestors had become English before they became American, and the genuine New England farmer blood beat in his veins. Personally, he was odd, in all senses of the term. He was bilious in constitution and in temper, with a disposition somewhat prone to suspicion and jealousy, and defiant, rather than truly independent, in spirit. He had a searching, watchful, unconciliating eye, a long, stealthy tread and an alert but not graceful figure. His heart was neither warm nor large, and he certainly did not share that "enthusiasm for humanity" which was the fashionable profession in his day. His habits were solitary and unsocial; yet secretly he was highly sensitive to the opinion of his fellow-men, and would perhaps have mingled more freely with them, but for a perception that there was no vehement demand for his company. The art of pleasing was not innate in him, and he was too proud to cultivate it. Rather than have it appear that society could do without him, he resolved to make haste and banish society; for a couple of years he actually lived alone in a hut built by himself, on the shores of Walden Pond, near Concord: all his life he kept out of people's way, — you were more apt to see his disappearing coat-tails than his face, and he was most at ease in his walks through the woods and fields surrounding Concord, and on his exploring tramps to Canada, to Maine, to Cape Cod and along the Merrimac [*sic*] River. Thus thrown back upon himself, his egotism and self-consciousness could not but become emphasized: and since he might not shine in society, he determined to be king in the wilderness. He asserted, and perhaps brought himself to believe, that all that was worthy in this world lay within the compass of a walk from his own doorstep; and we might add that he came to regard the owner of that doorstep as the centre of all this world's worth. Existing in space, as it were, with nothing to measure himself by, he seemed to himself colossal.
Had Thoreau been nothing more than has been indicated, the world would not have been likely to hear of him. But there was more in him than this, and more still was added by education and by the influence of certain of his contemporaries, and of their opinions. His father was able to send him to school and to Harvard College: after graduating he taught school, and finally learned surveying. This trade, and a little money that he had, sufficed to support one of habits so economical as his. He was endowed with some imagination, and it partly found expression in poetry- moralized descriptions of nature, a little rough in form, and anything but ardent in feeling, but individual and masculine. Several of these poems, written soon after Thoreau left college, were published in "The Dial," and also some essays on the natural history of Massachusetts. Emerson was the medium of this early literary recognition, and his contact with the odd and whimsical young man who had so few intimates inevitably had

an effect upon Thoreau's development, both literary and philosophical. He did not want to imitate anybody, and he did his best to digest Emerson, so that his own work and cast of thought should not betray the contagion. Measurably, but not completely, he succeeded. His writings are thinly overspread with Thoreau, but here and there the coating has worn off, and the Emersonian basis shows through. It is quite open to question whether this has not done the writings more harm than good. The nectar and ambrosia of Emerson does not assimilate kindly with Thoreau's harsh and rather acrid substance. Thoreau was a humorist, -in the old, not in the new sense,- and it is indispensable to the prosperity of the humorist that he be himself. He was no optimist, and he cared nothing for the welfare of mankind, or the progress of civilization. When, therefore, he ornaments his records of the facts of nature with interpretations of their moral and spiritual significance, we feel a sense of incongruity. The interpretations have not the air of developing spontaneously from the interior of the writer's thought; they are deliberately fitted on from the outside, and the marks of juncture smoothed off. On the other hand, it did come naturally to Thoreau to fall into a vein of talking about natural objects -plants, animals and meteorology- as if they were human creatures, and to credit them with likes, dislikes, thoughts and personalities. When he does this, he is entertaining and attractive, and it is a pity he did not develop a vein so proper to him, rather than snatch with his earthly hands at the Empyrean.

His poems of observation were good, and, like a pointer-dog, he could fix his gaze upon an object for a long time at a stretch. Nevertheless, he cannot be considered an especially objective writer. He reverts continually to himself, and examines his own attitude and impressions in regard to the thing even more solicitously than the thing itself. The poet in him helps the naturalist, but the philosopher sophisticates him. Now and then, in the midst of the pathless woods, we are aware of a queer bookish flavor in the air. The literary artist arranges his little scene, pleasing in its way, and well done; only it was not just the kind of pleasure we were looking for. Other and greater artists can do that better: what we want of Thoreau is his own peculiar service, and nothing else.

In truth, he was not free from affectations; he was radically provincial; and often (as children complain of one another) he was "disagreeable." But he had deep and true thoughts, he was of pure and upright life and he made a real and lasting impression. He deserves the reputation that he has with the average reader, though not the violent panegyrics of his thick-and-thin admirers. He assumed the stoicism and some of the habits of the Indian, and his physical senses were approximately as acute as theirs; but he was really a civilized man who never found a home in civilization. One leaves him with a feeling of unmixed kindliness; and in his "Walden," his "Week on the Concord and Merrimac," [*sic*] his "Cape Cod" and other books,

will be found many passages worthy of preservation, which only he could have written.

AMERICAN LITERATURE

1892

The Bishop of Münster initiated the church process for the beatification of Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich.

CATHOLICISM

1894

In Rhode Island, the Catholic school system was again freed from taxation — and also the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground upon which they stood.

Publication, by the federal government, of William Howe Tolman's dissertation entitled HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN RHODE ISLAND, of which some dozen pages dealt with the Yearly Meeting School in Providence.

FRIENDS BOARDING SCHOOL

READ THE ENTIRE THING

1898

After the death of her husband (from whom she had separated), Rose Hawthorne took religious orders and would henceforward be known as Mother Mary Alphonsa Lathrop. She founded a community of sisters to perpetuate her work (they are Dominican tertiaries).

CATHOLICISM

1899

Mother Mary Alphonsa Lathrop moved her project, in the terminal care of cancer patients, to a larger house, St. Rose's Free Home for Incurable Cancer.

CATHOLICISM

January 22, Sunday: Pope Leo XIII, in his apostolic letter *Testum Benevolentiae*, excoriated the attitude that had been taken by Father Thomas (Isaac Hecker) of the Paulist Fathers under the rubric "Americanism."[217] The view which he was attributing to Father Thomas was the view espoused in that 1897 French translation of Walter Elliott's THE LIFE OF FATHER HECKER, that he had proposed that certain obstacles to conversion of people to the Catholic faith, such as a number of traditional doctrines, ought for tactical reasons to be de-emphasized if not dispensed with entirely.

