

## THE ISLAND OF CUBA



And yet – in fact you need only draw a single thread at any point you choose out of the fabric of life and the run will make a pathway across the whole, and down that wider pathway each of the other threads will become successively visible, one by one.

– Heimito von Doderer, *DIE DÄMONEN*





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5,000 BCE

Sailing ships came to be known in Mesopotamia.

Stone came to be used to construct buildings in Guernsey, an island in the English Channel.

Corn (*Zea mays*) was coming to be cultivated in Meso-America. [Cotton](#) and avocados came to be grown in Mexico.

Aboriginal tribes arrived on the largest land mass in the Caribbean Sea, tribes that are now designated as the "Taíno." Both the name "[Cuba](#)" and the name "Caribe" derive from these early settlers. Still-recognized placenames include "Guanahacabibes" and "Maisí." Aboriginal names for plants and woods such as "guayacán," "majagua," "yarey," "hicaco," and "jaimiquí," and names for various animals such as "jaiba," "aguají," "cojinúa," "iguana," "majá," "caguayo," "manatí," "guareao," "catey," and "jutía" also originated with this culture. This language would be supplemented from other languages, not only with terms such as "huracán," "canoa," "barbacoa," "hamaca," and "caimán," but also with quite recent terms such as "Coca-Cola."



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1492

October 14, Sunday (Old Style): Two days after his initial landing, Columbus made it clear that he had come to this New World as an [enslaver](#): “When your Highnesses so command, they [these newly discovered subjects of the King and Queen of Spain] could all be carried off to Castile or be held captive in the island itself, because with 50 men they could all be subjugated and compelled to do anything one wishes.” A few days later he would explain that this was because they were “very meek and without knowledge of evil nor do they kill others or steal ... and they are without weapons.”

This enslaver continued his explorations, soon along the shores of [Cuba](#), which he called “Juana,” supposing that he’d found Asia’s mainland.

**ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,  
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,  
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.**

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

October 29, Monday (Old Style): [Christopher Columbus](#) landed on [Cuba](#), claiming it for Spain.

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

Cuba

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

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



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November 22, Thursday (Old Style): Martín Alonso Pinzón, captain of the *Pinta*, deserted the [Columbus](#) expedition off [Cuba](#).





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1494

April 24, Thursday (Old Style): [Christopher Columbus](#) sailed from Isabela in search of a mainland.

**ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;  
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS  
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED  
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).**

April 30, Wednesday (Old Style): [Christopher Columbus](#) arrived at [Cuba](#).

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May 3, Saturday (Old Style): [Christopher Columbus](#) became aware of the existence of the island of Jamaica. (It had been there all along, more or less unnoticed except by the people who had noticed.)



May 4, Sunday/5, Monday (Old Style): The Arawak would be unable to absorb the impact of the Spanish under the ruthless [Christopher Columbus](#). The first white settlement would be established at Seville Nueva near St. Ann's Bay, but the intrusives would soon relocate their capital across the island to present-day Spanish Town. Finding no precious metals, the Spanish would pay scant attention to their Jamaica colony.

May 14, Wednesday (Old Style): [Christopher Columbus](#) returned to [Cuba](#).

June 7, Saturday (Old Style): In an agreement known as the Treaty of Tordesillas, the dividing line between the new territories of Spain and of Portugal was relocated by mutual consent to a point 370 degrees west of the Cape Verde Island (supposedly halfway between these lands and Antillia).

June 13, Friday (Old Style): [Christopher Columbus](#) started the return to La Isabela on Haiti, *La Isla Española* or *Hispaniola*.



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September 22, Monday (Old Style): The long-lost “Fourth Bull of 1494,” issued secretly by the Spanish Pope, virtually abolished the Demarcation Line and granted to Spain the right to the entirety of the New World. (Satanic Verses, anyone? — maybe the devil whispered in Jeremy Irons’s ear.)

October 20, Monday (Old Style): [Christopher Columbus](#) reached Haiti, *La Isla Española* or *Hispaniola*.

**“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.**

1508

By circumnavigating [Cúba](#), Sebastián de Ocampo ascertained that it was not a portion of a continental coast:



Velasquez-Cortés-Ponce de León’s conquest of that island.

[Giovanni da Verrazano](#) set out from France on a fishing trip during which possibly he would explore vicinities of Newfoundland and the St. Lawrence River.

**YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION. WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:**

**IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**



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**1511**

Diego Columbus (son of Christopher Columbus) settled [Cuba](#), beginning in Havana. Diego de Velásquez de Ceullar was appointed as the governor, by Spain: most of the Ciboney and Taíno Arawak who had inhabited the island would shortly be wiped out.

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**  
**IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE “LOOKED UPON FROM THE BIRD’S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY, ....” ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER, NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE — BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.**



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1512

Hernan Cortés became mayor of Santiago de [Cuba](#).

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

Velasquéz became Governor of [Cuba](#).



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**1513**

As the initial record of slavery on the island of [Cuba](#), the landowner Amador de Lares obtained permission to bring 4 Africans over from Hispaniola.

**NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT**



1514

The first white city on the island of Cuba was established by Pánfilo de Narváez. The city was named Havana after a local native headman, San Cristóbal de Habana. Santiago, however, down on the southeastern end of the island facing Hispaniola, became for the conquering Spaniards the island's capital city:



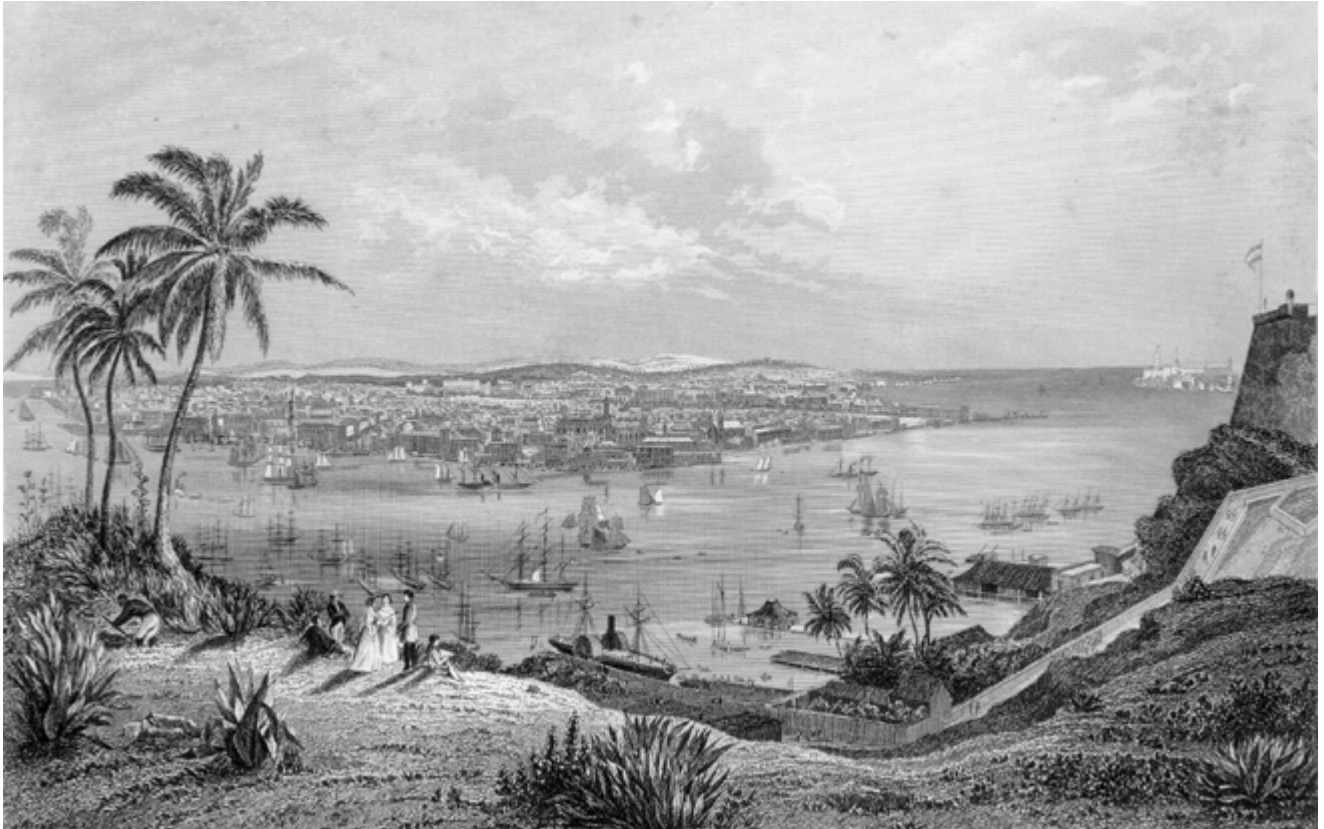
NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





