

**HENRY THOREAU'S CLASSMATE
IN THE HARVARD CLASS OF 1837,
CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER**



**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

1816



December 19, Thursday: [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) was born in Lincoln, Massachusetts to Charles Wheeler and Julia Stearns Wheeler. One of his brothers would write of his childhood, that “He was a quiet, teachable, and studious boy, a very diligent and patient student, and a great reader, I might say devourer of books. He seldom if ever mingled in the noisier diversions of boys. I don’t think he ever went skating or hunting in his life. I don’t think he ever fired off a gun.”

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

5th day 19th of 12 M / Our meeting was as large as usual & to me a season of some favor for which I desire to be thankful in this season of almost spiritual famine. – Father Rodman was concerned in testimony, much to my comfort – a word in season Preparative meeting short & no buisness. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





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1833



According to [Professor Walter Roy Harding](#)'s THE DAYS OF HENRY THOREAU (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966):

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

Chapter 3 (1833-1837) -[David Henry Thoreau](#) enters [Harvard College](#) (president Josiah Quincy), having barely squeezed by his entrance exams and rooming with [Charles S. Wheeler](#)

Thoreau's Harvard curriculum: Greek (8 terms under [Felton](#) and [Dunkin](#))-composition, grammar, "Greek Antiquities," Xenophon, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Sophocles, [Euripides](#), [Homer](#). Latin Grammar (8 terms under Beck and McKean)-composition, "Latin Antiquities," Livy, [Horace](#), Cicero, Seneca, [Juvenal](#). Mathematics (7 terms under Pierce and [Joseph] Lovering) English (8 terms under ET Channing, Giles, W&G Simmons)-grammar, rhetoric, logic, forensics, criticism, elocution, declamations, themes. Mental Philosophy (under Giles) [William Paley](#), Stewart. Natural Philosophy (under [Joseph] Lovering)-astronomy. Intellectual Philosophy (under Bowen) Locke, Say, Story. Theology (2 terms under H Ware)-Paley, [Charles Butler](#), New Testament. Modern Languages (voluntary) Italian (5 terms under [Bachi](#)) French (4 terms under Surault) German (4 terms under Bokum) Spanish (2 terms under [[Francis](#)] [Sales](#)) Attended voluntary lectures on German and Northern literature (Longfellow), mineralogy (Webster), anatomy (Warren), natural history (Harris).

Thoreau was an above average student who made mixed impressions upon his classmates.

In the spring of '36 Thoreau withdrew due to illness -later taught for a brief period in Canton under the Rev. Orestes A. Brownson, a leading New England intellectual who Harding suggests profoundly influenced Thoreau.

(Robert L. Luce, January-March 1986)

On a following screen is a list of textbooks that were to be used at [Harvard](#) for the school year 1833/1834, together with their list prices at the Brown, Shattuck, and Company bookstore, "Booksellers to the University."



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Adam's Roman Antiquities, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 1.25
Bachi's Italian Grammar, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	1.40
" Scelta di Prose	-	-	-	-	-	1.40
" Teatro Scelto, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	1.06
" Portuguese Grammar,	-	-	-	-	-	.50
Butler's Analogy, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.75
Barber's Elocutionist, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.67
" Grammar of Elocution, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.92
" Treatise on Gesture, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	.50
Cartas Marruecas, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.75
Cleveland's Greek Antiquities, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.83
Folsom's Livy, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.83
Farrar's Astronomy, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	2.50
" Calculus,	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
" Electricity,	-	-	-	-	-	2.33
" Mechanics,	-	-	-	-	-	2.67
" Optics,	-	-	-	-	-	2.00
" Topography,	-	-	-	-	-	1.33
" Trigonometry,	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
Follen's German Grammar, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	1.12
" " Reader,	-	-	-	-	-	.83
Graglia's Italian Dictionary, "	-	-	-	-	-	1.35
Homer's Iiad,	-	-	-	-	-	1.17
Horace, Gould's edition,	-	-	-	-	-	1.17
Josse's Spanish Grammar, Sales' edition,	-	-	-	-	-	1.12
Juvenal, Leverett's edition,	-	-	-	-	-	.67
Locke's Essay, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	1.75
Latin Classics used in the course of study; to wit:—						
M. Accius Plautus — Captivi,	-	-	-	-	-	.16
M. Tullius Cicero — De Claris Oratoribus,	-	-	-	-	-	.29
" — De Officiis,	-	-	-	-	-	.33
Newman's Spanish Dictionary, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
Nuttall's Botany, (cloth)	-	-	-	-	-	1.33
Nugent's French Dictionary,	-	-	-	-	-	.50
Paley's Evidences, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.50
" Moral Philosophy,	-	-	-	-	-	.60
Rowbotham's French Grammar, Surault's edition, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.65
Sales's Comedias Españolas, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.75
Say's Political Economy,	-	-	-	-	-	2.00
Smellie's Philosophy, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	1.50
Smyth's Algebra, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.83
Stewart's Philosophy, 2 vols. (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	3.00
Story's Commentaries, abridged, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	3.37
Tacitus, 2 vols. (fine paper)	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
Tytler's Element's of History, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.62
Walker's Geometry, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.67
Webster's Chemistry, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	3.00
Whately's Rhetoric, (cloth)	-	-	-	-	-	.75
" Logic,	-	-	-	-	-	.80
Xenophon's Anabasis,	-	-	-	-	-	1.00

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 August 9, Friday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left [London](#) on a visit to [Oxford](#).



[David Henry Thoreau](#), accepted as a charity scholar, left home for [Harvard College](#).¹ While an undergraduate at Harvard 1833-1837 in what essentially was its “Comp Lit” program, he would reside initially with [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) of Lincoln in an upstairs room, 20 Hollis Hall, that had (has) a fine view of the sunsets across the Common.²

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

1. Since the native-son undergraduates Lemuel Shattuck mentions in Chapter XVI of his history of Concord were in the Harvard College classes of 1834 (George Moore) and 1835 (Hiram Dennis and Ebenezer Hoar), this material would have needed to have been written between May 1833 and May 1834. The earlier date is more likely than the later date since Marshall Meriam, who graduated from Yale College with its Class of 1833, is carried as still an undergraduate there. David Henry Thoreau of Concord was unmentioned as a current Harvard College undergraduate in that 1835 history, therefore, simply because at the time the material was being penned, he had not yet matriculated.

2. He later occupied other rooms nearby in the same dormitory.

FRESHMEN.

NAMES.	RESIDENCE.	ROOMS.
Adams, Joseph Henry,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 18
Allen, William,	<i>Bridgewater,</i>	Mr. J. Foster's
Bacon, John,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 2
Barnes, Henry,	<i>Marlborough,</i>	
Barstow, Simon Forrester,	<i>Salem,</i>	Mr. Saunders's
Belcher, Clifford,	<i>Farmington, Me.</i>	D. 7
Benjamin, Henry Benjamin,	<i>Boston,</i>	Dr. Stearns's
Bigelow, Henry Jacob,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 18
Clarke, Manlius Stimson,	<i>Norton,</i>	H. 4
Dale, William Johnson,	<i>Gloucester,</i>	H'y 9
Dall, Charles Henry Appleton,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 2
Davis, William,	<i>Plymouth,</i>	St. 17
Eustis, John Fenwick,	<i>Norfolk, Va.</i>	St. 4
Forrester, George Hely Hutchinson,	<i>Salem,</i>	H. 7
Greenough, William Whitwell,	<i>Boston,</i>	Dr. Stearns's
Hale, Horatio Emmons,	<i>Boston,</i>	St. 20
Haskins, David Greene,	<i>Roxbury,</i>	Miss Parker's
Hawes, William,	<i>Boston,</i>	Dr. Stearns's
Hayward, Charles,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 3
Hildreth, Samuel Tenney,	<i>Gloucester,</i>	Mr. J. Foster's
Holmes, Christopher Columbus,	<i>Kingston,</i>	St. 17
Holmes, Nathaniel,	<i>Peterborough, N. H.</i>	Mrs. Howe's
Hubbard, Henry,	<i>Charlestown, N. H.</i>	St. 3.
Kendall, Samuel Austin,	<i>Augusta, N. Y.</i>	St. 3
Kettell, Edward Henry,	<i>Boston,</i>	St. 20
Kimball, Benjamin Gage,	<i>Needham,</i>	St. 19
Lane, John Foster Williams,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 18
Maxwell, John Bayard,	<i>New Castle Co., Del.</i>	H. 19
Peabody, Augustus Goddard,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 18
Perry, Amos,	<i>Natick,</i>	St. 19
Phelps, Francis,	<i>Hadley,</i>	H. 4
Rice, Charles Wyatt,	<i>Brookfield,</i>	2 C. H. 8
Richardson, James,	<i>Dedham,</i>	H. 1
Russell, Charles Theodore,	<i>Princeton,</i>	St. 26
Stone, Henry Orne,	<i>Salem,</i>	Dr. Ware's
Thomas, Charles Grandison,	<i>Denmark, N. Y.</i>	M. 1.
Thoreau, David Henry,	<i>Concord,</i>	H. 20
Treat, Samuel,	<i>Portsmouth, N. H.</i>	M. 1
Trull, Samuel,	<i>Boston,</i>	Mr. W. Warland's
Vose, Henry,	<i>Dorchester,</i>	Rev. H. Ware's
Weiss, John,	<i>Worcester,</i>	H. 1
Wheeler, Charles Stearns,	<i>Lincoln,</i>	H. 20
Whitney, Giles Henry,	<i>Boston,</i>	D. 8
Whitwell, Benjamin,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 9
Wight, Daniel,	<i>Natick,</i>	Miss Robbins's
Williams, Henry,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 1
Williams, Francis Stanton,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 1
Clap, Harvey Erastus,	<i>Walpole,</i>	H. 7
Ferguson, Jordan Goodwin,	<i>South Berwick, Me.</i>	Mrs. Howe's