217. The deployment of such an epithet as "Americanism" was probably a tactical blunder.

1900

During the previous century, of course, the human population had been exploding:

As of 1790 the center of the human population of the USA had been a little town just about a day's travel inland

from Maryland. By this period the center of population had relocated.

(Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)

The 12th US national census counted 12 million Roman Catholics, 6 million Methodists, 5 million Baptists, 1.5 million Lutherans, 1.5 million Presbyterians, 1 million Jews, 700,00 Episcopalians, 350,000 Mormons, 80,000 Christian Scientists, and 75,000 Unitarians.
Here is a period statistic in regard to cause of death which did not appear in our federal census, a statistic allegedly tabulated by John Edward Bruce (Bruce Grit) of the Chicago Tribune: during this year 117 black Americans were lynched, which would make it that a lynching was occurring about every third day.

One strange fact that appears, in this record of one year's lynchings, is that accusations of sexual misconduct play a remarkably small role. Whereas the usual story told about lynching was that it was motivated by a desire of the white man to restrict the black man's access to white females, this usual story is not at all corroborated by the statistic for the year 1900.

The Holy Roman Catholic Church resolved once and for all in this year the vexing issue of contesting official foreskin relics of Jesus Christ (there had been some 8 to 18 such contending objects scattered across Europe) by warning that anyone who thenceforward wrote about or spoke about a Holy Prepuce would be excommunicated.

December 8, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Wythe County, Virginia, Daniel Long, accused of rape, was lynched.

Mother Mary Alphonsa Lathrop (Rose Hawthorne Lathrop) made her vows as a Dominican nun, taking the name Mother Mary Alphonsa. With her first companion, Sister M. Rose, she would found the Dominican Congregation of St. Rose of Lima, later called the Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer.

CATHOLICISM

1901

Mother Mary Alphonsa (Rose Hawthorne Lathrop) opened the Rosary Hill Home in Hawthorne, New York (now this is the mother home of the order).

CATHOLICISM

1904

An ecclesiastical court of the Roman Catholic church spent a year examining the life and conduct of Father Jean de Brébeuf, and the cause of his death, forwarding the results of their inquiry to the Vatican in Rome.

CANADA

1915

June 23, Wednesday: The Interior Ministry advised provincial governors that the Commission on Abandoned Goods will have charge of the resettlement of Turkish Muslim immigrants.

The Interior Ministry advised taking the precaution of separating the convoys of Armenian deportees by a distance of five hours.

The wholesale arrest of 1,500 men was carried out in Sivas Province.

First large-scale massacre of Armenian men was carried out in the town of Kharput.

Wholesale arrests were made in Bitlis of the scattered remnant Armenians who had escaped the previous series of massacres.

Massacres of Armenian Christians, Maronites, Nestorians, Europeans, Catholics, and other non-Muslim people in the city of Mardin were carried out under the direct order of Dr. Reshid, the governor-general of Diyarbekir Province.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

August 26, Thursday: German forces captured Brest-Litovsk.

WORLD WAR I

US President Wilson reversed earlier policy and allows private loans to belligerent nations.

The overture to Ethel Smyth's unperformed opera The Boatswain's Mate was performed for the initial time, in Queen's Hall, London.

The War Ministry requisitions for its military supply depots all wood, coal, and copper found in the homes and stores of deported Armenians.

The Armenian poet, Daniel Varoujan, together with the poet physician Rupen Sevak, and others, were murdered by chetes while incarcerated in the Ayash prison.

60,000 deported Armenians in the Aleppo area were ordered to leave for Hawran, an Arab district in northern Trans-Jordan.

The Armenian Catholics in Angora were arrested.

Instructions were issued forbidding the purchase of property from Armenian deportees.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

1916

April 16, Sunday: The New York Times reported that German Catholics had placed the number of massacred Armenians at 1,000,000, and that they held England at fault for this great crime.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