1518

Slaves were brought to [Havana](#). This locale was on its way to becoming, like, a tropical paradise (well for others, if not so much for these slaves):



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

November 18, Monday: Cortez left [Cuba](#) for Mexico, with 10 armed vessels.

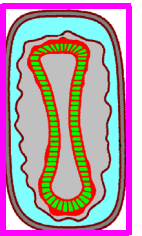
**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?  
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.  
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

1519

April 1519: Diégo de Velazquéz, Governor of [Cuba](#), sent the conquistador Hernán Cortés with a fleet to the Yucatán Coast where he founded La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and then proceeded over the course of the following three years, into 1521, to bring down the Aztec empire in México. After the conquest, [Havana](#) would become the natural stopping point for fleets returning to Spain. It had been an African slave aboard the ship of the *conquistadore* Panfilo de Narváez who had conveyed the [small pox](#) to the civilizations of Central America, and the result would be, as a great facilitation to the European conquest, the deaths by pandemic disease of literally millions of Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas.



Intended or not, the virus was the major killer of Indians, the primary factor in that situation. Alfred W. Crosby, Jr. charges in *THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1973, page 38) that the Aztecs attempted a deliberate campaign of biowarfare in response, putting their infected blood into bread baked for their conquerors and dumping infected corpses in wells. Between 1519 and 1605 the enslaved native American population of “New Spain” would decline due to all causes –such as exploitation and despair as well as





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disease— from some 25,000,000 to an estimate of perhaps 1,000,000 (allowing as is usual in such racial or racist calculations that persons with the slightest degree of color taint, even 1/64th, are not to be included in the untainted or white category).

Ordaz, one of Cortés's lieutenants, climbed to the 17,887 foot summit of Popocatepetl.

These Spaniards brought the horse from Spain to the Americas. Their army was accompanied by a large number of native auxiliaries. Several Castilian women (Las Conquistadoras) established themselves as nurses: Isabel Rodriguez who had a legendary touch with the wounded, Beatriz de Paredes who on occasion fought in place of her husband.

**“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**

December 17, Saturday (Old Style): The 1st Catholic mass in [Havana, Cuba](#) was enacted under a ceiba tree.



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**1520**

The 1st large group of new Negro slaves (300 persons) arrived in Cuba, to be put to work in a gold mine named Jaugua.

**INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE**

**THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT**



1521

Juan Poncé de León was made Governor of Puerto Rico by the Spanish crown.

Juan tried to establish a colony in Florida.



Instead of the Fountain of Youth, Juan found death from an Indian arrow. How sad.

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



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1522

Juan Bermudéz was carrying a cargo of hogs from Spain to [Cuba](#) when shipwrecked:

**Chronological observations of America**

*The Bermuduz-Isle 400 in number, beginning 500 miles distant from Virginia, and 3300 from the city of London in the latitude 32 degrees and 30 minutes, discovered now accidentally by John Bermuduz a Spaniard.*

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

**BY John Josselyn Gent.**

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



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1523

Sugar cane was introduced into Cuba, to be grown on slave plantations.

Toward preventing the spread of Caribbean-style slave rebellions into Mexico, the Spanish passed laws requiring that black African slaves be segregated from Indian slaves.

The English government banned anyone with an annual income of less than £100 from owning firearms or crossbows.

Spanish Town was established on the island of Jamaica.

**THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE, A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT. THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.**



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**1524**

October: A hurricane struck [Cuba](#), costing 70 lives.





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**1525**

October: A hurricane struck [Cuba](#), costing 73 lives.



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1526

The initial African [slaves](#) were imported to labor in the canefields of [Cuba](#).

A hurricane was recorded in St. Domingo.

At about this point, by command of [King João III](#), [Fernão Lopez](#) returned to Portugal and visited his family of origin. Going to [Rome](#), [Pope Clement VII](#) granted him an audience and forgave his Muslim apostasy. The maimed [hermit](#) then returned to [St. Helena](#) (the Pope hadn't given him back his ears).

Congolese king Mbemba Nzinga protested to [King João III](#) that Portuguese merchants were “taking every day our natives, sons of the land and sons of our noblemen and our vassals and our relatives.” The king was a convert to Christianity and he alleged that the [slavers](#) were depopulating his country.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

1527

About September 27, Friday (Old Style): The expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez, with Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, “arrived at the island of Santo Domingo and there tarried nearly 45 days gathering provisions and particularly horses, during which time the local inhabitants, by promises and proposals, seduced more than 140 of our men to desert.

From that island we sailed to Santiago [de Cuba] where, for some days, the Governor recruited men and further furnished himself with arms and horses. It fell out there that a prominent gentleman, Vasco Porcallo, of Trinidad, a hundred leagues northwest on the same island, offered the Governor some provisions he had stored at home if the Governor could go pick them up. The Governor forthwith headed with the whole fleet to get them, but, on reaching Cabo de Santa Cruz, a port half way, he decided to send Captain [Juan] Pantoja [who had commanded the crossbowmen on Narváez’s 1520 expedition to Mexico] to bring the stores back in his ship. For greater security, the Governor sent me along with another ship, while he himself anchored with the remaining four (he had bought an additional ship at Santo Domingo).

When we reached the port of Trinidad, Vasco Porcallo conducted Captain Pantoja to the town, a league away, while I stayed at sea with the pilots, who said we ought to get out of there as fast as possible, for it was a very bad port where many vessels had been lost. Since what happened to us there was phenomenal, I think it will not be foreign to the purpose of my narrative to relate it here.”