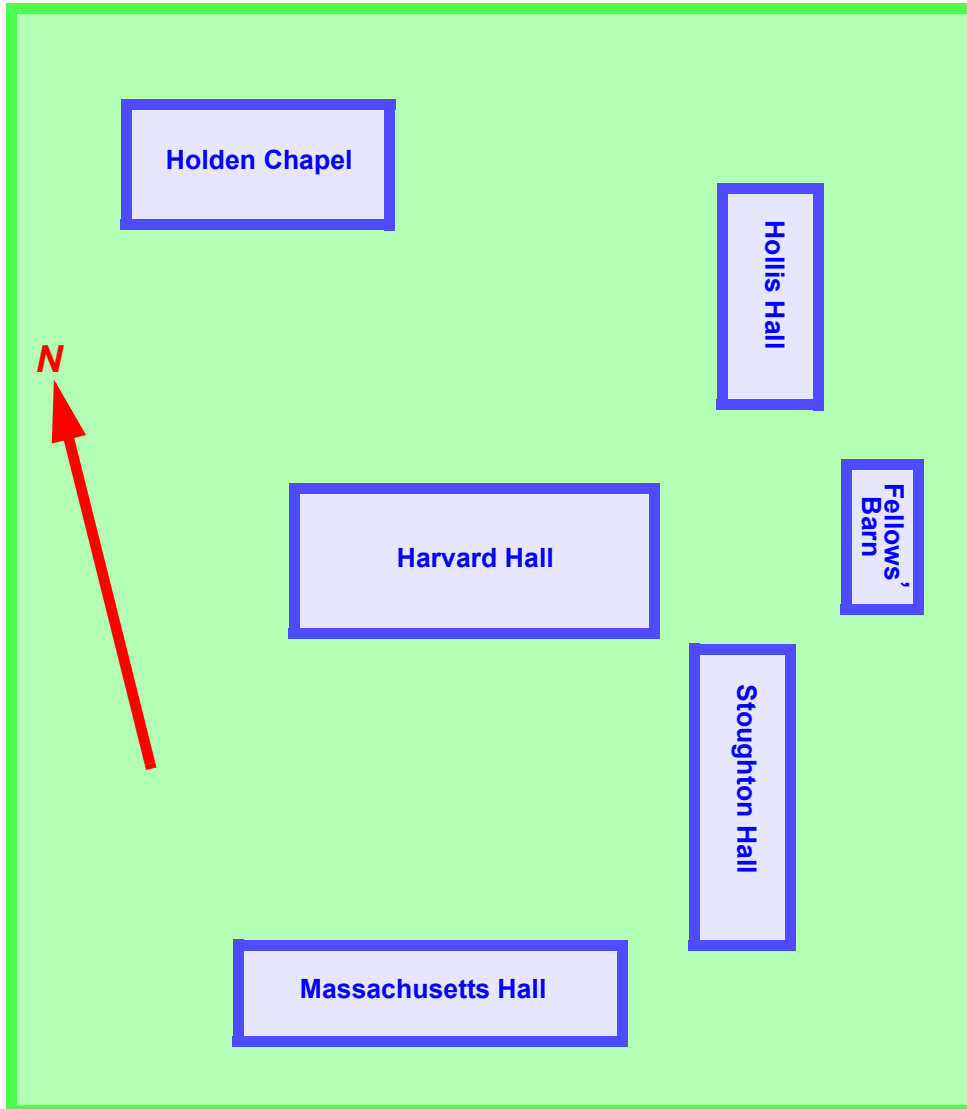
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He had “many and noisy neighbours, and a residence in the fourth storey.” At that time tuition was \$55.⁰⁰ per year, Harvard had a faculty of perhaps 25 and a student body of perhaps 425, and the library boasted perhaps 40,000 books. Meals at the commons were \$1.³⁵ a week. From the 1820s into the 1840s, the regulation student attire was a “black-mixed” suit consisting of pantaloons, waistcoat, coat, tie, hat, shoes, and buttons of prescribed color, and various versions of this regulation attire were available at stores near campus for between \$15.⁰⁰ and \$25.⁰⁰. Thus although the top hat and the cane did not become *de rigueur* for the Harvard Man until the 1840s, to outfit Freshman Thoreau properly for his college career in 1833 would have required 30% to 50% of his scholarship money, and was just out of the question. In addition, President Josiah Quincy, Sr. informed Thoreau that his performance on the entrance examination had been such that



*One branch more, and you had been turned by entirely.
You have barely got in.*



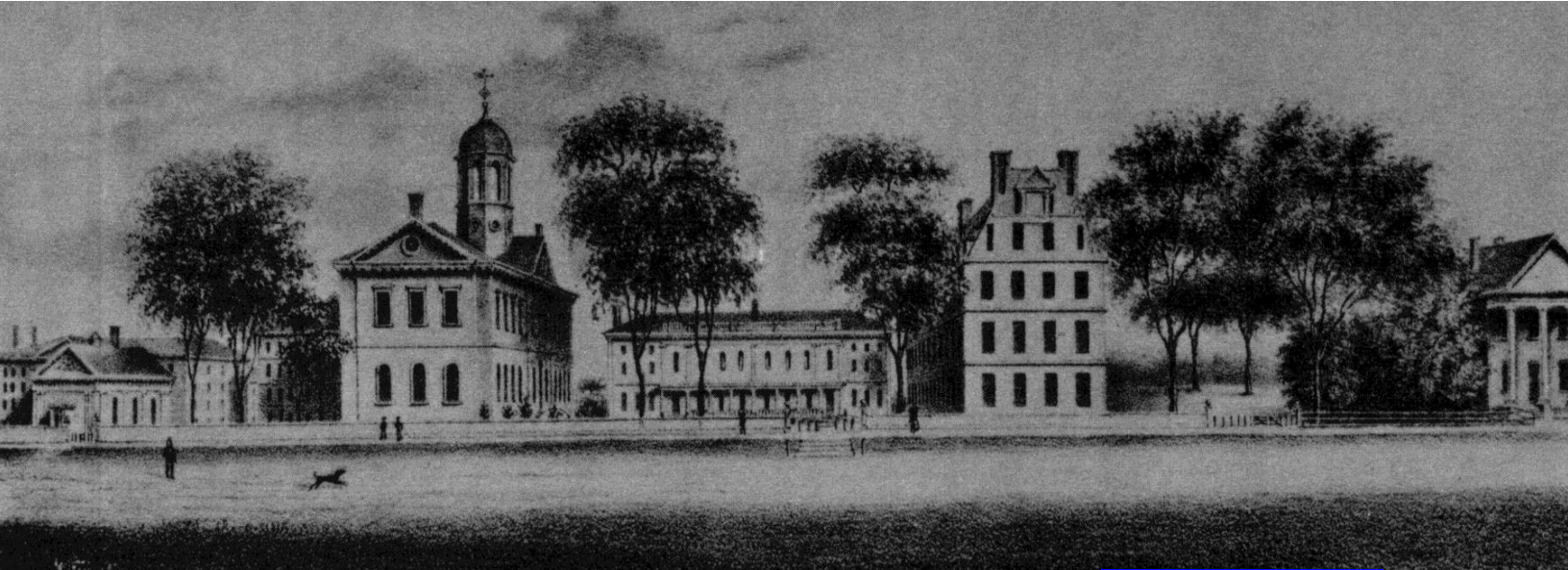
We need not ask why, in the 19th Century, David Henry was favored by his family over Helen and over Sophia for this expensive education, but one of the unresolved questions in my mind is how it came about that, in a family in which first son and namesake John clearly was regarded as the more capable manchild, and in which there had been talk of apprenticing little brother to a carpenter, it came about that it was young David Henry



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who went off to college to be partly supported by the earnings of his siblings.



THOREAU RESIDENCES

During this initial year at [Harvard](#), [David Henry](#) would be subjected to a “thorough course” of “Plane Trigonometry, Analytic Geometry, and [Algebra](#) with practical application to Heights and Distances, and Surveying and Navigation.” It would appear clear from the presence of a copy of Ebenezer Bailey’s *FIRST LESSONS IN ALGEBRA; BEING AN EASY INTRODUCTION TO THAT SCIENCE. DESIGNED FOR THE USE OF ACADEMIES AND COMMON SCHOOLS. BY EBENEZER BAILEY, PRINCIPAL OF THE YOUNG LADIES’ HIGH SCHOOL, BOSTON; AUTHOR OF “YOUNG LADIES’ CLASS BOOK,” ETC.* in Thoreau’s personal library, and from the fact that this text was published by Carter, Hendee & Co. during July of this year in Boston, that the book



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must have been useful for this course.



W. Bailey

1ST LESSONS IN ALGEBRA

This course on navigation is still being offered and happens now to be the longest continuously running subject-matter offered there! “It’s the most practical course you can take at Harvard,” commented Dan Justicz ’91, an alum. “You find your way by watching the movements of the sun and stars. You even construct your own [navigation](#) instruments. There’s a minimum of lecturing.” “We use the historical instrument collection at [Harvard] Science Center, maps dating back to the 13th century at Pusey Library, and ships’ logbooks as old as 200 years,” says the instructor, Dr. Sadler. “Students come to appreciate how difficult it was for Columbus, or Magellan, to find their way without accurate clocks.” The course is now offered as endowed under the Francis W. Wright Lectureship in Celestial Navigation.

([Thoreau](#)’s [Harvard](#) curriculum would include eight terms of Greek under Professor [Cornelius Conway Felton](#) and [Instructor?] Dunkin. These eight terms would begin with Greek composition and grammar, and continue into “Greek Antiquities” and works by Xenophon, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Sophocles, [Euripides](#), and [Homer](#). –What, your college education was not like that?)

COLLEGE FACULTY.

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Rev. HENRY WARE, D. D.

JOHN FARRAR, LL. D.

EDWARD T. CHANNING, A. M.

CHARLES FOLLEN, J. U. D.

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CORNELIUS C. FELTON, A. M., *Tutor to Sophomores.*

HENRY S. McKEAN, A. M., *Tutor to Seniors and Freshmen.*

JOEL GILES, A. B., *Tutor to Juniors.*

BENJAMIN PEIRCE, A. M.




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— Perhaps you didn't major in Comp Lit! :-)


NEW "HARVARD MEN"


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

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

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

THOREAU RESIDENCES

 October 6, Sunday: [Harvard College](#) students [David Henry Thoreau](#) and [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) cut their morning and evening mandatory chapel services in order to hike to [Concord](#). Thoreau's shoes blistered his feet so badly that he walked the last two miles in his stockings.³

 October 18, Friday: [John Thoreau, Jr.](#) wrote to George Luther Stearns of Woburn, Massachusetts. He mentioned that his brother [David Henry Thoreau](#) and his brother's roommate, [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#), had hiked from [Harvard College](#) in Cambridge out to [Concord](#) a week before, and that his brother's shoes had given him blisters, and that he had been forced to hobble the last couple of miles into Concord in his stocking feet. This must have been rather difficult for Henry, because as we know, he had lost his right big toe in a childhood accident. He would have needed to wear shoes of stiff leather, and keep a piece of cloth carefully wadded into the toe of his right shoe, in order to compensate for that missing piece of his foot. Without such a corrective appliance, there would have been a pronounced imbalance in Thoreau's stride.

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT'S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN'S STORIES.**

3. There is a "footnote" to this that is seldom mentioned. Without shoes to stabilize his feet, Henry must have been limping rather badly! (The big toe is a rather large component of a normal stride, and normally he kept a rag stuffed down into the toe of his right shoe to make up in part for the right big toe he had chopped off with the kindling hatchet during his early childhood.)