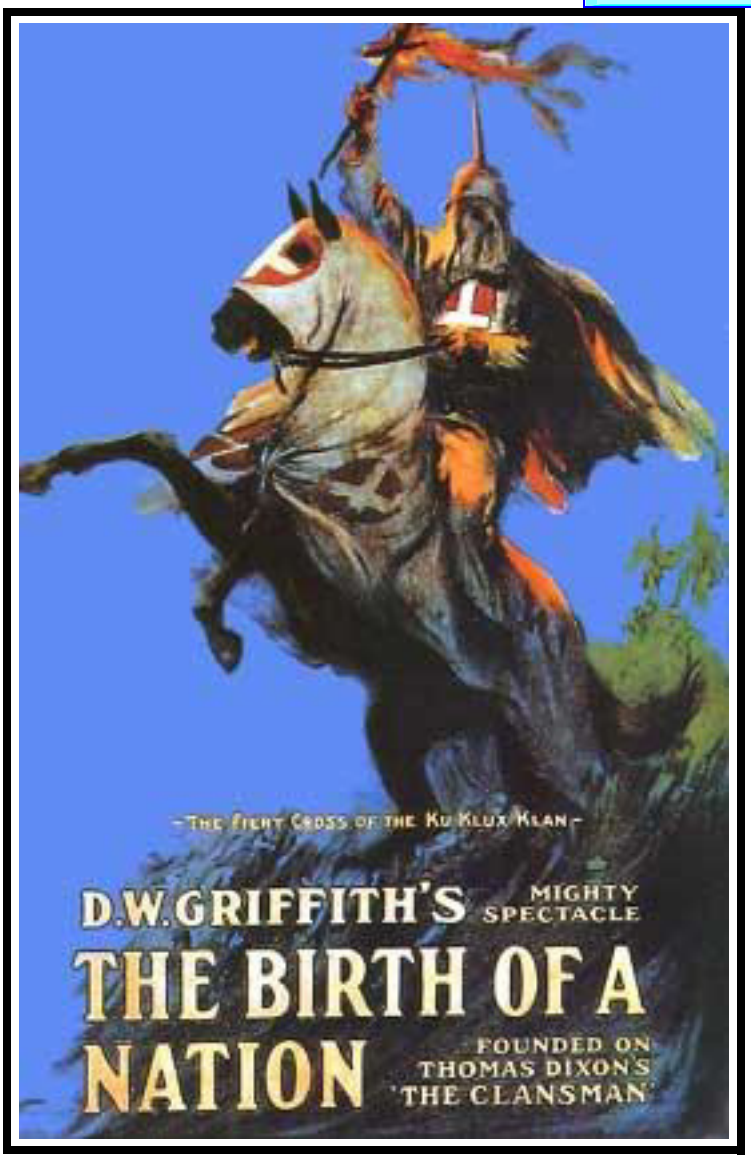
1920

Nicholas Black Elk went to the reservation hospital for treatment for his ulcers, and there received the Holy Sacrament. Evidently his baptism as a child had not “taken”? When his ulcers disappeared, with the encouragement of his friend Kills Brave, he became for the first time seriously involved with Roman Catholicism.

1922

The Ku Klux Klan, which had adopted a "one hundred percent Americanism" theme along with a ceremony of reciting the Pledge of Allegiance before the national flag, became a political power in the state of Oregon and sponsored legislation requiring all Catholic children to attend the public schools rather than their own parochial schools (the US Supreme Court would overturn this law as Unamerican or, at least, as unconstitutional).

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE



When in this year the state of New York was invaded by the gypsy moth, the Ku Klux Klan did diddly squat nothing — they didn't even march, let alone burn a cross (go figure).

April 12, Wednesday: The *Führer* of the German National Socialist "Nazi" Party, Adolf Hitler, raised as a Catholic, spoke in München about his feelings as a Christian: "My feelings as a Christian points me to my Lord and Savior as a fighter.... As a Christian I have no duty to allow myself to be cheated, but I have the duty to be a fighter for truth and justice ... and if there is anything which could demonstrate that we are acting rightly, it is the distress that daily grows. For as a Christian I have also a duty to my own people."

WORLD WAR II

1926

July 9, Friday: Mother Mary Alphonsa (Rose Hawthorne Lathrop) died at her Rosary Hill Home in Hawthorne, New York.

Launching his “Northern Expedition,” Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek lectured 100,000 soldiers of his National Revolutionary Army.

An annular, partial solar eclipse traveled roughly along this planet’s midsection across the Pacific Ocean.

Another military coup d’etat led by General Sinel de Cordes replaced Manuel de Oliveira Gomes da Costa with António Oscar de Fragoso Carmona as acting President of Portugal.

July 31, Saturday: In opposition to the anti-clerical stance of President Calles, Mexican priests refused to say mass. In the rioting it would be reported that 3 people were killed and many wounded, and the police would take about 50 into custody.

1930

June 29, Sunday: Father Jean de Brébeuf and his companions were canonized by Pope Pius XI. This saint's feast-day is October 19th and he is a patron saint of Canada.

1932

February 11, Thursday: On the 3d anniversary of the Lateran Treaty, *Duce* Benito Mussolini and Pope Pius XI met in Rome. The split between Italian fascists and the Catholic Church had been healed.

1933

January: A pastoral letter of Austrian Catholic[218] Bishop Johannes Evangelist Maria Gföllner of Linz asserted it to be the duty of all Christians to adopt a "moral form of antisemitism." Presumably he intended by this the hate-the-sin-not-the-sinner form of antisemitism Jesus Christ himself had embraced, because this anti-Nazi cleric pointed out that while the radical anti-Semitism preached by Nazism is completely incompatible with Christianity, it is nevertheless not only the right but also the duty of all Christians to fight and break the harmful influences of Jewry in all areas of modern cultural life. We need to stop letting them get away with stuff the way they do! Figure it out!

ANTISEMITISM

July 20, Thursday: A *Reichskonkordat* was signed between Germany (Chancellor Adolf Hitler of the Nazi Party in Berlin being himself of the Catholic faith) and the Vatican Holy See of the Catholic Church in Rome. Pope Pius XI considered the treaty as protecting Catholic rights in Germany. However, by this action the Vatican would legitimize the Third Reich in the eyes of the German Catholic hierarchy and laymen as well as of the international community and pave the way for the Nazi totalitarianization of German society and later German attacks on the European state system.

July 31, Monday: By this point approximately 30,000 people were in Nazi concentration camps.

October: On St. Helena, Governor Sir Stewart Spencer Davis was instrumental in setting up a cricket club.

As Leo Szilard later would recollect, "It occurred to me in October 1933 that a chain reaction might be set up if an element could be found that would emit two neutrons when it swallowed one neutron." This idea would become a classified British patent in 1935, even before such actual fission was first observed.

ATOM BOMB

A liaison office for aid to Germany Jews by Jewish organizations in the US and France was established.

Chancellor Adolf Hitler of the Nazi Party, raised as a Catholic, declared that "We have made an end of denials of the Deity and the crying down of religion."

WORLD WAR II

218. By the way, Adolf Hitler was not only a vegetarian nonsmoker but also a Catholic (in case you'd forgotten such details).

1940

It is interesting to note that by this period, despite the scorching the Paulist Fathers of Isaac Hecker had taken for "Americanism" from Pope Leo XIII in his *Testum Benevolentiae* of 1899, had established Catholic outreach houses in Canada, in South Africa, and in Italy itself.

1941

Simone Weil began her study of Sanskrit. She made friends with a Dominican priest, Father J.-M. Perrin, who helped her find farm work, with a Catholic writer in the Ardèche, Gustave Thibon.

April 28, Monday: Prime Minister Rashid Ali of Iraq sealed off the British airbase at Habbaniyah.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt froze all Greek assets in the United States, estimated at around $50,000,000. This was the last night of evacuation of Allied forces from Greece (more than 50,000 had been evacuated).

US coal mine operators and unions agreed to a formula proposed by the President which ended the walkout of 400,000 miners that had been ongoing since April 1st. Miners would begin to receive $6.60 per day.