What follows at this point is the very first description of a hurricane to be written by a European:



“The next morning gave signs of bad weather. Rain started falling and the sea rose so high that I gave the men permission to go ashore; but many of them came back aboard to get out of the wet and cold, unwilling to trek the league into town. A canoe, meanwhile, brought me a letter from a resident of the town requesting me to



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come for the needed provisions that were there. I excused myself, saying I could not leave the ships. At noon the canoe returned with a more urgent letter, and a horse was brought to the beach for me. I gave the same answer as before, but the pilots and people aboard entreated me to go in order to hasten the provisions as fast as possible; they greatly feared the loss of both ships by further delay in this port.

So I went to the town, first leaving orders with the pilots that should the south wind (which is the one which often wrecks vessels here) whip up dangerously, they should beach the ships at some place where the men and horses could be saved. I wanted to take some of the men with me for company, but they said the weather was too nasty and the town too far off; but tomorrow, which would be Sunday, they intended to come, with God's help, and hear Mass.

An hour after I left, the sea began to rise ominously and the north wind blow so violently that the two boats would not have dared come near land even if the head wind had not already made landing impossible. All hands labored severely under a heavy fall of water that entire day and until dark on Sunday. By then the rain and tempest had stepped up until there was as much agitation in the town as at sea. All the houses and churches went down. We had to walk seven or eight together, locking arms, to keep from being blown away. Walking in the woods gave us as much fear as the tumbling houses, for the trees were falling, too, and could have killed us. We wandered all night in this raging tempest without finding any place we could linger as long as half an hour in safety. Particularly from midnight on, we heard a great roaring and the sound of many voices, of little bells, also flutes, tambourines, and other instruments, most of which lasted till morning, when the storm ceased. Nothing so terrible as this [hurricane] had been seen in these parts before. I drew up an authenticated account of it and sent it back to Your Majesty.

On Monday morning we went down to the harbor but did not find the ships. When we spied the buoys belonging to them floating on the water, we knew the ships had been lost. Hiking along the shore looking for signs of them, we found nothing, so we struck through the marshy woods for about a quarter of a league [about three fourths of a mile] and came upon the little boat of one of the ships lodged in some treetops. Ten leagues farther, along the coast, two bodies were found, belonging to my ship, but they had been so disfigured by beating against the rocks that they could not be recognized. Some lids of boxes, a cloak, and a quilt rent in pieces were also found, but nothing more.

Sixty persons had been lost in the ships, and twenty horses. Those who had gone ashore the day of our arrival — they may have numbered as many as thirty — were all who survived of both ships.

For some days we struggled with much hardship and hunger; for the provisions had been destroyed, also some herds. The country was left in a condition piteous to behold: parched, bereft of grass and leaf, the trees prostrate.”

**BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A**



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**MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.**

October: A hurricane struck [Cuba](#), costing between 60 and 70 lives. The expedition under [Pánfilo de Narváez](#) was severely impacted.

November 15, Friday (Old Style): Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca reports that on this day his expedition was rescued on the shore of [Cuba](#) when “the Governor put in with his four ships, which had run into a safe place in time to live through the great storm. The people who came in them, as well as those on shore, were so unnerved by what had happened that they feared to go on board in the winter. Seconded by the townspeople, they prevailed on the Governor to spend it in [Cuba](#). He put the ships and crews in my charge to take to the port of Xagua [Jagua, at the entrance to the Bay of Cienfuegos], twelve leagues away, to pass the winter. There I remained until February 20.”



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1528

April 28, Saturday: The expedition of Don Pánfilo de Narváez explored the coast of Florida, there discovering and destroying some corpses of some European castaways which Florida natives had for some reason been preserving:

“[T]he Governor resolved to explore inland, taking the Commissary [Fray Suárez], the Inspector [Solis], and me [Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca], together with forty men, including six horsemen, who could hardly have done much good.

We headed northward until about the hour of vespers, when we came upon a very big bay which seemed to extend far inland. [This would have been Tampa Bay.] We stayed there overnight, returning the next day to our base camp.

The Governor ordered the brig to coast in search of the harbor which Miruelo, the pilot, had said he knew but which he so far had failed to find; he did not know where we were or where the port was from here. The Governor further ordered that, in case this harbor could not be found, the brig should proceed to [Havana](#), find the ship Alvaro de la Cerda commanded, get them both provisioned, and return together to us.

When the brig had gone, we struck inland again, the same men as before plus others. We followed the shore of the bay we had found and, after four leagues, captured four Indians. We showed them some corn to see whether they knew what it was, for we had so far come across no sign of any. They indicated they would take us where there was some and led us to their village at the head of the bay close by. There they showed us a little corn not yet fit to gather.

We saw a number of crates there like those used for merchandising in Castile, each containing a dead man covered with painted deerskins. The Commissary took this for some form of idolatry and burned the crates and corpses. We also found pieces of linen and woolen cloth and bunches of feathers like those of New Spain. And we saw some nuggets of gold. [The JOINT REPORT of Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo, and Dorantes, written in Mexico in 1536 and delivered to the Audiencia at Santo Domingo by Cabeza de Vaca on his homeward voyage in 1537, amplifies that the Governor gave the order for burning the dead bodies and their boxes; that pieces of shoes and canvas and some iron were also found; and that the Indians said by signs that they had found these items in a vessel that had been wrecked in that bay. The JOINT REPORT makes it clear that the bodies were Europeans, and blames the friars, not just the Franciscan Commissary, for the burning.]

We inquired of the Indians by signs where these things came from. They gave us to understand that very far from here was a province called Apalachen, where was much gold and plenty of everything we wanted. [The JOINT REPORT specifies that it was the gold rather than all the items indiscriminately which came from “Apalache.” The Apalachee Indians lived in northwestern Florida, centering on the later Tallahassee and St. Marks. Appalachian Bay and the Appalachian Mountains take their names from this tribe.]

Keeping these Indians for guides, we proceeded another ten or twelve leagues, to a village of fifteen houses, where we saw a large cornfield ready for harvest, some of the ears already dry. After staying two days there, we returned to the base camp and told the Comptroller and pilots what we had seen and what the Indians had told us.”





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1532

Spain banned the importation of new Negro [slaves](#) onto the Caribbean islands, from certain African regions (you may rest assured that the motivation for this ban was something other than benevolence).

[INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE](#)


**FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.**



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1534

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

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





1537

May 14, day (Old Style): Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca continued his attempts to restore himself in Christendom:

“When my ship pulled into the Harbor at [Havana](#) on May 4 [Old Style], we waited for the other ships until June 2, when we went on in dread of falling in with French pirates who had taken three Spanish vessels a few days before. What took us, instead, was a violent storm at the island of Bermuda. Those who pass there from time to time say such storms are fairly regular. We thought ourselves lost one whole night when, to our relief, the storm subsided with morning, and we continued our course.

[The stopover at Santo Domingo is not mentioned. Obviously, the JOINT REPORT, which Cabeza de Vaca delivered to the Audiencia there had been composed in Mexico City — possibly a duplicate of the report to the Viceroy that has been lost.]

In twenty-nine days out of Havana we had sailed 1,100 leagues, supposedly the distance to the Azores and, sure enough, next morning we passed the island of Corvo, but, as we did, fell in with a French ship. She took up the chase at noon, bringing along a Portuguese caravel captured earlier. That evening we made out nine more sail, but they were so far away we could not tell whether they were Portuguese or French.