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Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., *PRESIDENT.*
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———, *Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity.*
———, *Eliot Professor of Greek Literature.*
FRANCIS SALES, Esq., *Instructor in French and Spanish.*
JAMES JACKSON, M. D., *Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic*
JOHN C. WARREN, M. D., *Hersey Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.*
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———, *Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages.*
JOHN FARRAR, LL. D., *Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.*
JACOB BIGELOW, M. D., *Professor of Materia Medica.*
———, *Rumford Professor.*
THOMAS NUTTALL, A. M., *Lecturer on Botany and Zoölogy, and Curator of the Botanical Garden.*
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WALTER CHANNING, M. D., *Professor of Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence*
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BARZILLAI FROST, A. B., *Proctor.*
EDGAR BUCKINGHAM, A. B., *Proctor.*
WILLIAM G. ELIOT, A. B., *Instructor in Hebrew.*
CHRISTOPHER DUNKIN, *Instructor in Greek.*

OLIVER SPARHAWK. *Steward.*



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LIFE ISN'T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.



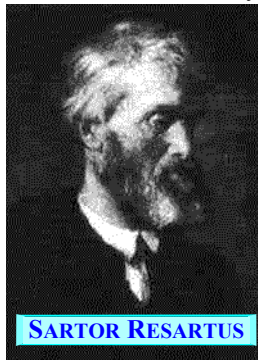
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1835



Summer: [Waldo Emerson](#) sent one of the four copies of [SARTOR RESARTUS](#) to the Reverend James Freeman Clarke in Louisville, Kentucky and probably also lent another of the copies to Alexander H. Everett, editor of Boston's [North American Review](#). At this point a second set of four copies from [Thomas Carlyle](#) in England were languishing at the Boston Custom Shed, mired in bureaucracy and quite unretrievable.



SARTOR RESARTUS

STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

At the end of his Sophomore year [David Henry Thoreau](#) walked home to [Concord](#) with [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#), and evidently there was a problem with his shoes for he had to walk the last two miles in his stockings, the last miles taking him literally hours. (One wonders whether, without shoes with, perhaps, something wadded into the toe of the right shoe, a young man without a right big toe would have trouble in balancing.)⁴

[Karl Friedrich Schimper](#), while studying the mosses on erratic boulders in the alpine upland of Bavaria, found himself wondering where the hell these great blocks of stone had come from. Indeed they were so huge, and out of place, this was marvelous! During a summer excursion to the Bavarian Alps he brought himself to a

4. In regard to the difficulty of balancing, when one attempts to walk without a big toe, I can offer the following personal experience, obtained from an anonymous individual on the internet:

"I wear a size 7 on my right foot and size 6 on my left due to a partially amputated big toe. My dilemma is this: The smallest shoe size I can find is a size 7, so obviously the shoe is too big on my left foot. Do you sell a product or have an idea as to how I can fill the space (toe cap) as to where I can wear a size 7 shoe comfortably. I am possibly looking for a hard toe cap that would fit over my half toe but extend to measure up to a size 7 shoe. **I am starting to have great difficulties in my walking.**

I see that you sell the Toe Silopad Digital Cap. Would this work? It appears to be a soft fabric, so if I was to wear a sock over the toe cap, would it flatten the toe cap and not give me the support I need?"




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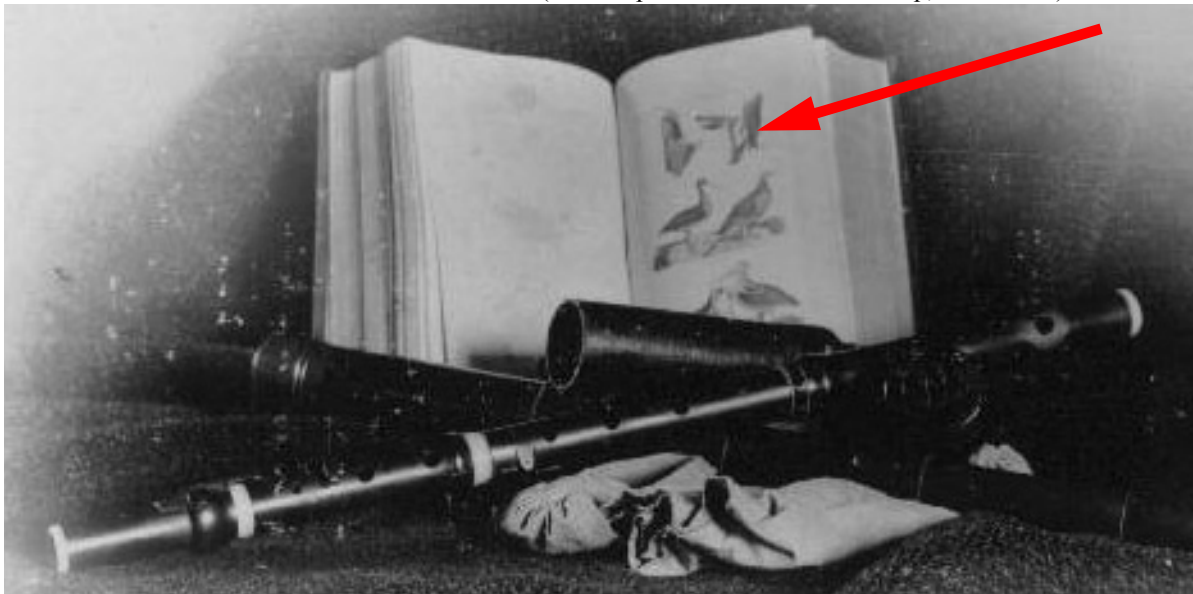
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conviction that only ice could have been the means of transport for the boulders in the alpine upland.

THE SCIENCE OF 1835

OUR MOST RECENT GLACIATION

 September 28, Monday: “Stearns” (that would of course have been [David Henry Thoreau](#)’s classmate [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#), not the Reverend George Luther Stearns) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), apparently for [Thoreau](#), the 5th of the 9 volumes of [Alexander Wilson](#)’s AMERICAN ORNITHOLOGY; OR, THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIRDS OF THE UNITED STATES: ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES, ENGRAVED AND COLORED FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS TAKEN FROM NATURE. (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1808-1814).



(I wonder: does anyone has any idea why Wheeler would have checked out this 1st-edition Wilson volume for Thoreau, when the new Bonaparte edition had already been published? Had the Harvard Library perhaps not yet shelved its set of the Bonaparte edition?)

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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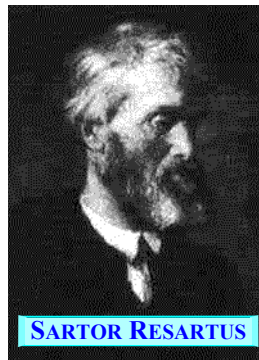
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1836

→ January: [Thomas Carlyle](#)'s struggle of a decade with his [SARTOR RESARTUS: THE LIFE AND OPINIONS OF HERR TEUFELSDRÖCKH](#) (a treatise on the need for new forms to replace the worn-out and patched ones of conventional religious expression, loosely disguised as a study of the "philosophy of clothing") would soon come to its completion with his manuscript's adequate publication in the form of a book,

She took to writing sensation stories, for in those dark ages, even all-perfect America read rubbish. She told no one, but concocted a 'thrilling tale,' and boldly carried it herself to Mr. Dashwood, editor of the WEEKLY VOLCANO. She had never read [SARTOR RESARTUS](#), but she had a womanly instinct that clothes possess an influence more powerful over many than the worth of character or the magic of manners. So she dressed herself in her best, and trying to persuade herself that she was neither excited nor nervous, bravely climbed two pairs of dark and dirty stairs to find herself in a disorderly room, a cloud of cigar smoke, and the presence of three gentlemen, sitting with their heels rather higher than their hats, which articles of dress none of them took the trouble to remove on her appearance. Somewhat daunted by this reception, Jo hesitated on the threshold, murmuring in much embarrassment,—

"Excuse me, I was looking for the WEEKLY VOLCANO office. I wished to see Mr. Dashwood."



SARTOR RESARTUS

for the American edition, which had been initiated by LeBaron Russell, was in press in Boston. At this point Russell asked [Waldo Emerson](#) to write up a short preface, which he would complete in March.

→ While Emerson was preparing the preface, the compositors at Metcalf, Torrey, and Ballou Company in Cambridge would be typesetting on the basis of the offprint which had been supplied to Emerson by Carlyle. The press operations were being overseen by [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#), who was working part time for the printers.




STUDY THIS STRANGENESS



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

 September 19, Monday: Formation of “Hedge’s Club” centering around the visits of the Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#) to Boston from Bangor, Maine.⁵

 In September 1836,  on the day of the second centennial anniversary of [Harvard College](#), [Mr. Emerson](#), [George Ripley](#), and myself [[Frederic Henry Hedge](#)], with one other [who was this fourth person: would it have been an unnamed woman, an unnamed wife, specifically [Sophia Ripley](#)??], chanced to confer together on the state of current opinion in theology and philosophy, which we agreed in thinking was very unsatisfactory. Could anything be done in the way of protest and introduction of deeper and broader views? What we strongly felt was dissatisfaction with the reigning sensuous philosophy, dating from [John Locke](#), on which our Christian theology was based. The writings of [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#), recently edited by Marsh [Henry Nelson Coleridge had only at this point initiated publication of THE LITERARY REMAINS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE], and some of [Thomas Carlyle](#)’s earlier essays, especially the “Characteristics” and “SIGNS OF THE TIMES,” had created a ferment in the minds of some of the young clergy of that day. There was a promise in the air of a new era of intellectual life. We four concluded to call a few like-minded seekers together in the following week.  Some dozen of us met in Boston, in the house, I believe, of Mr. Ripley. Among them I recall the name of [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#) (not yet turned Romanist), [Cyrus Augustus Bartol](#), [Theodore Parker](#), and [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) and Robert Bartlett, tutors in Harvard College. There was some discussion, but no conclusion reached, on the question whether it were best to start a new journal as the organ of our views, or to work through those already existing. The next meeting, in the same month, was held by invitation of Emerson, at his house in Concord. A large number assembled; besides some of those who met at Boston, I remember Mr. Alcott, [[Bronson Alcott](#)] John Sullivan Dwight, Ephraim Peabody, Dr. [Convers Francis](#), Mrs. Sarah Alden Bradford Ripley, Miss [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#), [Margaret Fuller](#), Caleb Stetson, James Freeman Clarke. These were the earliest of a series of meetings held from time to time, as occasion prompted, for seven or eight years. Jones Very was one of those who occasionally attended; [H.D. Thoreau](#) another. There was no club, properly speaking; no organization, no presiding officer, no vote ever taken. How the name “[Transcendental](#),” given to these gatherings and the set of persons who took part in them, originated, I cannot say. It certainly was never assumed by the persons so called. I suppose I was the only one who had any first-hand acquaintance with German [transcendental](#) philosophy, at the start. [THE DIAL](#) was the product of the movement, and in some sort its organ.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

5. This would become the [Transcendental Club](#). It was at this first regular meeting that the [Reverend Convers Francis](#) first met [Bronson Alcott](#). Francis would also be present for the second meeting, in Alcott’s home in Boston. As the eldest member of the Club, it would become the lot of the Reverend Francis to announce the principal topic for conversation, and to preside.