The German army took Sollum.
During World War II, because of protection by Nazi Germany, the Croats, who were Roman Catholics, were able to perpetrate a genocide upon the Serbs, who were Orthodox Catholics. Since the Roman Catholic Croatian Ustashi Army (a militia created by Ante Pavelic, Prime Minister of Croatia) were merely doing with enthusiasm what the *Gestapo* and SD units had gone into the region to accomplish, the German occupation forces were turning a blind eye to this genocide. This day marked the worst of it as units of the Croatian Ustashi Army surrounded the villages of Gudovac and Brezovica in Croatia to execute the 234 there who were of Serbian nationality. They were advised they must choose: either go back to Serbia or convert to the national religion, Roman Catholicism, and they were advised that refusal would mean death. In addition, at the village of Blagaj, 520 men, women, and children were being taken care of very inexpensively by being struck on the head. In the Koprivnica Forest near Livno around 300 were being brutalized before their execution, with hands and feet cut off and eyes gouged out. The heads of small children were being thrown into the laps of their mothers. Inventively, women's breasts were being amputated and then the hands of their children were being pulled through under the skin of their chests and tied together. (Can you imagine what **irreligious** people might have done under those circumstances?) In the Livno area alone, the Roman Catholics killed 1,243 Orthodox Catholics inclusive of 370 who were children. In the Risova Greda Forest the bodies of more than 800 Orthodox Catholics were shoved over the edge into ravines. The Roman Catholic General Dragutin Rumler,

in command of the Croatian Ustashi Army, reported that in round numbers to the point of his report, about 10,000 Orthodox Catholics, Jews, and Gypsies had been taken care of. In the Mount Kozara region, Serb children were taken from their parents to be isolated in special concentration camps. In the filthy camp at Sisak, out of 6,693 children, 1,600 would soon be dead. In the camp at Jastrebarko there were an additional 3,336 helpless children, and shortly after their arrival the local cemetery records reveal that the caretaker buried 768. In Plot 142 in the Mirogoj Cemetery in Zagreb lie the remains of 862 who actually were rescued by the Red Cross but in such sad condition that they soon died. Now that we have had a chance to research the extant records and tabulate the numbers, we know that this Roman Catholic genocide took the lives of 11,194 Orthodox Catholic children. We even know that of these, 6,302 were boys and 4,874 girls — and that their modal age had been six and one half years.

"A victory described in detail is indistinguishable from a defeat."

— Jean-Paul Sartre

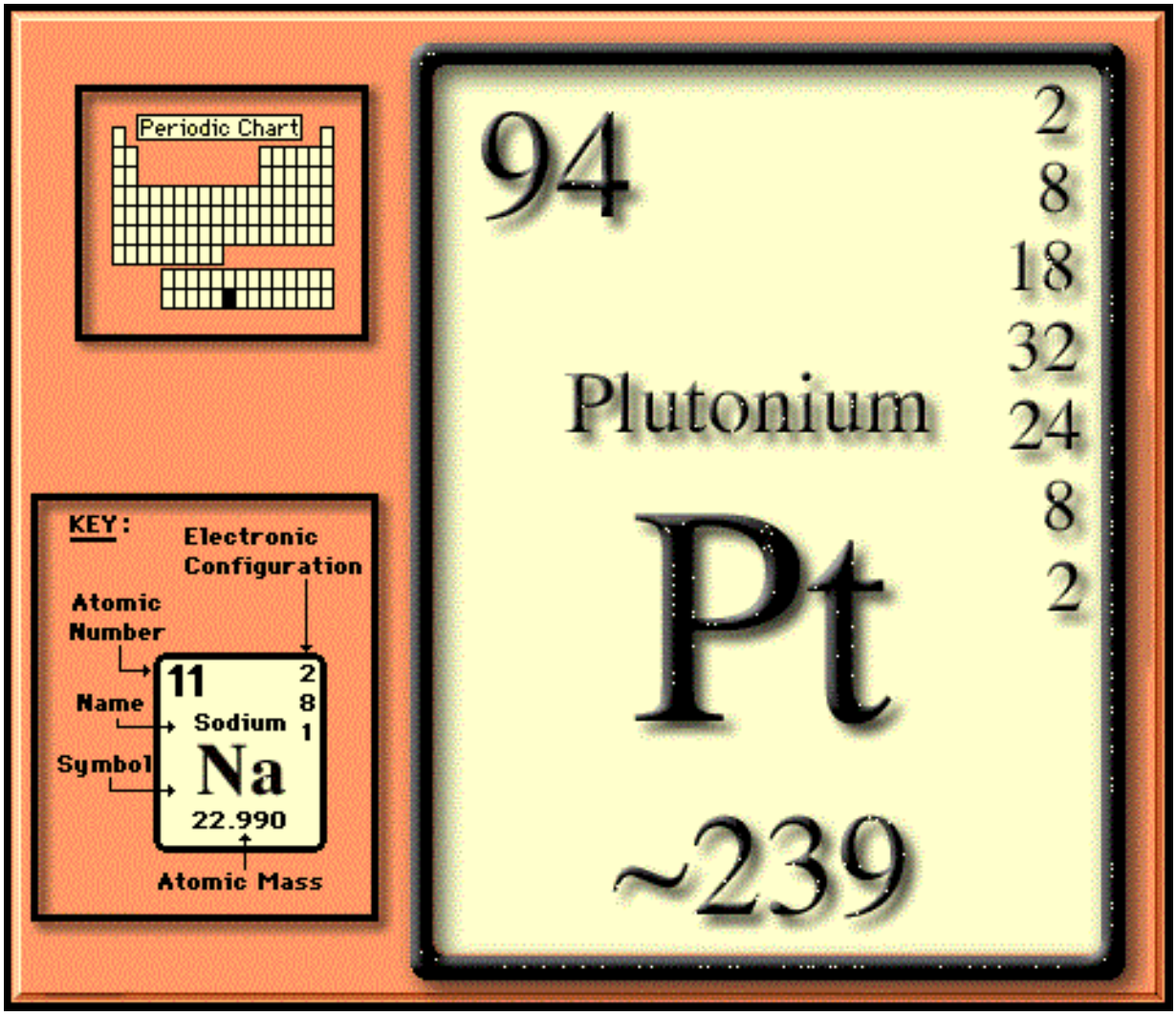
Mid-July: *Führer* Adolf Hitler, a Catholic, commented: "Christianity is the hardest blow that ever hit humanity. Bolshevism is the bastard son of Christianity; both are the monstrous issue of the Jews."