After nightfall the Frenchmen got within lombard shot of us, and we stole from our course in the dark, hoping to evade him. Three or four times we did this. He got near enough to us once to see us, and fired. He could have taken us, either then or at his leisure next morning. I will never forget my gratitude to the Almighty when, with the sunrise, we recognized the nine sail closing in to be of the fleet of Portugal. I gave thanks to our Lord for His shielding hand against the perils of land and sea alike.

As soon as the Frenchman identified the nine sail, he let go the caravel which carried a cargo of Negroes, to make us think the caravel was Portuguese so we might wait for her. On casting her off, the Frenchman told her pilot and skipper that we were French and under his convoy. Suddenly sixty oars sprouted from the Frenchman and he moved out with incredible speed. The caravel went to the galleon and informed the commander that



both we and the racing ship were French. The fleet therefore thought we might be bearing down upon them as we drew nigh, and bore up for us in battle formation. When we had converged close enough, we hailed them; and the discovery that we were friends was also the discovery that they had been duped into letting the pirate get away. Four caravels were sent in pursuit.

When the galleon came alongside, the commander, Diego de Silveira, called out to our captain: “Whence come

ye, and what may be your merchandise?”

“From New Spain, laden with silver and gold.”

“How much?”

“Three thousand *castellanos*.”

“Ye do truly come passing rich, and such a sorry ship — sorrier artillery. Chee! That French son of a bitch missed a luscious morsel! Now mind that ye stick to my rear, that I may, with God’s help, get you to Spain.” The caravels did not keep up their pursuit for long and came back. The Frenchman was too fast for them but, also, they hated to leave the fleet, which was guarding three spice-laden ships. So we made the island of Terceira and languished there fifteen days imbibing refreshment while awaiting the arrival of another Portuguese merchantman coming with a cargo from India to join the three spice ships and their convoy.”



August 19, Sunday (Old Style): Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca continued his attempts to restore himself in Christendom:

“Time ran out and it did not show, so we left with the fleet and anchored in the port of Lisbon on August 9 [old style], on the eve of the day of our master Sant Laurencio, 1537.

I need to clear up what happened to the ships of the Narváez expedition and the people who remained in them. The reason I have not touched on this before now is that we were uninformed until we reached New Spain, where we found many of the individuals who had been aboard; I found more here in Castile. From all these, everything to the last detail finally came out.

At the time we split from the ships, one of them had already been lost in the breakers and the other three faced a dangerous prospect, with low stores and nearly a hundred souls on board, ten of them married women.

One of these women had prophesied to the Governor many things that later actually befell him. She warned him before he plunged inland not to go; that he nor anyone with him could ever escape; though should one get back, the Almighty must work great wonders for him. She, however, believed few or none would be seen again. The Governor said that, after all, he and his men were going to fight and conquer wholly unknown nations, and of course he knew that this would cost many slain; but the survivors would indeed be fortunate from what he understood of the riches of that land. Yet he begged her to tell him where she had got her notions of what was going to happen that was past as well as these things still to come, and she replied that they had been told her in Castile by a Moorish woman of Hornachos. She had said the same thing to us even before we left Spain, and many things happened on the passage in the way she foretold.

On making Caravallo, a native of Cuenca de Huete, lieutenant and commander of the vessels and the people on them, the Governor left orders for going immediately aboard and taking the direct course to Pánuco, closely examining along shore for the harbor and, when finding it, holding up inside it until our arrival; and then the Governor departed. The people of the ships state that, when they had got back on board, they distinctly heard that woman say to the other women that their husbands were the same as dead and that they might as well be looking after whom they would marry next; she was going to. And she did presently “marry.” So did the other wives “marry” with men who remained in the ships.

When we were gone, the vessels made sail and took their course as instructed but, missing the harbor, returned. Five leagues below the place we debarked, they came upon the port where we had found crates with corpses. Meanwhile, the other ship and the brigantine arrived from [Cuba](#) and they altogether looked for us for nearly a year and, finally giving us up, went on to New Spain. [Hallenbeck conjectures that the barges and these ships must have passed within a short distance of each other in opposite directions, probably at night.]



The harbor of which I speak [Tampa Bay] is the best in the world. It has six fathoms of water at its entrance and five near shore. It stretches inland seven or eight leagues. Its bottom is fine white sand; no sea breaks upon it or wild storm; and it can contain countless vessels. Fish is plentiful. It is but a hundred leagues from [Havana](#), a town of Christians in [Cuba](#), with which it bears north and south. Vessels go from the one harbor to the other in a round trip of only a few days because, with the constant northeast wind, they sail either way with it on the quarter.”

**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE AUGUST 19, 1537 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).**



CUBA

CUBA

1538

French [pirates](#), assisted by local [slaves](#), burned [Havana](#).

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



CUBA

CUBA

1539

Drovers under the command of Hernando de Soto introduce pigs into southeastern North America. The animals would be abandoned in 1542 after Woodland Indian resistance proved more than the Spanish could take. Taunted one Woodland warrior as the Spanish fled to [Cuba](#) in their locally-built brigs, “If we possessed such large canoes as yours ... we would follow you to your land and conquer it, for we too are men like yourselves.” The Europeans had the last laugh, as they left epidemic diseases in their wake. Historian Alfred Crosby has suggested the scope of the disaster by noting that while de Soto and his men saw well-tended villages and corn fields marching toward the horizon, Europeans passing through the same area 200 years later saw only bison.

After hearing stories about the brick pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, a Franciscan monk named Marcos de Niza creates the story of the fabulously wealthy Seven Cities of Cibola. The stories were due to lies that the Indians told Father Marcos’ black African translator in hopes of getting the heavily armed strangers to go somewhere else and bother someone else.

**NOTICE THAT HISTORY’S NOT MADE OF WOULD, AS ABOVE. WHEN SOME HISTORIAN REVEALS IN ADVANCE THE FUTURE OF THESE PIGS, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM. THE HISTORIAN IS SETTING CHRONOLOGY TO “SHUFFLE,” WHICH IS NOT A PERMISSIBLE OPTION BECAUSE IN THE REAL WORLD SUCH SHUFFLE IS IMPOSSIBLE. THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT THE FUTURE HASN’T EVER HAPPENED, YET. THOSE PIGS HAVEN’T BEEN ABANDONED, OR AT LEAST, NOT YET. THERE IS NO SUCH “BIRD’S EYE VIEW” AS THIS IN THE REAL WORLD, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD NO REAL BIRD HAS EVER GLIMPSED AN ACTUAL HISTORICAL SEQUENCE. NOR HAS ANY PIG, WHETHER ABANDONED OR NOT YET ABANDONED, EVER GLIMPSED AN ACTUAL HISTORICAL SEQUENCE.**



CUBA

CUBA

1543

Portuguese landed on the island of Bermuda.

Aboard a [Chinese](#) cargo ship arriving in [Japan](#) in this year were a couple of Portuguese adventurers armed with arquebuses or snaphaunces. The warlords there, ever on the lookout for ways to improve their power over other warlords, would immediately perceive this as a weapon to hand to conscripts, who then would not need to be expensively and lengthily trained and could be considered as cannon fodder. This firearm would be put into mass production and within half a century, the Japanese islands would be sporting more high-quality firearms than all the nations of Europe together (and then, after 1600 and before 1853, Japan would determinedly render itself gun-free).