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER


CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

1837

 Summer: When Lidian Emerson's sister Lucy Brown had been deserted by her husband, the Emersons had bought or built a home for her and her children across the road from their home in Concord. Young man Thoreau took the time to go to town and toss a poem wrapped around a bunch of flowers through an open window, at Lucy, the abandoned wife with little children who was 19 years his senior: "I am a parcel of vain strivings tied ..."

The total of the vacation time was six weeks. We don't know for certain, but it was probably during this summer that classmates [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) of Lincoln (picture below) and [Henry David Thoreau](#) camped out for two weeks at a fisherman's shanty that Wheeler had constructed on Flint's Pond.



THOREAU RESIDENCES

It would appear clear that by the time he got around to drafting the following passage, [Thoreau](#) is again residing in Concord after his two years at Walden Pond (for Goose Pond would have been very considerably out of his



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

way on the trip to lecture in Lincoln in the evening, had he still been in residence in his shanty):

WALDEN: When the ponds were firmly frozen, they afforded not only new and shorter routes to many points, but new views from their surfaces of the familiar landscape around them. When I crossed Flint's Pond, after it was covered with new snow, though I had often paddled about and skated over it, it was so unexpectedly wide and so strange that I could think of nothing but Baffin's Bay. The Lincoln hills rose up around me at the extremity of a snowy plain, in which I did not remember to have stood before; and the fishermen, at an indeterminable distance over the ice, moving slowly about with their wolfish dogs, passed for sealers or Esquimaux, or in misty weather loomed like fabulous creatures, and I did not know whether they were giants or pygmies. I took this course when I went to lecture in Lincoln in the evening, travelling in no road and passing no house between my own hut and lecture room. In Goose Pond, which lay in my way, a colony of muskrats dwelt, and raised their cabins high above the ice, though none could be seen abroad when I crossed it. Walden, being like the rest usually bare of snow, or with only shallow and interrupted drifts on it, was my yard, where I could walk freely when the snow was nearly two feet deep on a level elsewhere and the villagers were confined to their streets. There, far from the village street, and except at very long intervals, from the jingle of sleigh-bells, I slid and skated, as in a vast moose-yard well trodden, overhung by oak woods and solemn pines bent down with snow or bristling with icicles.

GOOSE POND

LINCOLN



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

Who would this “skin-flint” have been, this “unclean and stupid farmer” that Thoreau would depict in [WALDEN](#), who would refuse to allow Thoreau to build a hut, like the Nashobah who once lived there, on the shores of Sandy Pond? We don’t know for sure, but we know for sure that it wouldn’t have, couldn’t have been the halfwitted David Flint who appears in the pages of Thoreau’s book as an honored visitor from the poor farm:

[WALDEN](#): Half-witted men from the almshouse and elsewhere came to see me; but I endeavored to make them exercise all the wit they had, and make their confessions to me; in such cases making wit the theme of our conversation; and so was compensated. Indeed, I found some of them to be wiser than the so called overseers of the poor and selectmen of the town, and thought it was time that the tables were turned. With respect to wit, I learned that there was not much difference between the half and the whole. One day, in particular, an inoffensive, simple-minded pauper, whom with others I had often seen used as fencing stuff, standing or sitting on a bushel in the fields to keep cattle and himself from straying, visited me, and expressed a wish to live as I did. He told me, with the utmost simplicity and truth, quite superior, or rather *inferior*, to any thing that is called humility, that he was “deficient in intellect.” These were his words. The Lord had made him so, yet he supposed the Lord cared as much for him as for another. “I have always been so,” said he, “from my childhood; I never had much mind; I was not like other children; I am weak in the head. It was the Lord’s will, I suppose.” And there he was to prove the truth of his words. He was a metaphysical puzzle to me. I have rarely met a fellow-man on such promising ground, -it was so simple and sincere and so true all that he said. And, true enough, in proportion as he appeared to humble himself was he exalted. I did not know at first but it was the result of a wise policy. It seemed that from such a basis of truth and frankness as the poor weak-headed pauper had laid, our intercourse might go forward to something better than the intercourse of sages.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

DAVID FLINT



We know of an Ephraim Flint who graduated from Harvard College in 1733 and went to farming in Concord, and we know of a Lewis and a Waldo Flint who were growers of asparagus in Concord as of 1874, but we don’t know very much of the in-betweens of Thoreau’s era, after 1733 and before 1874. Well, we do know of an eloquent John Flint who left the Concord scene behind for a successful teaching career in the city of New-York, so, do you suppose, this John Flint of Thoreau’s era might have, could have been the absentee landlord who was allowing the family farm on the pond in Concord to be debased? —That it was he, or somebody acting on his behalf in his absence, who refused the young Thoreau permission to improve his land by squatting upon it?



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER



WALDEN: I have said that Walden has no visible inlet nor outlet, but it is on the one hand distantly and indirectly related to Flint's Pond, which is more elevated, by a chain of small ponds coming from that quarter, and on the other directly and manifestly to Concord River, which is lower, by a similar chain of ponds through which in some other geological period it may have flowed, and by a little digging, which God forbid, it can be made to flow thither again. If by living thus reserved and austere, like a hermit in the woods, so long, it has acquired such wonderful purity, who would not regret that the comparatively impure waters of Flint's Pond should be mingled with it, or itself should ever go to waste its sweetness in the ocean wave?



Flint's, or Sandy Pond, in Lincoln, our greatest lake and inland sea, lies about a mile east of Walden. It is much larger, being said to contain one hundred and ninety-seven acres, and is more fertile in fish; but it is comparatively shallow, and not remarkably pure. A walk through the woods thither was often my recreation. It was worth the while, if only to feel the wind blow on your cheek freely, and see the waves run, and remember the life of mariners. I went a-chestnutting there in the fall, on windy days, when the nuts were dropping into the water and were washed to my feet; and one day, as I crept along its sedgy shore, the fresh spray blowing in my face, I came upon the mouldering wreck of a boat, the sides gone, and hardly more than the impression of its flat bottom left amid the rushes; yet its model was sharply defined, as if it were a large decayed pad, with its veins. It was as impressive a wreck as one could imagine on the sea-shore, and had as good a moral. It is by this time mere vegetable mould and undistinguishable pond shore, through which rushes and flags have pushed up. I used to admire the ripple marks on the sandy bottom, at the north end of this pond, made firm and hard to the feet of the wader by the pressure of the water, and the rushes which grew in Indian file, in waving lines, corresponding to these marks, rank behind rank, as if the waves had planted them. There also I have found, in considerable quantities, curious balls, composed apparently of fine grass or roots, of pipewort perhaps, from half an inch to four inches in diameter, and perfectly spherical. These wash back and forth in shallow water on a sandy bottom, and are sometimes cast on the shore. They are either solid grass, or have a little sand in the middle. At first you would say that they were formed by the action of the waves, like a pebble; yet the smallest are made of equally coarse materials, half an inch long, and they are produced only at one season of the year. Moreover, the waves, I suspect, do not so much construct as wear down a material which has already acquired consistency. They preserve their form when dry for an indefinite period. *Flint's Pond!* Such is the poverty of our nomenclature. What right had the unclean and stupid farmer, whose farm abutted on this sky water, whose shores he has ruthlessly laid bare, to give his name to it? Some skin-flint, who loved better the reflecting surface of a dollar, or a bright cent, in which he could see his own brazen face; who regarded even the wild ducks which settled in it as trespassers; his fingers grown into crooked and horny talons from the long habit of grasping harpy-like; -so it is not named for me. I go not there to see him nor to hear of him; who never saw it, who never bathed in it, who never loved it, who never protected it, who never spoke a good word for it, nor thanked God that he had made it.



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

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WALDEN (continued): Rather let it be named from the fishes that swim in it, the wild fowl or quadrupeds which frequent it, the wild flowers which grow by its shores, or some wild man or child the thread of whose history is interwoven with its own; not from him who could show no title to it by the deed which a like-minded neighbor or legislature gave him, -him who thought only of its money value; whose presence perchance cursed all the shore; who exhausted the land around it, and would fain have exhausted the waters within it; who regretted only that it was not English hay or cranberry meadow, - there was nothing to redeem it, forsooth, in his eyes, -and would have drained and sold it for the mud at its bottom. It did not turn his mill, and it was no *privilege* to him to behold it. I respect not his labors, his farm where every thing has its price; who would carry the landscape, who would carry his God, to market, if he could get any thing for him; who goes to market *for* his god as it is; on whose farm nothing grows free, whose fields bear no crops, whose meadows no flowers, whose trees no fruits, but dollars; who loves not the beauty of his fruits, whose fruits are not ripe for him till they are turned to dollars. Give me the poverty that enjoys true wealth. Farmers are respectable and interesting to me in proportion as they are poor, -poor farmers. A model farm! where the house stands like a fungus in a muck-heap, chambers for men, horses, oxen, and swine, cleansed and uncleansed, all contiguous to one another! Stocked with men! A great grease-spot, redolent of manures and buttermilk! Under a high state of cultivation, being manured with the hearts and brains of men! As if you were to raise your potatoes in the church-yard! Such is a model farm.

No, no; if the fairest features of the landscape are to be named after men, let them be the noblest and worthiest men alone. Let our lakes receive as true names at least as the Icarian Sea, where "still the shore" a "brave attempt resounds."

(So, perhaps, until more information turns up, we should presume that it was this eloquent John Flint of New-York who had left the family farm behind to be ground into the ground by tenants, who would be the one to refuse to allow Henry to conduct there, at Flint's Pond or Sandy Pond, his two-year-two-month-and-two-day experiment in living. May the high-flying John Flint lose like Icarus his pinion feathers in the heat of the New-York sun, and plummet into the waters of Flint Pond on the Lincoln farm he has abandoned — and make a big splash!)

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



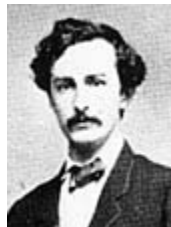


CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

1838

May 10, Thursday: John Wilkes Booth was born in a log cabin, in the woods of northern [Maryland](#) near the Pennsylvania border.



[Waldo Emerson](#) wrote to [Thomas Carlyle](#) informing him that [Henry Swasey McKean](#) had volunteered to correct the proofs of his “Miscellanies” and that McKean had been handed “your Errata” to use during this task. After McKean had left Cambridge for New Hampshire, this editing would be completed by [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#). The result was to be the initial American edition of Carlyle’s CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS:

- MISC. ESSAYS, VOL. I**
- MISC. ESSAYS, VOL. II**
- MISC. ESSAYS, VOL. III**
- MISC. ESSAYS, VOL. IV**

Copies of these volumes would of course be in [Henry Thoreau](#)’s personal library.