ANTISEMITISM

1945

August 9, Thursday: Soviet forces launched a major offensive against the Japanese in Manchuria, immediately breaching defenses. 1,000,000 Red Army troops were thrown into the battle.

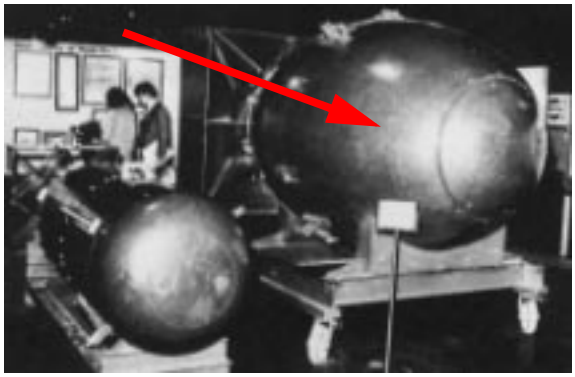
After flying around over another city for half an hour waiting for a break in the clouds, our silver airplane had gone to try to hit one of its secondary targets, the oldest Japanese port city, Nagasaki, with its American POW camp. "Fat Man," our other atomic bomb, the implosion-mechanism Plutonium$_{239}$ bomb that had been so eagerly sponsored by John von Neumann, missed its target by 1.9 miles and was utterly inefficient at its task of converting matter into energy, damaging no portion of its target area but detonating directly above the largest Roman Catholic cathedral in the Far East. Oops!



Why, I bet nobody ever told you that! Did anyone tell you that this was another down day for Professor Albert Einstein?

Masahito Hirose was a junior high school student when he watched the white mushroom cloud rise above Nagasaki. He lost a cousin in the blast, and later an aunt would die a slow and painful death while bleeding from her nose and gums. Now, in the Year of Our Lord 2011, he is 81 years of age and subsequent to the disaster at Fukushima Daiichi, he has begun to inquire "Is it Japan's fate to repeatedly serve as a warning to the world about the dangers of radiation?"

I do not know how many grams of Pt_{239} were packed into the wedges of the Nagasaki bomb, or what the efficiency of the device should have been. All I can tell you is that of the amount used, which at an impossible 100% efficiency could have been as little as 5 kilograms, almost all of it was simply vaporized, and only approximately one gram was converted into the entire energy of the explosion. The energy from conversion of one gram of this matter is, however, equal to the energy released by the explosion of 18,000,000,000 grams (20,000 tons) of ordinary military-grade TNT. The energy from this one gram of Pt_{239} killed almost instantly about 250 Japanese soldiers, about the same number of American prisoners of war, and approximately 70,000 noncombatant men, women, and children.



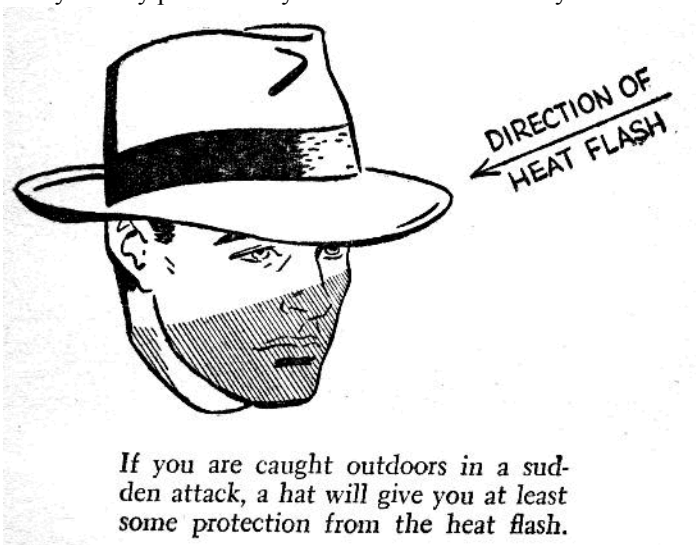
Why, I bet nobody ever told you that after the detonation device we had used on the Hiroshima bomb had failed to create more than a flash-bang of radiation, the entirely different detonation device we used on the Nagasaki bomb also failed to create more than a flash-bang of radiation. In neither city did they even so much as leave a hole in the ground. But, of course, as we went back to the drawing boards, our spin-doctors would scream SUCCESS and SUCCESS despite the fact that we had succeeded only in producing something like 1% or less of the slaughter and destruction that we had been scheming! (The initial bomb set off by North Korea well over half a century later would be a squib like this, and we would chortle and mock.)

Flight report and operations order indicate that Bomber 44-86292, the Enola Gay, flew as the weather plane

on this second atomic mission.

A headline in The New Republic read “Thank God for the Atomic Bomb.” The blast at Nagasaki did not alter the outcome of the war for the Japanese had already determined to surrender, but since we had managed to test both our devices under real war conditions, the US would have a better basis for determining whether to continue production at our Tennessee Valley facility, or at our Hanford facility. General Leslie “Can’t Drive a Spike With a Tackhammer” Groves, facing a congressional committee, would offer that in his opinion dying of radiation poisoning, as was happening in the surviving civilian populations in the Hiroshima and Nagasaki

areas, must be relatively "a very pleasant way to die."[219]The Enola Gay exhibit now provides us with outright



If you are caught outdoors in a sudden attack, a hat will give you at least some protection from the heat flash.