**YOU HAVE TO ACCEPT EITHER THE REALITY OF TIME OVER THAT OF CHANGE, OR CHANGE OVER TIME — IT'S PARMENIDES, OR HERACLITUS. I HAVE GONE WITH HERACLITUS.**



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1550**

In the early 1550s a Taíno chief named Guamá, along with his wife and about 60 other men, would be staging hit-and-run, guerrilla-style attacks upon the Spaniards who had spread across the entire island of [Cuba](#).

**ONE COULD BE ELSEWHERE, AS ELSEWHERE DOES EXIST.  
ONE CANNOT BE ELSEWHEN SINCE ELSEWHEN DOES NOT.  
(TO THE WILLING MANY THINGS CAN BE EXPLAINED,  
THAT FOR THE UNWILLING WILL REMAIN FOREVER MYSTERIOUS.)**

1554

Peg-Leg Leclerc, a French pirate, attacked the capital city of Santiago de Cuba



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



November: Upon the arrival of Luís Vaz de Camões in Goa, he had been imprisoned for debt. Then he had joined in a battle along the Malabar Coast, followed by a series of skirmishes along the trading routes between Egypt and India. At this point the fleet upon which he was serving made its return to Goa.

There was a hurricane in the Caribbean, during which in Cuban waters the admiral's ship sank, and a small caravel sank with all but 2 aboard drowning. In Bermuda waters when the San Miguel, the leading ship from Veracruz, sank, 25 survived. In the Mona Passage, a Spanish nao 3- or 4-masted carrack was wrecked.





CUBA

CUBA

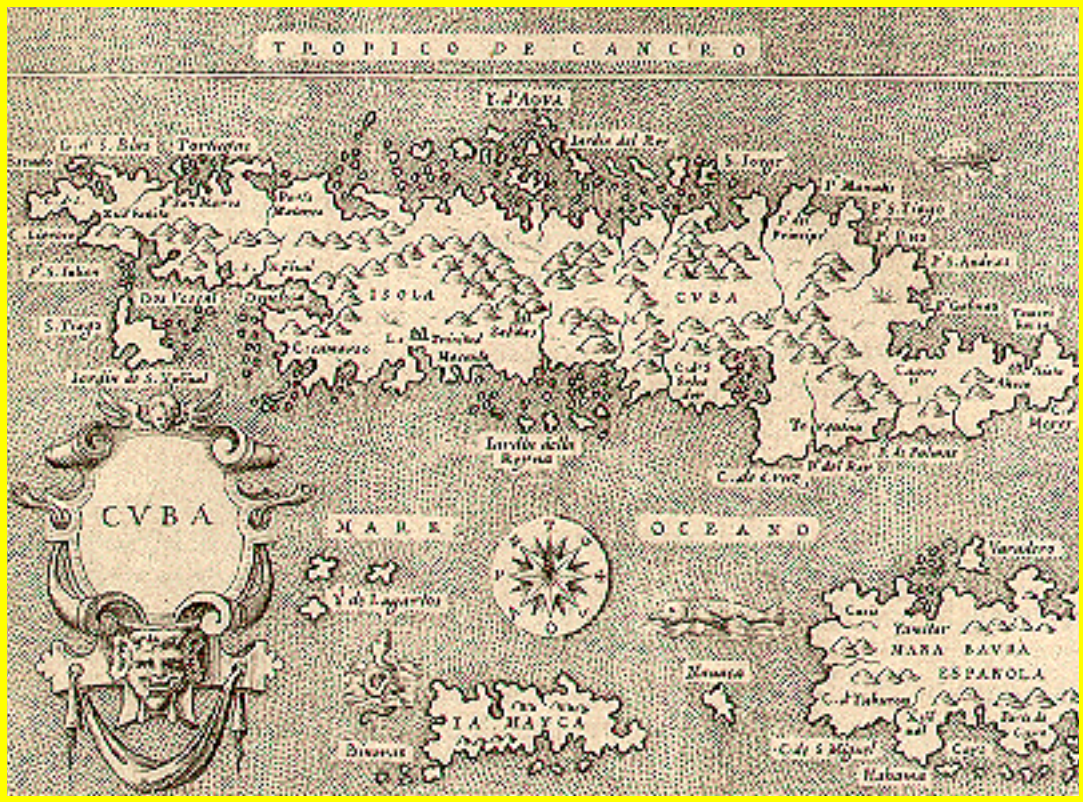
1555

Another French [pirate](#), Jacques de Sores (this one a Lutheran), plundered the city of [Hayana](#).

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

1576

This was Cuba:



CONTINGENCY

ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.



CUBA

CUBA

1580

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

## Chronological observations of America

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

BY *John Josselyn Gent.*

THE AGE OF REASON WAS A PIPE DREAM, OR AT BEST A PROJECT.  
ACTUALLY, HUMANS HAVE ALMOST NO CLUE WHAT THEY ARE DOING,  
WHILE CREDITING THEIR OWN LIES ABOUT WHY THEY ARE DOING IT.



CUBA

CUBA

1597

On the island of [Cuba](#), the Castillo del Morro was completed. The fortress was strategically situated above the eastern entrance to the [Havana](#) harbor, to protect the city from attackers such as [pirates](#).

**“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.**

1607

 Havana was officially designated to be the capital of Cuba.





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1623**

September 19, Tuesday (Old Style): The hurricane that killed 150-200 [Cubans](#) was recorded on the island of St. Christopher's as destroying the [tobacco](#) crop.



CUBA

CUBA

1633

A Latin edition of [Johannes de Laet](#)'s NEW WORLD, prepared by himself: *NOVUS ORBIS SEU DESCRIPTIONIS INDIAE OCCIDENTALIS LIBRI XVIII AUTHORE JOANNE DE LAET ANTVERP. NOVIS TALULIS GEOGRAPHICIS ET VARIIS ANIMANTIUM, PLANTARUM FRUCTUUMQUE ICONIBUS ILLUSTRATA* (Lugd. Batav.: Elzevirios). Also, his *PERSIA, SEU REGNI PERSICI STATUS. VARIAQUE ITINERA IN ATQUE PER PERSIAM: CUM ALIQUOT ICONIBUS INCOLARUM* (Lvgd. Batav., ex officina Elzeviriana). His spouse Maria Boudewijns van Berlicum died.