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



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

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5th day 10th of 5th M / Meeting nearly silent - small, but some solemnity, & a little life - I feel much on account of Society - Oh that there may be more raised up to bear the burden & stand cloathed upon to move forward in support of the precious cause of Truth, which now suffers much, as Geo Fox used to say "The Seed suffers" & Oh may we have cause to exclaim with him, on the other hand, "The Seed reigneth.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Do I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

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September 14, Friday: In the morning the [Harvard College](#) tutor in Greek, [Jones Very](#), began to inform his classes of his divine inspiration: “Flee to the mountains, for the end of all things is at hand.”⁶ According to a letter of a student, which had been posted to the student’s family **before** [Very](#)’s announcement of his inspiration:

[Very] bases all these instructions on the submission of our will to that of God: to adapt everything to that: to act, to speak, to move only as it is conformable to his will: then, when we have arrived at the degree of excellence, we shall see God; we shall be able to form ideas of him suitable to his nature and attributes; one glance into the works of Creation will afford us more instruction than a life of intense study of Greek and Latin, of arts and sciences: We are not to consider our bodies as our own, Mr. Very tells us, but as given us by God to be subservient to our souls; that is to say, to the influence of the spirit of God in us; and this is manifested in the conscience, which is His voice speaking to us, when we are doing our own will: he knocks, and too often is refused admittance: “he comes unto his own, and his own receives him not”: Now this is to be revolutionized. Whatever we are called upon to do, we must consider if it is God or our own evil desires which call on us to act thus: Conscience will tell us in a moment: and we must act accordingly: then God will take up his abode in us, and we shall feel his presence, which we cannot immediately do in our present state: Study is not to be a mechanical performance, but a duty imposed on us by the will of God, to render us better and happier: thus we must always consider it, without regards to marks of merit or demerit.

Very’s deportment on that infamous day was such as to make this student regret that the letter had already been posted. For, very clearly, something was going seriously awry in this inspiration business, and Tutor was self-combusting.

Later that day Very delivered an unscheduled address to the debating club at the [Divinity School](#), pointing out to them that while they were merely doing their own wills, he himself was “no longer a man.” It was the Holy Spirit which spoke to him and through him, and he was merely passing on what was being imparted to him, which was “eternal truth” insofar as he had become convinced that he was at least temporarily able to transmit it without altering it in any way.⁷ That night one of the students who had been present at several of Very’s outbursts wrote in his diary that it was “very much as [Geo Fox](#) is represented to have done, and to have very similar views.” On the evening of the 14th, also, President Josiah Quincy, Sr. appeared at the dormitory room

6. Presumably this was a reference to the White Mountains in which [Very](#) had recently vacationed. No, maybe it was “flee to the mountain” that Very had hollered, and maybe it was a reference to the vicinity of solitary Mount Monadnock, which was closer than New Hampshire and at which the Narragansetts had taken refuge during the race riot known as “King Philip’s War.” Well, whatever.

7. Recent research into this Joan of Arc phenomenon suggests that it has something to do with unconscious “subvocalization,” in which the muscles of the voicebox exercise themselves without the blast of air which produces audible speech and in which the patient, instead of disregarding this phenomenon, for purpose of achieving a higher social status or for purpose of becoming the center of attention attempts to interpret what he or she is perceiving and ascribes it as a communication from holy authority.



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

of [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) to ask that he immediately assume responsibility for Very's classes in Greek, and to describe Very as being in a state of "nervous collapse."



Very's discourse ... sounds surprisingly like a recast of Emerson's Address. While Very colored the "instructions" with his own non-Emersonian diction and qualifications, and interpreted and applied Emerson's remarks in a more literal and specific way than Emerson intended, the relationship is clear. This was Very's less formal equivalent of the declaration of independence for man teaching, delivered to freshman students instead of Divinity School graduates.





CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

[Henry Thoreau](#) advertised in the Concord [Freeman](#), announcing the second term of the [Concord Academy](#).

Concord Academy.

THE SUBSCRIBER opened his school for the reception of a limited number of pupils, of both sexes, on Monday, September the tenth. Instruction will be given in the usual English branches, and the studies preparatory to a collegiate course.

Terms—Six dollars per quarter.

HENRY D. THOREAU, *Instructor.*

<i>Referees.</i>	}	Hon. SAM'L HOAR.
		Hon. NATHAN BROOKS.
		Hon. JOHN KEYES.
		Rev. R. W. EMERSON.

Concord, September, 14, 1838. [45]

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

6th day 14th of 9th M 1838 / Father Rodman was so low last night that I thought it best to stay in the house Anthony V Taylor being there to Watch with him – At about 35 minutes past one this Morning he breathed his last, his departure being so easy & calm that it was difficult to tell whether he was gone, or in a quiet sleep

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

November 28, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) from Concord, asking him to deliver a lecture at the Concord Lyceum toward the middle of December.

*Concord Nov. 28th 1838.
 Friend Wheeler,
 Does it jump with your inclinations and arrangements to read a lecture before our Lyceum on the second or third week of December? Mr. Frost informs me that to such date we are supplied, and no further— So, concluding that you are not lacking in bowels of compassion I have ventured to indite this epistle. We must trouble you to say definitely on which, of in either of the above evenings or on any other, you will do us this favor. If you chance meet any one in the course [] of the winter, who is desirous to express his thoughts publicly, will you please suggest our town?
 From yr. Classmate
 Henry D. Thoreau
 (one of the Curators)*



December 2, Sunday: [Thomas Carlyle](#) wrote to [Waldo Emerson](#) about the American publication of two volumes of his MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS:

To my two young Friends [Henry S. McKean](#) (be so good as write



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

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these names more indisputably for me) and [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#), in particular, I will beg you to express emphatically my gratitude; they have stood by me with right faithfulness, and made the correctest printing; a great service: had I known that there were such eyes and heads acting in behalf of me there, I would have scraped out the Editorial blotches too (notes of admiration, dashes, "we thinks" &c &c, common in Jeffrey's time in the Edinr Review) and London misprints; which are almost the only deformities that remain now. It is extremely correct printing wherever I have looked, and many things are silently amended; it is the most fundamental service of all.

MISC. ESSAYS, VOL. I

MISC. ESSAYS, VOL. II

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

1839

November 28, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) asking him to lecture at the [Concord Lyceum](#) in [Concord](#) during the middle of December.



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

1840

January 3, Friday: Surveyors for the British New Zealand Company arrived at Port Nicholson (Wellington) aboard the *Cuba*, to lay out a settlement.

The appeal by [Nicolò Paganini](#) to the Paris court judgement of the previous June 28th was handed down. The lower court's verdict was confirmed, and the penalty was increased from 20,000 francs to 50,000.

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#), asking him to lecture at the Concord Lyceum on January 8, Wednesday.

Concord Jan. 3^d 1840.

Friend Wheeler—

Can you by hook or by crook come and lecture for us next Wednesday evening?— We begin absolutely to doubt the march of intellect, such a dearth is there in this neighborhood.

If you cannot come, will you disclose this rare opportunity of making one's début in literature to any clever person of your acquaintance?— say Dana — or Clarke — or Morison — Whom I know to be such — or any new lights that may have arisen.

We only pay one's expenses.— i.e. \$4.00? Greenough is to come week after next, and Dr. Follen, will commence his course on Switzerland after him.

Now I think of it — Wish you happy new year! You will oblige us by answering this as soon as convenient. Yrs

&c Henry D. Thoreau

Father Damien, who would help the lepers in the Hawaiian Islands, was born.

The US Senate contemplated amending the Act of 1807, but would wind up leaving it alone.

"Agreeably to notice, Mr. Strange asked and obtained leave to bring in a bill (Senate, No. 123) to amend an act entitled 'An act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States from and after the 1st day of January, in the year 1808,' approved the 2d day of March, 1807; which was read the first and second times, by unanimous consent, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary." Jan. 8, it was reported without amendment; May 11, it was considered, and, on motion by Mr. King, "Ordered, That it lie on the table." SENATE JOURNAL, 26th Congress, 1st session, pages 73, 87, 363.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

January 6, Monday: Fanny Burney died in [London](#) at the age of 88. She had survived a full 28 years after her successful mastectomy operation.

[Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) replied from Cambridge that he could not accept [Henry Thoreau](#)'s invitation to lecture on Wednesday night at the Concord Lyceum — but that [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), then attending Harvard Law School, would come instead.

Cambridge, Jan. 6th, 1840.

Dear Thoreau,

I have the pleasure of informing you that in my inability to come up to Concord next Wednesday evening, I have secured a lecture to you from Dawes, of the Divinity School, who has had some experience in that line, and who I make no doubt will please your good people. My engagements for that evg. are such that I cannot be with you, nor if they were otherwise have I a lecture prepared, or time to write one.

Clarke and Dall are als[] unable to write a lecture in so short a time. Daw[] has one which he will give, and so my commissio[] is happily discharged. I should be happy to come to Concord to lecture, and will hope to be able to come at some future time.

Wishing you many happy new Years and happy re[t]rospects of old ones, and desiring to be remembered to my Concord friends,

I am truly your friend [&] Classmate,

C. S. Wheeler.

Page 2

Postmark: [CAMB]RIDGE

[J]AN

7

MS.

Address: *Mr. H. D. Thoreau*

Concord

Mass.

Postage: 6

{written perpendicularly in right margin: *C.S. Wheeler*}

Mr. Forsyth of the US Department of State wrote to Mr. Holabird, the US Attorney for the District of Connecticut, at New Haven, in regard to the Africans of [La Amistad](#) (26th Congress., 1st sess., 1840. H. Doc. 185):

Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Holabird.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 6, 1840.

SIR: Your letter of the 20th ultimo was duly received, and has been laid before the President [President Martin



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

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Van Buren]. The Spanish minister having applied to this department for the use of a vessel of the United States, in the event of the decision of the circuit court in the case of the Amistad being favorable to his former application, to convey the negroes to Cuba, for the purpose of being delivered over to the authorities of that island, the President has, agreeably to your suggestion, taken in connexion with the request of the Spanish minister, ordered a vessel [the USS *Grampus*] to be in readiness to receive the negroes from the custody of the marshal as soon as their delivery shall have been ordered by the court. As the request of the Spanish minister for the delivery of the negroes to the authorities of Cuba has, for one of its objects, that those people should have an opportunity of proving, before the tribunals of the island, the truth of the allegations made in their behalf in the course of the proceedings before the circuit court that they are not slaves, the President, desirous of affording the Spanish courts every facility that may be derived from this country towards a fair and full investigation of all the circumstances, and particularly of the allegation referred to with regard to the real condition of the negroes, has directed that Lieutenants Gedney and Meade be directed to proceed to Cuba, for the purpose of giving their testimony in any proceedings that may be instituted there in the premises; and that complete records of all those which have been had before the circuit court of your district, including the evidence taken in the cause, be, with the same view, furnished to the Spanish colonial authorities. In obedience to this last mentioned order, you will cause to be prepared an authentic copy of the records of the court in the case, and of all the documents and evidence connected with it, so as to have it ready to be handed over to the commander of the vessel which is to take out the negroes, who will be instructed as to the disposition he is to make of them.