WORLD WAR II

219. Jonathan Kwitny has raised some hypothetical questions in the pages of the LA Times Book Review section for August 6, 1995 (page 10). What, he asks, would be the impact on us were we to find out certain things about our history as a nation:

> But what if Gen. Eisenhower, Gen. MacArthur, Adm. Leahy, Gen. Bradley, and Adm. Nimitz –the top American brass in World War II– had all believed Japan would surrender in mid-1945 without our dropping atom bombs, and without an American invasion of Japan? What if Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy, a Cold War hawk, agreed, and so did hawkish press tycoons Henry Luce and David Lawrence, and even Air Force Gen. Curtis LeMay (of "Bombs Away With Curtis LeMay" fame when he ran for vice president on the George Wallace ticket)? What if a commission to study the bombings appointed by President Harry S Truman[1] and directed by cold warrior Paul Nitze also thought the bombing unnecessary to obtain Japanese surrender? What if even President Truman and Secretary of War Henry Stimson in the weeks before the bomb was dropped had embraced in writing every significant argument against the Hiroshima and Nagasaki attacks, and ordered that the bomb not be dropped on civilian populations? What if Gen. Marshall, the future secretary of state, and J. Robert Oppenheimer, who invented the bomb, had said it needn't be dropped on civilian populations? What if Truman-friendly historian Herbert Feis, who was given exclusive access to the diaries, records and people, concluded that "There can hardly be a well-grounded dissent from the conclusion … Japan would have surrendered if the atomic bombs had not been dropped … and even if no invasion had been planned"?

1. No period after the S because, like "Truman," it doesn't stand for anything. See pages 150-151 of Lifton and Mitchell's HIROSHIMA IN AMERICA: FIFTY YEARS OF DENIAL (NY: E.F.Dutton & Sons, 1995).

Kwitny's recitation of these True Facts ends with the observation that as of the 50th anniversary of our destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki we "might want to ponder whether indiscriminate killing and maiming so many Japanese civilians dishonored rather than honored the brave American servicemen who truly won the war in combat. But until now [with the late publication of THE DECISION TO USE THE ATOMIC BOMB by Gar Alperovitz by Knopf, 847 "exceptionally large" pages, and HIROSHIMA IN AMERICA by Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell, 425 "more imaginative" pages], we haven't been allowed such luxury."

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

half-truths such as that “special leaflets” were “dropped on Japanese cities,” warning their civilians to evacuate. (“Well then, I suppose that if anyone got poisoned by the radiation, it must have been their own fault. Gosh, knowing that makes me feel a whole lot easier about the whole thing.”) This Smithsonian exhibit carefully neglects to inform us that it was only after Tokyo had been destroyed by conventional firestorming, and Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been destroyed by nuclear devices, that we had begun to drop any such leaflets!

Russia of course chose this opportunity to declare war on Japan. What fun!
Aircraft from fast carrier task forces of the Third Fleet (Admiral W.F. Halsey) attacked airfields and shipping in northern Honshu and Hokkaido, Japan.

Battleships and cruisers (Rear Admiral J.F. Shafroth) bombarded industrial targets at Kamaishi, Honshu, Japan.

Battleship, cruiser, and destroyers bombarded Wake Island.

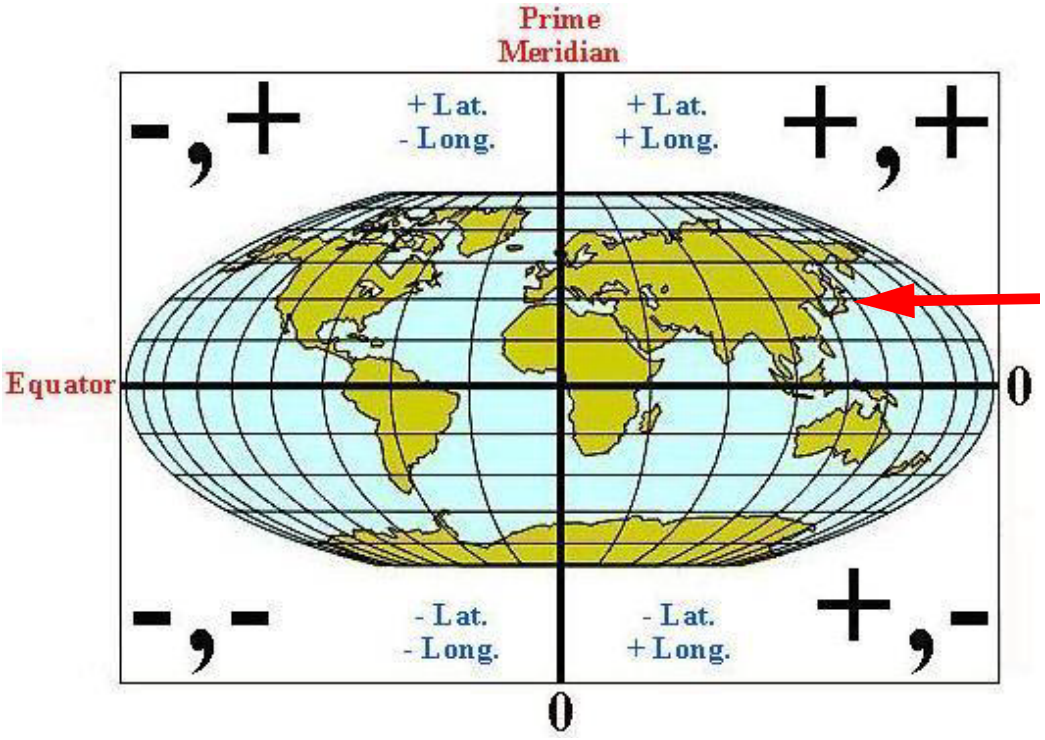
United States naval vessels damaged:

- Destroyer *John W. Weeks* (DD-701), accidentally by United States naval gunfire, off Honshu, Japan, 35 degrees 0 minute North, 143 degrees 0 minute East
- Destroyer *Borie* (DD-704), by Japanese Kamikaze, off Honshu, Japan, 37 degrees 21 minutes North, 143 degrees 45 minutes East

Japanese naval vessels sunk:

- Minesweeper #33, by carrier-based aircraft, off northern Honshu, Japan, 38 degrees 26 minutes North, 141 degrees 30 minutes East
- Frigate *Amakusa*, by United States and British carrier-based aircraft, off northern Honshu, Japan, 38 degrees 26 minutes North, 141 degrees 30 minutes East

- Frigate *Inagi*, by carrier-based aircraft, off northern Honshu, Japan, 38 degrees 26 N, 141 degrees 30 minutes East



The US Army issued General Order #65, honoring a brave, or stupid, 2d Lieutenant for his bravery, or stupidity:

> CITATION: 2d Lt. Murphy commanded Company B, which was attacked by 6 tanks and waves of infantry. 2d Lt. Murphy ordered his men to withdraw to prepared positions in a woods, while he remained forward at his command post and continued to give fire directions to the artillery by telephone.
> Behind him, to his right, 1 of our tank destroyers received a direct hit and began to burn. Its crew withdrew to the woods. 2d Lt. Murphy continued to direct artillery fire which killed large numbers of the advancing enemy infantry.
> With the enemy tanks abreast of his position, 2d Lt. Murphy climbed on the burning tank destroyer, which was in danger of blowing up at any moment, and employed its .50 caliber machine gun against the enemy. He was alone and exposed to German fire from 3 sides, but his deadly fire killed dozens of Germans and caused their infantry attack to waver. The enemy tanks, losing infantry support, began to fall back.
> For an hour the Germans tried every available weapon to eliminate 2d Lt. Murphy, but he continued to hold his position and wiped out a squad which was trying to creep up unnoticed on his right flank. Germans reached as close as 10 yards, only to be mowed down by his fire. He received a leg wound, but ignored it and continued the single-handed fight until his ammunition was exhausted. He then made his way to his company, refused medical attention, and organized the company in a counterattack which forced the Germans to withdraw. His directing of artillery fire wiped out many of the enemy; he killed or wounded about 50.
> 2d Lt. Murphy's indomitable courage and his refusal to give an inch of ground saved his company from possible encirclement and destruction, and enabled it to hold the woods which had been the enemy's objective.

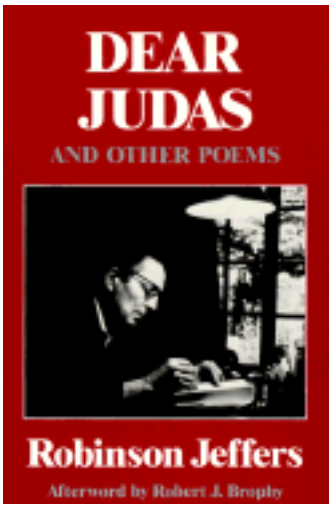
That had happened not recently but near Holtzwihr, France back on January 26th. In March Lieutenant Audie Leon Murphy had been called to Nancy, France by order of the 3rd Infantry Division Commander, Major General John "Iron-Mike" O'Daniel, and put on ice awaiting an appropriate occasion to make use of his record of exploits. On this day, while we were dropping the other shoe on Japan, General O'Daniel presented to 1st Lieutenant Murphy the Distinguished Service Cross and Silver Star.
After "Iron Mike" had pinned the medals on Audie's uniform, he pulled out of his pocket a Medal of Honor. Without handing it over, O'Daniel showed the medal to Audie and advised him that General Alexander Patch, the 7th Army Commander, would soon pin it on his chest at a separate ceremony.[220]

Somebody please assure me that this was just a coincidence, that it wasn't intended to distract us from the atrocity against civilians that we had just perpetrated at Nagasaki!

220. As we probably are all aware, Audie Murphy went on to become a Hollywood star. His first role would come in a film released in 1949 by Allied Artists, titled "Bad Boy." In 1950 he would sign a star-system contract with Universal-International, and over a 15-year period he would act in 26 Universal Studio films, 23 of them "westerns." His 1949 autobiography TO HELL AND BACK would of course be a best seller. He would play himself in a film biography released by Universal-International in 1955. "To Hell and Back" would hold the record as that studio's highest grossing picture, until 1975 when its boxoffice record would be surpassed by the movie "Jaws." He would earn more than $3,000,000 in those years, in an era in which a million dollars was not small change, but he had drug-dependency problems and loved to play the horses. He would gamble most of the money away. Over Audie's 25-year period in Hollywood, he would act in a total of 44 feature films. (For some reason, the Oscar would ever elude him.)

1948

When an attempt was made in San Francisco, California during this year to stage Robinson Jeffers's No̅ play about the Jesus/Judas relationship, the play had to be canceled when the Jesus actor, the Judas actor, and the choreographer, who were Catholic, got threatened with excommunication. "No man shall live" declares the Jesus-ghost in this little conceit, "as if I had not lived." One of the key contributions of Christianity to civilization, however, has been to encapsulate the teachings of this man in such a way as to make it possible for people to live as if he had not lived. Sometimes it fails in this — but that is Christianity's design and intent. Finally the play would be successfully presented, in 1953, by a troupe of actors who were almost exclusively Quaker and Unitarian.



Ward Ritchie Press in Los Angeles CA published the poet's "Poetry, Gongorism and A Thousand Years," which originally had appeared in the New York Times Magazine for January 18th.

1954

The Holy Roman Catholic Church discerned that excommunication was too good for a person who impelled by curiosity or the need to understand would descend to loose talk or publication about the foreskin of Jesus Christ, and upped the ante on this religious crime so that thenceforward any Catholic who wrote about or spoke about a Holy Prepuce would be not merely excommunicated but also shunned ("*vitandi*").

In MOTIVATION AND PERSONALITY, Professor Abraham Maslow, a humanistic psychologist at Brandeis University, proposed a tiered hierarchy of human values. In ascending order these were:

1) physiological needs such as food, oxygen, and water;
2) personal safety;
3) sense of community, to include love;
4) competence and prestige;
5) self-fulfillment; and
6) curiosity and the need to understand.

Although many religious leaders were offended by Maslow's thesis that people did not seek self-fulfillment until after their other needs had been met, his theory became popular with such diverse entities as New Age philosopher Barbara Marx Hubbard and the US Army. Hubbard stressed the high-level functions that she called "self-actualization." The Army stressed mid-level functions such as belonging and competence. As Richard Strozzi Heckler said in a book about training Special Forces soldiers, "The institution of the Army wants [soldiers] to achieve deeper levels of power and control, but [does not] want them necessarily to begin thinking and feeling too much on their own."

1960

Under the direction of Monsignor John York, St. Bernard's Catholic Church in Concord was renovated and enlarged.