## NOVIS ORBIS

The maps are:

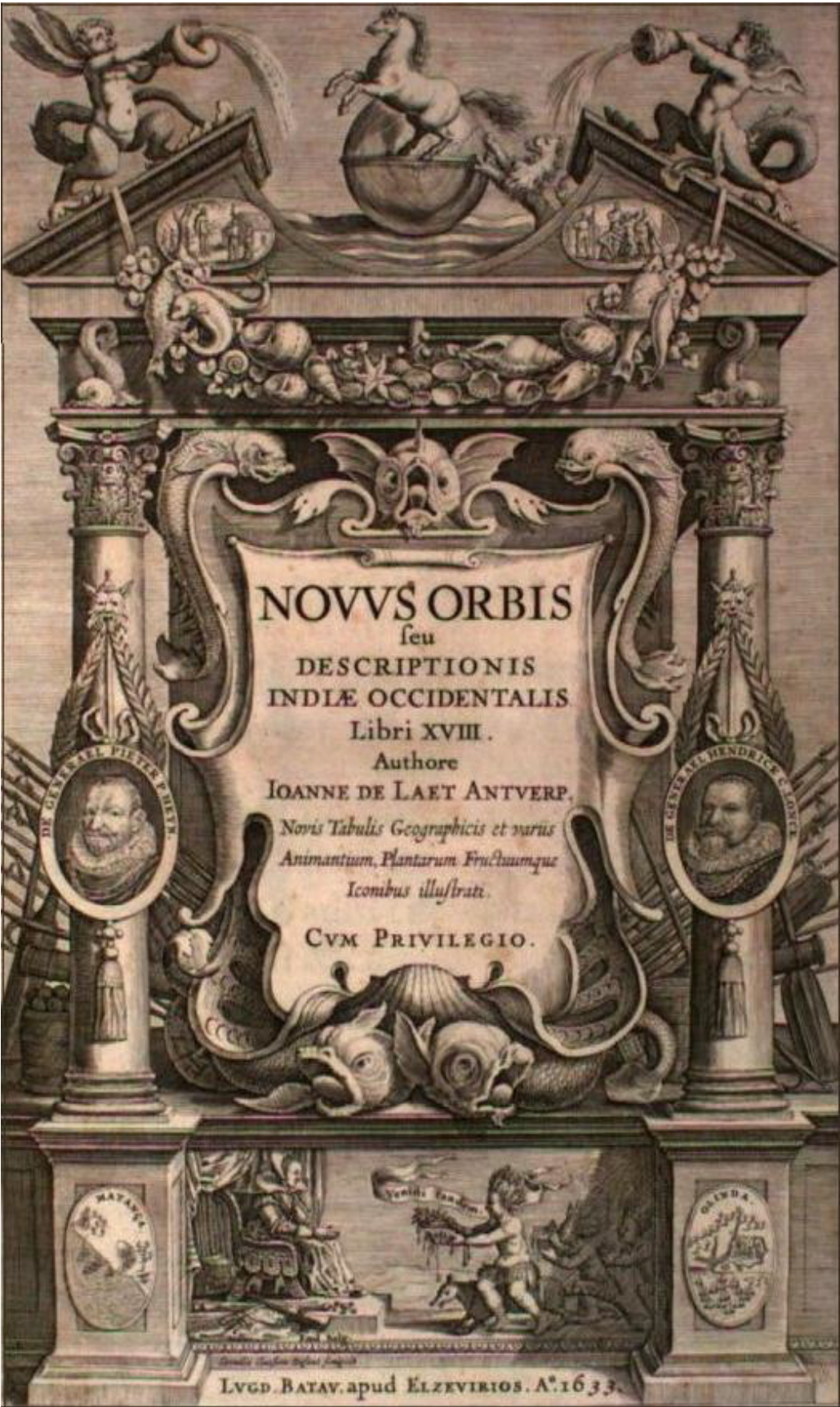
- 1) *Americae sive Indiae occidentalis tabula generalis*
  - 2) *Maiores minoresque insulae. Hispaniola, [Cuba](#), Lucaiae et Caribes*
  - 3) *Nova Francia et regiones adiacentes*
  - 4) *Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia*
  - 5) *Florida. et regiones vicinae*
  - 6) *Nova Hispania, Nova Gallicia, Guatamala*
  - 7) *Tierra Firma item Nuevo Reyno de Granada atque Popayan*
  - 8) *Peru*
  - 9) *Chili*
  - 10) *Provinciae sitae ad fretum Magellanis itemque fretum Le Maire*
  - 11) *Paraguay, o prov. de rio de la Plata: cum adiacentibus Provinciis, quas vocant Tucuman, et Sta. Cruz de la Sierra*
  - 12) *Provinciua de Brasil cum adiacentibus provinciis*
  - 13) *Guaiania sive provinciae intra rio de las Amazonas atque rio de Yviapari sive Orinoque*
  - 14) *Venezuela, atque occidentalis pars Novae Andalusiae*
- Map #4 is the first printed one to use the names "Manbattes" (Manhattan), and "N. Amsterdam," (New-York). It is also the earliest to "Noordt Rivier" for the Hudson and "Zuyd Rivier" for the Delaware, as well as the designation "Massachusetts" for the new English colony.

**IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IT IS MORTALS WHO CONSUME OUR HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IS EVADE THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. (IMMORTALS, WITH NOTHING TO LIVE FOR, TAKE NO HEED OF OUR STORIES.)**



CUBA

CUBA







**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1634**

October 5, Sunday (Old Style): A hurricane struck western [Cuba](#), killing 40.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1640**

September 11, Friday (Old Style): A hurricane struck in the vicinity of [Cuba](#) that affected 36 vessels. All but 240 of the sailors drowned. 4 of the vessels were driven onto the shore.

CUBA

CUBA

1644

October: In the New Amsterdam colony, The Eight sought relief from the Dutch government.

One of the deadliest of hurricanes hit [Cuba](#) and the [Florida](#) Straits, killing 1,500.





CUBA

CUBA

WEATHER THE 40 DEADLIEST ATLANTIC HURRICANES OF ALL HURRICANES WEATHER HURRICANES

November 1590	Gulf of Mexico	1,000 dead (34th deadliest)
1601	Veracruz, <a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead (38th deadliest)
1605	Offshore Nicaragua	1,300 dead (30th deadliest)
September 1622	Florida Straits	1,090 dead (33rd deadliest)
October 1644	<a href="#">Cuba</a> , Florida Straits	1,500 dead (28th deadliest)
August 1666	Guadeloupe, Martinique	2,000 dead (25th deadliest)
September 1694	Offshore Barbados	1,000 dead (35th deadliest)
July 1715	Florida Straits, Bahamas	1,000 dead (36th deadliest)
August 1767	Martinique	600 dead (26th deadliest)
October 1768	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,000 dead (37th deadliest)
September 1775	Newfoundland Banks	4,000 dead (8th deadliest)
September 1776	Guadeloupe	6,000 dead (7th deadliest)
October 1780	Barbados, St. Eustatius, Martinique	20,000-22,000 dead (deadliest)
October 1780	Eastern Gulf of Mexico	2,000 dead (22nd deadliest)
October 1780	Jamaica, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,115 dead (32nd deadliest)
1781	Offshore Florida	2,000 dead (20th deadliest)
September 1782	Central Atlantic offshore	3,000 dead (12th deadliest)
June 1791	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	3,000 dead (15th deadliest)
August 1813	Martinique	3,000 dead (13th deadliest)
<b>July 1825</b>	<b>Guadeloupe, Puerto Rico</b>	<b>1,300 dead (29th deadliest)</b>
<b>August 1831</b>	<b>Barbados</b>	<b>1,500 dead, 2,500 missing (16th deadliest)</b>
October 1870	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,000-2,000 dead (23rd deadliest)
August 1893	South Carolina, Georgia	2,000-2,500 dead (21st deadliest)
October 1893	Louisiana	1,800 dead, 2,000 missing (24th deadliest)
August 1899	Puerto Rico, Carolinas	3,063 dead, 3,433 missing (9th deadliest)
September 1900	Galveston,	8,000-12,000 dead (3rd deadliest)
August 1909	<a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead, 1,500 missing (27th deadliest)
September 1928	Martinique, Guadeloupe, Puerto Rico, Turks and Caicos, Florida	3,375 dead, 4,075 missing (10th deadliest)
September 1930	Dominican Republic	2,000-8,000 dead (5th deadliest)
September 1931	Belize	1,500 dead, 2,500 missing (17th deadliest)
November 1932	Cayman Islands, Jamaica, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	2,500 dead, 3,107 missing (11th deadliest)