With regard to the schooner Amistad, which the Spanish minister represents not to be in a condition to be sent to sea, and the goods found on board as part of her cargo, as the presumption is that the court will decree the same disposition of them as of the negroes, they are to remain in the custody of the marshal, to be delivered over to such person as the Spanish minister may appoint; subject, however, in case of their being sold in the United States, to the legal demands of the custom-house upon them.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
JOHN FORSYTH

W. S. HOLABIRD, Esq.,
Att'y U.S. for Dist. of Conn., New Haven.

March 2, Monday: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) from Concord, asking him if he could lecture at the Concord Lyceum on March 11th.

March 4, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#), presumably in Cambridge, accepting Thoreau's request to lecture but changing the date to March 18th:

*Wed. Evg.
Dear [T]horeau,*

*On looking over the
list of my duties for the next three weeks I
find it will suit me about fifty per cent better
to Concord
^to come on the 18th than on the 11th of March.
Unless then I hear to the contrary, I will ride*



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*up and preach you a sermon on the 18th inst.
Yours, truly, and in haste,
C.S. Wheeler.*

*Page 2
Postmark: CAMBRIDGE
MAR
5
Ms
Postage: 6
Address: Mr. David Henry Thoreau,
Concord,
Mass.*



March 4: I learned to-day that my ornithology had done me no service. The birds I heard, which fortunately did not come within the scope of my science sung as freshly as if it had been the first morning of creation, and had for background to their song an untrodden wilderness, stretching through many a Carolina and Mexico of the soul.



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1841

[Henry Jacob Bigelow](#), who had been a classmate of [David Henry Thoreau](#) until being dismissed on April 24, 1837 for having been in possession of firearms and ammunition in his dorm room and repeatedly discharging a firearm inside that room (MH-Ar Faculty Records UAIII 5.5.2.IX, 311), had completed his studies at Dartmouth College. He was granted the degree of M.D. at [Harvard College](#).

After graduating at [Harvard](#) 2d in his class, the impoverished [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) had needed to stay on for a salary. In September 1838, following the “nervous collapse” of Jones Very, he had taken over as Greek tutor under Professor of Greek Literature [Cornelius Conway Felton](#), and in January 1839 he added to this the duties of instructor in history under Professor of Ancient and Modern History [Jared Sparks](#). As a member of the Parietal Committee (a permanent standing committee made up of proctors and officers of instruction who resided within the college walls, or in buildings over which the college had superintendence), Wheeler had some difficulties in managing the students; for instance they broke out the windows of his room. He would come to regard this task of disciplining the general student rowdiness as incompatible with teaching, and eventually he would urge Harvard President Josiah Quincy, Sr. to implement a number of reforms, including eliminating mandatory worship, elevating the study of English literature, and loosening the disciplinary code.

In his “autobiography,” [John Shepard Keyes](#) would reminisce about a “Harvard rebellion” created by an attempt by Wheeler to discipline a student, Simmons — from which he had been rescued in the nick of time by his family, which rescue had enabled him to avoid detection and continue as a “student” to his graduation:

But all this was lame to what was coming an old friend of mine Stearns Wheeler of Lincoln who had fitted for college in the [Concord Academy](#), and a thoroughly good but obstinate fellow was Greek tutor and chairman of the Parietal Committee. His room in the east end of Holworthy was the place of their meeting, and they looked after the discipline of the students. Wheeler was conscientious and some small escapades of a set of our class coming to his knowledge, he set out to catch them, and in so doing had a personal collision with Simmons on the Delta I think, spying on him For this Simmons was expelled, and his set of fellows severely punished in other ways. The class took it up and bore Simmons off in a barouch and four white horses after prayers at night, with half a dozen of the best scholars as his companions in open defiance of the authorities— That night the college was in an uproar and all rules were openly violated in the yard and buildings. The Parietal met in Wheelers room and occasionally sallied out to stop some disturbances My sober and sedate chum, one of the first eight in scholarship got greatly excited and vowed to lock them into their room when they returned to their session Watching from our window we saw them go back in squads to Hy 20 in the east entry stealing up the stairs Farnsworth quietly turned the key in the lock of the door and he thought he had them fast, but the door was ajar, and they sprang after him. He rushed up stairs hoping to find an open room or an escape but none offered and in the fourth story there was only the open window of the entry. Desperate but bold the



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got out of the window and held on to the ledge by his hands. Not seeing him his pursuers returned for a light to make a closer search, when he kicked his feet through the sash of the 3d story window and with this support he climbed back into the entry. The noise of the breaking glass drew the Parietals out into the yard in a pursuit of the stone throwers, and my chum walked coolly down by them and up to our room unsuspected- It was a feat of nerve and strength few collegians then would have dared and it made him quite a hero for the nonce. That night a meeting of the class was called for the next morning under the Rebellion tree, and with no debate and but little noise and great firmness we decided to attend no exercises until Simmons was returned, the others let up and Wheeler dismissed, and sent it as our ultimatum to the faculty. Every member with the exception of Higginson signed the paper, and we sent it to the President by a committee. The faculty met and refused it, and threatened- But the other classes joined with us and for several days the college was in full Rebellion, no prayers, no recitations, no anything - but gatherings in the yard cheers of defiance, groans for any officer seen in the yard, and general rowdiness. How it ended I never exactly knew for 'Uncle David' Jr. going home from Cambridge and stopping to leave my washing that he always carried, gave such a wildly exciting account of matters there, that Father started in the moonlight and drove to Cambridge to bring me home. Arrived after midnight a knocking at my door though it waked me yet as I thought it some fellow wanting me for some deviltry I slept on tired with the excitement of the day while poor Father finding the college all quiet was forced to try Willards who wasnt easy to rouse up after he had retired at the call of belated students, and I am inclined to the belief kept the old gentleman cooling his wrath and his heels all night- Any way he knocked again before sunrise and after finding Farnsworth, and I quietly abed, and very cool and unexcited over the Rebellion insisted on carrying me home to keep me out of mischief, and as that avoided examinations if there were any I unwillingly consented, and we drove home to a late breakfast. Thus I got an additional vacation of a week or more while the Rebellion simmered down & at last petered out. So after a good time at home I came back to hear my name read out among those having parts at commencement, my first last and only college honor. The class graduated forty four in number, and twenty three or one more than half had parts assigned them Mine was a dis something sertation or quision I dont remember which with two other fellows Minot and [in pencil, possibly in another hand: Rice] subject Rome Athens & Jerusalem. I was utterly astonished, and so was everbody else, none more so than Father who feared much I should lose my degree. The only way I could ever account for it was that the theme I mentioned carried my marks higher than Minots and as he must have a part, I couldnt be left out of one. Any way I got it, wrote it in the 6 weeks before vacation that the senior class then had without lessons for the purpose, and enjoyed those weeks too in many ways till



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Class Day came. Ours was a failure. Orne the orator was drunk over night and the oration a muddle with out sense or declamation in which he excelled. The poem I dont remember, and the spreads few and poor. The dancing on the green I had anticipated as so many of my lady friends were to be there but it didnt go off well, and the cheering and tree were unenthusiastic. The class supper at the Maverick House East Boston was the best part. Farnsworth and I drove over sat it out and got back at sunrise!! I packed my trunk, said goodbye to my room and college and without a regret left for home in the mail stage that stopped at the same gate as I entered at, and landed me in Concord to breakfast How some trifling incidents cling to the memory I can see that morning and the yard and room as distinctly now after more than forty years while all else even of these recollections are blurred and hazy as was the morning I left home to enter. Why this is thus who can say?

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

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



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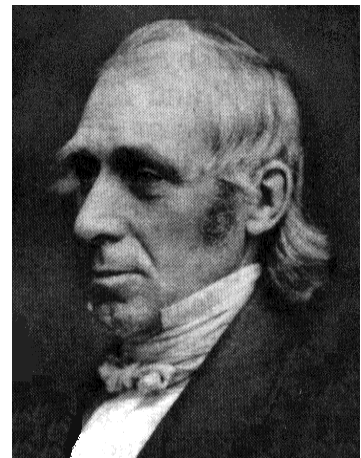
June: [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#), husband of Emma Hale Smith, possibly “married” also with Clarissa Reed Hancock and Louisa Beaman, became “married” with Mary Elizabeth Rollins (according to her claim).

On some Thursday afternoon in this month [Henry Thoreau](#) received a note from [Waldo Emerson](#):

*My dear Henry
We have here G. P. Bradford, R. Bartlett, Lippitt C S
Wheeler & Mr Alcott. Will you not come down & spend an
hour?
Yours,
R.W.E.
Thursday. P.*



Stearns Wheeler



Bronson Alcott

[GEORGE PARTRIDGE BRADFORD](#)
[ROBERT BARTLETT](#)
[GEORGE WARREN LIPPITT](#)
[CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER](#)

November 28, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was temporarily rooming with [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) in Cambridge, and borrowed \$15.⁰⁰ from Emerson. Emerson noted that the loan was “on account of his book,” which would seem to indicate that at that time Thoreau was preparing to write a book.



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1842

January 5, Wednesday: [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) checked out [John Chalkhill](#)'s THEALMA AND CLEARCHUS. A PASTORAL ROMANCE (Chiswick: from the press of C. Whittingham, 1820) from [Harvard Library](#) for [Henry Thoreau](#).

THEALMA AND CLEARCHUS

January 10, Monday: [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) borrowed from the [Harvard Library](#), at [Henry Thoreau](#)'s request because otherwise Thoreau, just another "country scholar" no longer a privileged resident of Cambridge, would not have been permitted access to them, Archdeacon [John Barbour](#)'s poem THE BRUCE; OR, THE HISTORY OF ROBERT I, KING OF [SCOTLAND](#). WRITTEN IN SCOTTISH VERSE BY JOHN BARBOUR. THE FIRST GENUINE EDITION PUBLISHED FROM A MS. DATED 1489; WITH NOTES AND A GLOSSARY BY J[OHN] PINKERTON. (London: printed by H. Hughs, for G. Nicol, Bookseller to His Majesty. M.DCC.XC.) (on June 15th he would ask Wheeler to return this to the library).