1983

January 1, Saturday: The Holy Prepuce of Jesus Christ and its jeweled casket were stolen by a Catholic priest in Calcata, Italy during the village's annual parade on the Feast of the Circumcision. The precious object hasn't been seen since — which is extremely unfortunate since in this day of forensic tissue specimens we would immediately be able to use it to reconstruct the entire genome of Jesus, in the hope someday that we would be able to clone him like the dinosaurs of Jurassic Park.

A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- The scheduled changeover from NCP to TCP/IP protocols.

Host nodes on the Internet

DATE	NODES
May 1969	4
October 1969	5
April 1971	23
June 1974	62
March 1977	111
August 1981	213
May 1982	235
August 1983	562
October 1984	1,024
October 1985	1,961
February 1986	2,308
November 1986	5,089
December 1987	28,174
July 1988	33,000
October 1988	56,000
January 1989	80,000
July 1989	130,000
October 1989	159,000
October 1990	313,000
January 1991	376,000
July 1991	535,000
October 1991	617,000
January 1992	727,000
April 1992	890,000
July 1992	992,000
October 1992	1,136,000
January 1993	1,313,000
April 1993	1,486,000

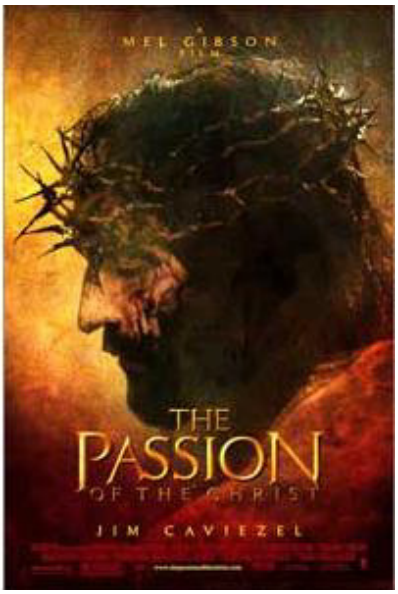
Host nodes on the Internet

DATE	NODES
July 1993	1,776,000
October 1993	2,056,000
January 1994	2,217,000
1995 predicted	5,000,000 estimated

2002

Mel Gibson, whose father is a Holocaust denier, donated $5,100,000 for construction of a "Holy Family Catholic Church" at 30188 West Mulholland Highway in Agoura Hills near Malibu, California:[221]

The ritual in this worship center, it was stipulated, was to be offered in Latin in accordance with the bell-and-smell preferences of the film-maker's family.



The Catholic Diocese of Los Angeles promptly announced that this agenda lacked any point of connection with the actual Catholic Church.

221. I have been insufficiently motivated to add details about this man's birth, family, early life, and deeds and misdeeds to this database. Sorry about that. If you have more interest in the man than I have, you can easily bring yourself up to date on all this by way of his Wikipedia web entry.

2003

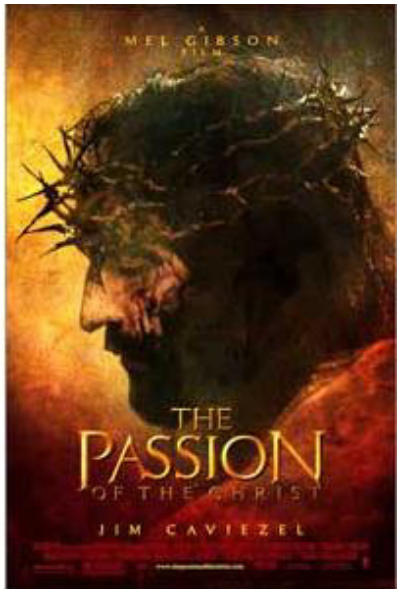
October 24, Friday: It was reported in the media that the actor James Caviezel, playing Christ, had been stricken by lightning during the filming of Mel Gibson's "*The Passion*" but had been uninjured.

ANNE CATHERINE EMMERICH
CATHOLICISM

Oh my God!

2004

The Passion of the Christ by Mel Gibson was shown in theaters and released on DVD. “It is as it was,” the Pope commented as he was coming out of a private screening at the Vatican. Never mind that the movie seemed somehow Antisemitic. His Eminence granted an audience to the actor who had been struck by lightning while portraying Christ (rumors have it that James Caviezel’s next movie appearance will be as Superman). A Vatican spokesperson pointed out to the media that Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich in being considered for beatification had been evaluated “not on the basis of the writing but only on the basis of her virtuous life.” –She had claimed to have been subsisting, for a decade until her death, for instance, on nothing other than communion wafers and watear.



CATHOLICISM

2006

March 3, Friday: In Thoreau's era the federal government was attempting to enforce a Fugitive Slave Law according to which it was criminal conduct, punished by prison time and asset forfeiture, to help someone in need. If you assisted escaping slaves in any manner, such as caring for them when they were ill, or feeding them when they were hungry, or providing them with a place to sleep when they were weary, or guiding them when they were in need of guidance, the federal marshals were entitled to arrest you and seize your assets, and deliver you to the tender mercies of the court system.

At this point in today's kinder and gentler world, unfortunately we have the same sort of situation developing, in that the federal congress is considering an act that would make this sort of Christian conduct again a felony. The difference is only that, last time this happened to us, it had been a felony to shield or offer support to an escaping American slave, whereas this time it is happening to us, it is being made a felony to shield or offer support to an illegal immigrant.

Last time, it was Henry Thoreau who urged "CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE", and this time, it is Cardinal Roger Mahoney of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles. According to Cardinal Mahoney, "As his disciples, we are called to attend to the last, littlest, lowest and least in society and in the church" (by this "his," Cardinal Mahoney seems to be pointing at Christ Jesus). According to this day's editorial in the New York Times, "It has been a long time since this country heard a call to organized lawbreaking on this big a scale."

HR 4437 has already, however, been approved by the US House of Representatives, and has moved on, into the US Senate. The New York Times editorial therefore concluded with: "Cardinal Mahony's declaration of solidarity with illegal immigrants, for whom Lent is every day, is a startling call to civil disobedience, as courageous as it is timely. We hope it forestalls the day when works of mercy become a federal crime."

"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATHOLICISM

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

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

Prepared: May 18, 2015

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE

This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology — but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary "writerly" process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

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