# CUBA

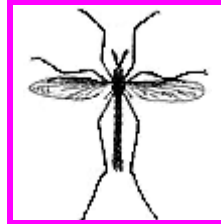
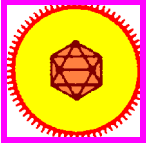
# CUBA

June 1934	El Salvador, Honduras	2,000-3,006 dead (14th deadliest)
October 1935	Haiti, Jamaica, Honduras	1,000-2,168 dead (18th deadliest)
October 1954	Hazel, Grenada, Haiti, USA, Canada	1,000 dead (39th deadliest)
October 1963	Flora, Haiti, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	8,000 dead (6th deadliest)
September/ October 1966	Inez, Caribbean, <a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead (40th deadliest)
September 1974	Fifi, Honduras	8,000-10,000 dead (4th deadliest)
September 1979	David, Dominica, Dominican Republic, United States	2,063 dead, 2,068 missing (19th deadliest)
November 1994	Gordon, Costa Rica, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Florida	1,145 dead (31st deadliest)
October 1998	Mitch, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Belize	9,086 dead, 9190 missing (2nd deadliest)



1648

The yellow fever, a monkey/mosquito virus of West Africa, had at this point made its way to Havana and to the Yucatan peninsula.



1650

On the island of Jamaica in the Caribbean, Maroons waged wars with European settlers.

The Spanish repossessed the island of St. Croix in the Caribbean (until 1730).

French from the island of Martinique settled on Grenada in the Caribbean, establishing St. George's.

The initial black slaves were brought to the island of Guadeloupe in the Caribbean.

The F.W.I. Co. sold the island of St. Lucia in the Caribbean to MM Houel & Du Parquet.

During the "Sugar Revolution," most white settlers abandoned the island of Barbados in the Caribbean.

The English settled the island of Anguilla in the Caribbean.

You know what this was about? It was about the human sweet tooth. From this period until the 20th Century the Caribbean would be the world center for the growing of [sugar cane](#). Yes!

PLANTS







CUBA

CUBA

1655

[Admiral Sir William Penn](#) (father of [Friend William Penn](#)) subjugated the Spanish island of Jamaica to the rule of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, his force of 5,000 men meeting with but little resistance.

A

## Chronological TABLE

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

*Anno Dom.*

1655. *Jamaica Taken by the English.*

As this kerfuffle of hegemony among the white folks was being transacted, with the island's Spanish settlers fleeing to [Cuba](#), various of the [slaves](#) of the Spanish residents seized upon their one golden opportunity. Escaping into the mountains of the interior of the island, they there established their own "Maroon" settlements. Admiral Sir William Penn thus unwittingly freed more black slaves, than his high-principled Quaker son ever would! Robert Sedgwick, born in Woburn, Bedfordshire, England in about 1611 and baptized on May 6, 1613, who had settled at Charlestown in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635 and become a successful merchant there, for many years had represented Charlestown in the General Court and had helped organize the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, of which he had been the captain during 1640. He had during 1652 been the commander of all the Massachusetts militia, and had supervised the construction of the 1st fort at Boston. Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell had promoted him to major general, making him the first Major General of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. With John Winthrop, Jr., and others, he had established in 1643/1644 the first ironworks in the North America. In 1654 he had driven the French from the Penobscot region and Fort Pentagouet. In this year this Robert Sedgwick accompanied this British naval expedition against Jamaica, and would be made Governor General of the island (he would die there).

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

Within a few years Spain would have abandoned all efforts to recover this colony and the English settlers would be growing crops such as [tobacco](#), [cotton](#) and [cocoa](#), and logging off the indigo wood. However, it would be privateering and [piracy](#) that would help Port Royale (Kingston) become one of the richest towns in the Americas as well as most certainly the most notorious:



<b>1640-1713</b>	seven slave revolts in the islands of the British West Indies
<b>1655</b>	With Jamaica in transition between Spanish control and English control, some 1,500 slaves escaped into the mountains to form maroon communities.
<b>1656</b>	Juan de Bolas led many of the escaped slaves in the maroon communities of the mountains of Jamaica down to the plains and the coast with a deal in which the English granted pardon and freedom. Many maroons, however, would elect to remain in the mountains.
<b>1668</b>	“Lobby’s rebellion” on Jamaica — several hundred black slaves escaped to the mountains.
<b>1725-1740</b>	1st Maroon War on Jamaica
<b>March 1, 1738-1739</b>	The 1st Maroon War on Jamaica ended in a treaty guaranteeing freedom for the maroons, the deal being that henceforward they would capture and turn in for a reward any new slave or bond-laborer escapees.
<b>1760</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1776</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1784</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1795-1796</b>	2d Maroon War on Jamaica
<b>1823</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1824</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1831</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica

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

**“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1660**

The beverage made from the scorched Arabian bean [coffee](#) was at this point being introduced into France as a substitute for the consumption of [wine](#).

The Spanish abandoned the island of Jamaica in the Caribbean.

The English renewed their claim on the island of St. Lucia in the Caribbean.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1669**

August 17, Tuesday (Old Style): A hurricane struck Nevis and [Cuba](#), killing 182.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1696**

An unidentified vessel was wrecked during a storm at Playa de Sabarimar 7 leagues east of [Havana](#) in 35 feet of water, but was then salvaged.



CUBA

CUBA

1708

Britain's Caribbean colonies were importing 20,000 [slaves](#) per year by official estimate — but many of these actually were for re-export to North and South America.

A Caribbean hurricane struck [Cuba](#), killing 578.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1714**

September: In [Cuban](#) waters, the frigate *San Juan* was lost during a hurricane



CUBA

CUBA

1715

Royal Spanish authorities created a monopoly known as the “Factoria.” This agency was to purchase all [Cuban](#) tobacco at fixed prices and vend it abroad.

France took control of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, renaming it “Isle de France.” Governor Captain Isaac Pyke suggested that [St. Helenans](#) abandon their God-forsaken barren island in the middle of the Atlantic and sail off to that island in the Indian Ocean.



1717

Tobacco was made a strict monopoly for Spain.

The Danish settled the Caribbean island of St. John.

At this point the Golden Lion coffee house in London began to serve women customers, whereas previously the assumption would have been that any woman on the premises would have been a prostitute, on the premises to give service rather than to be waited upon.