ROBERT THE BRUCE

- BARBOUR'S THE BRUS I**
- BARBOUR'S THE BRUS II**
- BARBOUR'S THE BRUS III**

Lieutenant Vincent Eyre would report from the border of [Afghanistan](#) that "At break of day all was again confusion, every one hurrying to the front, and dreading above all things to be left in the rear. The Europeans were the only efficient men left, the Hindostanees having suffered so severely from the frost in their hands and feet, that few could hold a musket, much less pull a trigger. The enemy had occupied the rocks above the gorge, and thence poured a destructive fire upon the column as it slowly advanced. Fresh numbers fell at every volley. The sepoy, unable to use their arms, cast them away, and, with the followers, fled for their lives. The Affghans now rushed down upon their helpless and unresisting victims sword in hand, and a general massacre took place. The last small remnant of the native infantry regiments were here scattered and destroyed; and the public treasure, with all the remaining baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile, the advance, after



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pushing through the Tungee with great loss, had reached Kubbur-i-Jubbar, about five miles ahead, without more opposition. Here they halted to enable the rear to join, but, from the few stragglers who from time to time came up, the astounding truth was brought to light, that of all who had that morning marched from Khoord-Cabul they were almost the sole survivors, nearly the whole of the main and rear columns having been cut off and destroyed. About 50 horse-artillerymen, with one twelve-pounder howitzer, 70 files of Her Majesty's 44th foot regiment, and 150 cavalry troopers, now composed the whole Cabul force; but, notwithstanding the slaughter and dispersion that had taken place, the camp-followers still formed a considerable body." When the survivors directed another remonstrance to Akber Khan, his response was that he was unable to restrain these Giljyes. Traversing a narrow defile at the foot of the Huft Kotul, the travelers had to trudge past the bodies of those who previously been killed there while defenseless against continuing deadly fire from above. "Brigadier Shelton commanded the rear with a few Europeans, and but for his persevering energy and unflinching fortitude in repelling the assailants, it is probable the whole would have been there sacrificed." When they made camp in the Tezeen valley for three hours of rest, it was evident that they had lost 12,000 men since leaving Cabul. A total of 15 officers had been either killed or wounded during this day's march alone. At 7PM they pushed on under cover of darkness, abandoning their last cannon and at this point leaving behind Dr. Cardew. Soon Dr. Duff also was so exhausted that he was unable to proceed. "Bodies of the neighbouring tribes were by this time on the alert, and fired at random from the heights, it being fortunately too dark for them to aim with precision; but the panic-stricken camp-followers now resembled a herd of startled deer, and fluctuated backwards and forwards, *en masse*, at every shot, blocking up the entire road, and fatally retarding the progress of the little body of soldiers who, under Brigadier Shelton, brought up the rear. At Burik-àb a heavy fire was encountered by the hindmost from some caves near the road-side, occasioning fresh disorder, which continued all the way to Kutter-Sung, where the advance arrived at dawn of day, and awaited the junction of the rear, which did not take place till 8AM."⁸

June 15, Wednesday: "Country scholar" [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) to return some books to the [Harvard Library](#) on his behalf, including Archdeacon [John Barbour](#)'s THE BRUCE... long poem about the [Scottish](#) leader [Robert the Bruce](#). These books had evidently been charged out in Wheeler's name because Thoreau, just another "country scholar" no longer a privileged resident of Cambridge, would not otherwise have been permitted access to them.

CHARGE TO GRAND JURY — TREASON

Case No. 18,275

Circuit Court, D. [Rhode Island](#)

30 F. Cas. 1046; 1842 U.S. App. LEXIS 598

STORY, Circuit Justice, after some preliminary observations upon the late alarming crisis of the public affairs in Rhode Island, and paying a just tribute to the excellent institutions and past history of the state, proceeded to say to the grand jury: This

8. Lieut. V. Eyre (Sir Vincent Eyre, 1811-1881). THE MILITARY OPERATIONS AT CABUL: WHICH ENDED IN THE RETREAT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY, JANUARY 1842, WITH A JOURNAL OF IMPRISONMENT IN [AFGHANISTAN](#). Philadelphia PA: Carey and Hart, 1843; London: J. Murray, 1843 (three editions); Lieut. V. Eyre (Sir Vincent Eyre, 1811-1881). PRISON SKETCHES: COMPRISING PORTRAITS OF THE CABUL PRISONERS AND OTHER SUBJECTS; ADAPTED FOR BINDING UP WITH THE JOURNALS OF LIEUT. V. EYRE, AND LADY SALE; LITHOGRAPHED BY LOWES DICKINSON. London: Dickinson and Son, [1843?]



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is the first occasion, for many years, in which it has become necessary for me, in addressing the grand jury, to state the doctrines of law applicable to the crime of treason. Happily, there is at the present moment a pause in the public mind, which I trust may be the harbinger of a speedy return to a permanent course of peace, prosperity, and general confidence among the citizens of your state. It is impossible for me not to feel a deep sense of the dangers, through which you have so recently passed, and of the painful duties, which might have devolved upon this court in certain contingencies, which seemed at one moment about to be fearfully realized. It may not, therefore, be without some use, to call your attention to the law of treason, and to distinguish between the cases, where the crime is properly a crime against the United States, and the cases, where it properly constitutes a crime exclusively against the state. Both may be, indeed (as will be presently shown), mixed up in the same transaction; or rather, the treason against the state may, under certain circumstances, be merged in the treason against the United States. Still, there is a broad and clear line of distinction between them in many cases, which I will endeavour briefly to explain and illustrate.

The constitution of the United States has declared that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." [Article 3, § 3.] There must, then, to constitute the crime, be a levying of war against the United States in their sovereign character, and not merely a levying of war exclusively against the sovereignty of a particular state. What, in the sense of the constitution, is to be deemed a levying of war? I take it to be clear, that it is not sufficient, that there should be an assembly of persons, who are met merely to meditate and consult about the means or levying war at some future time, or upon some future contingencies, without any present force. The would amount to a conspiracy to levy war. But a conspiracy to levy war, and an actual levy of war are distinct offences. To constitute an actual levy of war, there must be an assembly of persons, met for the treasonable purpose, and some overt act done, or some attempt made by them with force to execute, or towards executing, that purpose. There must be a present intention to proceed in the execution of the treasonable purpose by force. The assembly must now be in a condition to use force, and must intend to use it, if necessary, to further, or to aid, or to accomplish the treasonable design. If the assembly is arrayed in a military manner, - if they are armed and march in a military form, for the express purpose of overawing or intimidating the public, - and thus they attempt to carry into effect the treasonable design, - that will, of itself, amount to a levy of war, although no actual blow has been struck, or engagement has taken place. This is a clear case; but it is by no means the only case (for many others might be stated), in which there may be an actual overt act of levying war. I wish to state this only as one case, upon which no doubt whatsoever



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can be entertained. In respect to the treasonable design, it is not necessary, that it should be a direct and positive intention entirely to subvert or overthrow the government. It will be equally treason, if the intention is by force to prevent the execution of any one or more general and public laws of the government, or to resist the exercise of any legitimate authority of the government in its sovereign capacity. Thus, if there is an assembly of persons with force, with an intent to prevent the collection of the lawful taxes or duties, levied by the government, – or destroy all customhouses, – or to resist the administration of justice in the courts of the United States, and they proceed to execute their purpose by force, – there can be no doubt, that it would be treason against the United States. But it is not every act of treason by levying war, that is treason against the United States. It may be, and often is, aimed altogether against the sovereignty of a particular state. Thus, for example, if the object of an assembly of persons, met with force, is to overturn the government or constitution of a state, – or to prevent the due exercise of its sovereign powers, or to resist the execution of any one or more of its general laws, but without any intention whatsoever to intermeddle with the relations of that state with the national government, or to displace the national laws or sovereignty therein, every overt act done with force towards the execution of such a treasonable purpose is treason against the state, and against the state only. It is in no just sense a levying of war against the United States. But treason may be begun against a state, and may be mixed up or merged in treason against the United States. Thus, if the treasonable purpose be to overthrow the government of the state, and forcibly to withdraw it from the Union, and thereby to prevent the exercise of the national sovereignty within the limits of the state, that would be treason against the United States. So, if the troops of the United States should be called out by the president, in pursuance of the duty enjoined by the constitution, upon the application of the state legislature, or the state executive, when the legislature cannot be convened, to protect the state against domestic violence, and there should be an assembly of persons with force to resist and oppose the troops so called out by the president, that would be a levy of war against the United States, although the primary intention of the insurgents may have been only the overthrow of the state government or the state laws. These cases sufficiently point out the distinction, to which I have alluded, and it is not necessary, upon the present occasion, to go into more minute details.



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1843

March 1, Wednesday: At about this point [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) was leaving Heidelberg, heading for Göttingen. There he would attend lectures for a month.

Was it on this date that [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Waldo Emerson](#) presumably from Concord?

Wednesday Evening

Dear Friend

I have time to write a few words about the Dial. I have just received the first 3 signatures — which do not yet complete Lane's piece. He will place five hundred copies for sale at Monroe's bookstore— Wheeler has sent you two full sheets —more about the German universities— and proper names which will have to be printed in alphabetical order for convenience,— what this one has done that one is doing — and the other intends to do— Hammer Purgstall (von Hammer) may be one for ought I know. However there are two or three things in it as well as names— One of the books of Herodotus is discovered to be out of place. He says something about having sent to Lowell by the last steamer a budget of Literary news which he will have communicated to you ere this.

Mr Alcott has a letter from Heraud and a book written by him —The Life of Savonarola— which he wishes to have republished here — Mr Lane will write a notice of it. The latter says that what is in the N.Y. post office may be directed to Mr. Alcott.

Miss Peabody has sent a "Notice to the readers of the Dial" — which is not good.

Mr Chapin lectured this evening —but so rhetorically— that I forgot my duty and heard very little.

I find myself better than I have been — and am meditating some other method of paying debts than by lectures and writing which will only do to talk about— If any thing of that "other" sort should come to your ears in N.Y. will you remember it for me?

Excuse this scrawl which I am writing over the embers in the dining room. I hope that you live on good terms with yourself and the gods—

Yrs in haste

Henry.



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April 2, Sunday: [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) was at the home of Benjamin Johnson and spent the night in the bed of his sister Almera Woodward Johnson, and asked Benjamin if he might also have his youngest sister, Esther M. Johnson (the record does not indicate whether his request was fulfilled).

[Frederick Douglass](#) lectured for the [Rhode Island](#) Anti-Slavery Society in [Providence](#) on the topic “The Progress of the Cause.”



Early in this month [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) and a friend named Health left Göttingen. They would visit Weimar and Jena, and pass on to Leipzig.

An observer reported that the [comet](#) had become very faint and that the nucleus was no longer being observed.

SKY EVENT



From Concord, [Henry Thoreau](#) did his duty by offering some golden reflections to the young [Richard F. Fuller](#)



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at [Harvard College](#).

What I was learning in college was chiefly, I think, to express myself, and I see now, that as the old orator prescribed, 1st, action; 2^d, action; 3^d, action; my teachers should have prescribed to me, 1st, sincerity; 2^d, sincerity; 3^d, sincerity. The old mythology is incomplete without a god or goddess of sincerity, on whose altars we might offer up all the products of our farms, our workshops, and our studies. It should be our Lar when we sit on the hearth, and our Tutelar Genius when we walk abroad. This is the only panacea. I mean sincerity in our dealings with ourselves mainly; any other is comparatively easy. But I must stop before I get to 17thly. I believe I have but one text and one sermon.

Concord April 2nd 1843

Dear Richard,
I was glad to receive a letter from you, so bright and cheery. You speak of not having made any conquests with your own spear or quill as yet, but if you are tempering your spear-head during these days, and fitting a straight and tough shaft thereto, will not that suffice? We are more pleased to consider the hero in the forest cutting cornel or ash for his spear, than marching in triumph with his trophies. The present hour is always wealthiest when it is poorer than the future ones, as that is the pleasantest site which affords the pleasantest prospects. What you say about your studies furnishing you with a "mimic idiom" only, reminds me that we shall all do well if we learn so much as to talk — to speak truth. The only fruit which even much living yields seems to be often



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only some trivial success — the ability to do some slight thing better. We make conquest only of husks and shells for the most part — at least apparently — but sometimes there are cinnamon and spice, you know. Even the grown hunter you speak of slays a thousand buffaloes and brings off only their hides and tongues. What immense sacrifices — what hecatombs and holocausts the gods exact for very slight favors! How much sincere life before we can even utter one sincere word — What I was learning in College was chiefly, I think, to express myself, and I see now that as the old orator prescribed 1st action, 2nd action, 3^d action, my teachers should have prescribed to me 1st sincerity 2nd sincerity, 3^d sincerity. The old mythology is incomplete without a god or goddess of sincerity, on

Page 2

whose altars we might offer up all the products of our farms, our workshops, and our studies. It should be our Lar when we sit on the hearth, and our Tutelar Genius when we walk abroad. This is the only panacea. I mean sincerity in our dealings with ourselves mainly — any other is comparatively easy — but I will stop before I get to 17^{thly} — I believe I have but one text and one sermon. Your rural adventures beyond the W. Cambridge hills, have probably lost nothing by distances of time or space — I used to hear only the sough of the wind in the woods of ~~Concord~~ Concord, when I was striving to give my attention to a page of Calculus. — But depend upon it you will love your native hills the better



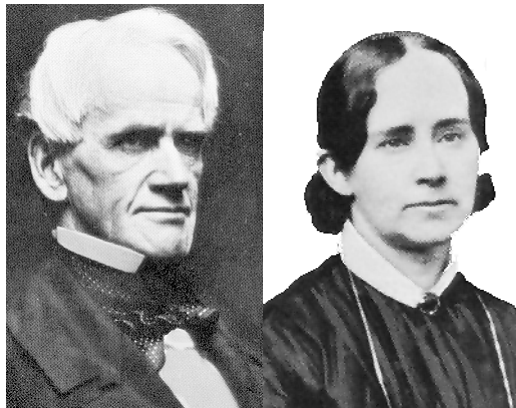
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*for being separated from them.
I expect to leave Concord, which is my
Rome — and its people, who are my Romans,
in May, and go to N. York to be a tutor
in Mr William Emerson's family. — So
I will bid you good bye till I see
you or hear from you again.
Yr friend H.D. Thoreau*

*P.S. Will you take the trouble to carry the inclosed
letter to Richardson for me — and the vol.
which Bartlett (Robert) took from
the library for me — either to Samuel Long-
fellow, who I believe attends to his concerns,
or to the librarian?*

May 1, Monday: Horace Mann, Sr. and [Mary Tyler Peabody](#) were wed (he for the 2d time), at 11:30AM, and at 12:30PM their ship sailed so that they would be able to make an examination of English educational institutions.



Oh, the grand seriousness of it all (let's hope their ship rocked that night).

At about this point [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) was falling ill in Leipzig. This would take the form of a violent gastric fever.

[Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) published, in the Times and Seasons of which he was editor, "President Joseph then asked the conference if they were satisfied with the First Presidency, so far as he was concerned, as an individual, to preside over the whole church; or would they have another? If, said he, I have done any thing that ought to injure my character, reputation, or standing; or have dishonored our religion by any means in the sight of men,



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or angels, or in the sight of men and women, I am sorry for it, and if you will forgive me, I will endeavor to do so no more. I do not know that I have done anything of the kind; but if I have, come forward and tell me of it. If any one has any objection to me, I want you to come boldly and frankly, and tell of it; and if not, ever after hold your peace.”

On this day, in addition, the prophet [Smith](#) “got married with” Lucy Walker, and promised the family of Helen Mar Kimball, 14 years of age, that if they would allow him to marry their “Ewe Lamb” –would willingly lay her “upon the altar” in his phrase– he could guarantee that entire family’s “eternal salvation and exaltation.”

[Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [[Ellery Channing?](#)] presumably in Cambridge.

*My dear Thoreau
I leave with you, a schedule of repairs & improvements[,] to be made
on the Red Lodge before I move into it, & upon the place generally.*

*Cellar, sand put in enough to make it dry — underpinned with stone,
pointed inside & out. New cellar stairs to be put.*

*Bank to be made round the house, round well, & in woodshed.
(This is to sodded after planting.)*

*House interior. Kitchen-floor painted, & the woodwork of the kitchen.
All the plastering white-washed. Lock to be put on front-door.
Glass reset where broken. New sill put to front-door & back-door,
& steps if necessary. Leaky-place about chimney, caused by pinning
up the house, to be made tight. — A new entry laid at front-door.*

*Washroom — to be white-washed — & a spout made from sink,
~~into~~ into long enough to carry off dirty water, so as to keep it from
its running ~~garden~~. ^^ well.*

*Well. To be cleaned out, inner stones reset (as I understand the Cap-
tain told you originally) — an outside wall to be built up, high
enough to keep out all wash; this outside wall to be filled round.
A new pump to be put in, & to pump up good, clean, fresh water.*

*The Acre, to be measured, & fenced around with a new four
rail fence. [~~the fence~~] The acre to be less wide than long.
of the barn,*

*Privy. — To be moved from where it is now, behind the end the ^
filth carried off, & hole filled in. The privy to be whitewashed, &
have a new door, & the floor either renewed or cleaned up. —*



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Barn. (Not done at once as I understood). New sill, & pinned up, so as to make it dry.

June 13, Tuesday: [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) died in Leipzig at the age of 26, his friend Mr. Health at his bedside.⁹

HARVARD CLASS OF 1837



July 20, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote a chatty letter to [Henry Thoreau](#) on Staten Island, from Concord, mostly about financial and family matters, mentioning [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#)'s death:



9. William Augustus Davis: BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER, A.M.: WHO DIED AT LEIPZIG ... (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1843).

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

Concord 20 July 1843

*Dear Henry,
Giles Waldo shall not
go back without a line to you if
only to pay part of my debt in that
kind long due. I am sorry to say that
when I called on Bradbury & Soden
nearly a month ago, their partner
in their absence informed me that
they could not pay you at present any
part of their debt on account of the B. Mis-
cellany. After much talking, all the
[begun] promise he could offer, was[, “]that within
a year it would probably be paid,” a prob-
ability which certainly looks very slender.
The very worst thing he said was the propo-
sition that you should take your payment
in the form of B. Miscellanies! I shall
not fail to refresh their memory at
intervals. We were all very glad to have
such cordial greetings [f]rom you*

Page 2

*as in your last letter on the Dial's &
on all personal accounts. Hawthorn &
Channing are both in good health &
spirits & the last always a good com-
panion for me, who am hard to suit, I
suppose. Giles Waldo has established himself
with me by his good sense. I fancy
from your notices that he is more
than you have seen. I think that neither
he nor W. A. T. will be exhausted in one
interview. My wife is at Plymouth
to recruit her wasted strength but left
word with me to acknowledge & heartily
thank you for your last letter to her. Edith
& Ellen are in high health, and as pussy
has this afternoon nearly killed a young oriole,
Edie tells all comers with great energy
her one story, “Birdy — sick.” Mrs Brown
who just left the house desires kindest re-*



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

*membrances to you whom "she misses", &
whom "she thinks of." In this fine weather
we look very bright & green in yard
& garden though this sun without showers
will perchance spoil our potatoes[—]*

Page 3

*Our clover grew well on your patch
between the dikes & Reu[ben] Brown
adjudged that Cyrus Warren should pay
14.00 this year for my grass. Last year
he paid [8]. All your grafts of this year
have lived & done well. The apple trees
& plums speak of you in every wind.
You will have read & heard the sad news
to the little village of Lincoln of Stearns
Wheeler's death. Such an overthrow to
the hopes of his parents made me
think more of them than
of the ~~regret~~ loss the communi
ty will suffer in his kindness
diligence & ingenuous mind. The papers
have contained ample notices of his
life & death. — I saw Charles Newcomb the
other day at Brook Farm, & he expressed
his great gratification in your translat[ions]
& said that he had been minded to write
you & ask of you to translate in like manner
— Pindar. I advised him by all means
to do so. But he seemed to think he had
discharged his conscience[.] But it was a
very good request. It would be a fine*

PINDAR

Page 4

*thing to be done since Pindar has no
adequate translation [no] English equal to
his fame. Do look at the book with
that in your mind, while Charles is mending
his pen. I will soon send you word respecting
the Winter Walk. Farewell.*

R. W. Emerson.

{written perpendicular to text in center of page:



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

Address: *Henry D. Thoreau*
Staten Island
Giles Waldo}

1854

November 5, Sunday: In the Crimea, the Battle of Inkerman.

Eugene V. Debs was born.

[Henry Thoreau](#) and [Charles Wheeler](#) went past the mouth of John Hosmer's hollow near the river (Gleason G5), met Hosmer and Anthony Wright there investigating the pit left by somebody's recent "pirate-treasure" digging in the sand, and went on to White Pond (Gleason J4).¹⁰

"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

10. NOTE: Not the same person as the [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) classmate who at this point had been dead for over a decade. Refer to Albert Gallatin Wheeler, Jr.'s THE GENEALOGICAL HISTORY OF THE WHEELER FAMILY IN AMERICA (Boston 1914). Also: Willett, Martha Miller: CONCORD TO WAUKESHA: THE ANCESTRY OF PAUL HOLLAND WHEELER AND AMANDA WHEELER ROSE. Brooklyn NY: M.M. Willett, 1983. Wheeler, Henry Warren. WHEELER AND WARREN FAMILIES DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE WHEELER, CONCORD, MASS., 1638, THROUGH DEACON THOMAS WHEELER, CONCORD, 1696, AND OF JOHN WARREN, BOSTON, MASS., 1630, THROUGH EBENEZER WARREN, LEICESTER, MASS., 1744. Albany NY: J. Munsell's Sons, 1892. Tolman, George. THE WHEELER FAMILIES OF OLD CONCORD, MASS. Concord Antiquarian Society, 1970. Molyneaux, Myrtelle W. THE WHEELER FAMILY OF CRANFIELD, ENGLAND, AND CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS, AND SOME DESCENDANTS OF SGT. THOMAS WHEELER OF CONCORD. Long Beach CA : M.W. Molyneaux, 1992. Wheeler, Henry Martyn. GENEALOGY OF SOME OF THE DESCENDANTS OF OBADIAH WHEELER OF CONCORD. Worcester MA, F.P. Rice, 1898. Wheeler, Joseph Lewis. SOME DE[S]CENDENTS OF SERGEANT THOMAS WHEELER OF CONCORD, MASS., 1640-1969. Benson VT, 1969.



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: September 8, 2014



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

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.



CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

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.