CUBA

CUBA

1718

April 7, Monday (Old Style): [Hugh Blair](#) was born in Edinburgh as the only child of an educated Presbyterian family, John Blair, a clerk, and Martha Ogston, a daughter of a bookseller. He would be home-schooled and then attend the High School of Edinburgh, where he would study classical rhetoric with special attention to [Cicero](#).<sup>2</sup>

[SCOTLAND](#)

Dr. Abel Prescott of [Concord](#), son of Dr. Jonathan Prescott, and brother of Dr. John Prescott of Concord, was born. He would die on October 24, 1805 at the age of 88. During a long period he enjoyed a most extensive professional patronage. His practice extended to nearly all the towns in the county. His son Benjamin studied physic, and commenced practice in Carlisle, but soon relinquished the profession. Dr. John Prescott of Concord, son of Dr. Jonathan Prescott, and brother of Dr. Abel Prescott of Concord, went to [Cuba](#).

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

May 28, Wednesday (Old Style): In Boston, at the request of the Governor and Council, the Reverend Benjamin Colman preached the Election Sermon: THE RELIGIOUS REGARDS WE OWE TO OUR COUNTRY (Boston: B. Green, 1718). Evans 1949. Colman added a preface “To the Honourable Sir William Ashurst, Kt. and John Barrington Shute, Esq.” dated 4 June. Colman revealed the moderate principles of a new Charter man: “He that estimates not our Charter Privileges must be either very Ignorant of the Interests of this People, or very unfriendly to them.” Showing that the New Englanders had adopted the English celebrations of the birthdays of the ruling king, Colman remarked: “Moreover, This day of our yearly solemnity happily falling on the Anniversary of the Birth of the Kings most Excellent Majesty, as it must needs add to the Public Joy, so let it make us Pray the more fervently for the long life and happy Reign of the King.”

John Burrill, of Lynn, was again elected Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives; Nathaniel Byfield and Elisha Cooke were among those elected to the colony’s Council.

May 29, Thursday (Old Style): Massachusetts Governor Samuel Shute negated Elisha Cooke’s election to the colonial Council.

May 31, Saturday (Old Style): In Philadelphia, Andrew Bradford petitioned the Pennsylvania assembly: “that he has been at a considerable Expence in finding out the right Method of making Lamp-black, and having compleated the same, desires Leave to bring in a Bill to prohibit all others from making Lamp-black for twenty years.” He would repeat this request on January 16, 1721/1722 but the assembly would take no action on his petition.

2. According to [David Hume](#), Hugh would become “a vain, timid, fussy, kind-hearted little man that everybody liked.”



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1722**

August 28, Monday (Old Style): Hurricane recorded in Jamaica.



CUBA

CUBA

1724

December: The [Rhode Island](#) vessel *John and Mary* was taken by [pirates](#).<sup>3</sup>

3. Jonathan Barlow, a Rhode Islander caught up in this way, has kept a sea journal from June 1724 to January 30, 1725, that is in our hands. He was captured while on a voyage from London bound for Africa, had experiences aboard pirate vessels such as Captain Edward Low's *Merry Christmas*, and went to [Cuba](#) and Florida before making his way back home to [Rhode Island](#) aboard the *John and Mary*.



CUBA

CUBA

1727

[Harvard College](#) established its Hollis chair in mathematics and natural philosophy.

[Thomas Hutchinson](#) graduated from [Harvard](#) and became an apprentice in his father's counting-room. He would for several years devote himself to business.

A son of a [Concord](#) physician, John Prescott, graduated from [Harvard](#). He would go on to become a physician.<sup>4</sup>

JOHN PRESCOTT [of [Concord](#)], son of Dr. Jonathan Prescott, was born May 8, 1707, and graduated [at [Harvard](#)] in 1727. He was a physician in [Concord](#), and highly esteemed for his professional skill and excellent character. When the unfortunate expedition to [Cuba](#) was proposed, he entered readily into the views of the government, and enlisted a company of 100 men from this neighborhood. He sailed from [Boston](#), as commander of this company, September 23, 1740, and was off "Don Maria Bay" in the following February. After the melancholy failure of the expedition, he returned to this country in 1743, and not long after went to England, at the request of the government, where he was treated with great respect. He died in [London](#), of the small-pox, December 30, 1743, aged 35.

He married Ann, the 8th child of Nathaniel Lynde, Esq. She died May 12, 1795, aged 88. Her sister married Joseph Willard of Rutland, who was killed by the Indians in 1723. Her mother was Susannah Willoughby, and her father son of Simon and Hannah Newdigate, who came from [London](#). In testimony of the esteem in which Captain Prescott's services were held, his widow received a pension from the British government during her life. She had 5 children, Ann, Rebecca, 2 sons, who died young, and Willoughby, who died in Concord April 15, 1808, aged 65.<sup>5</sup>

4. Peter Prescott, a brother of John Prescott, would graduate from Harvard College in 1730, and Benjamin Prescott, presumably another of the Prescott brothers of Concord, would enter Harvard College in 1744 but would fail to graduate (he would be killed by native Americans).

5. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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CUBA

CUBA

1739

October 23, Tuesday (Old Style): Great Britain declared war on Spain.

War was declared by Great Britain against Spain in Oct. 23, 1739, and the next year the expedition against [Cuba](#) was undertaken. The inhabitants of the colonies were invited to embark in it. In presenting the subject to the General Court, and urging preparations to be made for 1,000 men, Governor [Jonathan] Belcher said, "it would open a more extensive, rich, and beneficial trade for ourselves in the West Indies than we have yet enjoyed." This, and the promise of booty and lands in [Cuba](#), as bounties to individual soldiers and expectations of being settled there, were the most plausible reasons for engaging in this most unfortunate enterprise. Though the General Court treated the wishes of the governor rather coolly, yet five companies of 100 men each were raised and put under the command of Captains John Prescott of [Concord](#), David Goffe, Thomas Phillips, George Stuart and John Winslow. The Governor himself paid the expenses of one company and Winslow paid that of his own. They embarked Sept. 23, 1740. Hon. Wm. Gouch of Virginia was Colonel of the regiment; Hon. Henry Cope, Lt. Colonel; Wm. Blakeley, Adj. General. General Thomas Wentworth commanded the land forces at [Cuba](#); and Admiral Edward Vernon [Mount Vernon, Washington's residence, was named for him], the fleet. The whole expedition was under Lord Cathcart.

Arriving at [Cuba](#), several unsuccessful attempts to accomplish the objects of the expedition were made. Many of the Americans were taken sick and died. They were placed on board Vernon's fleet and received such treatment as called forth complaints. They were separated into different vessels and compelled to sail among the West India islands; 468 were on board July 6, 1742. It was not long before the remnant, who had not fallen a sacrifice to the climate and other hardships, returned to this country, without accomplishing any of their original intentions. They were paid off and dismissed October 24, 1742. The expedition cost the province £37,500 currency, equal to £7,000 sterling. Of the 500 men from Massachusetts, 50 only returned. Fifteen, beside Capt. Prescott, went from [Concord](#); three only returned, — Jonathan Heywood, Eben. Lampson, and Henry Yours. Tradition says that Thomas Barnes, Zachariah Blood, Nathaniel Monroe, Sergeant Benjamin Pollard, Aaron Lyon, and Darius Wheeler, were among those who died there.<sup>6</sup>

On [Aquidneck Island](#), [Rhode Island](#), these hostilities would lead to the erection of watchtowers with beacons along the coast. The colony would be sending several hundred of its men under Admiral Edward Vernon against the Spanish West Indies — and precious few of these men would ever return.

**READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT**

6. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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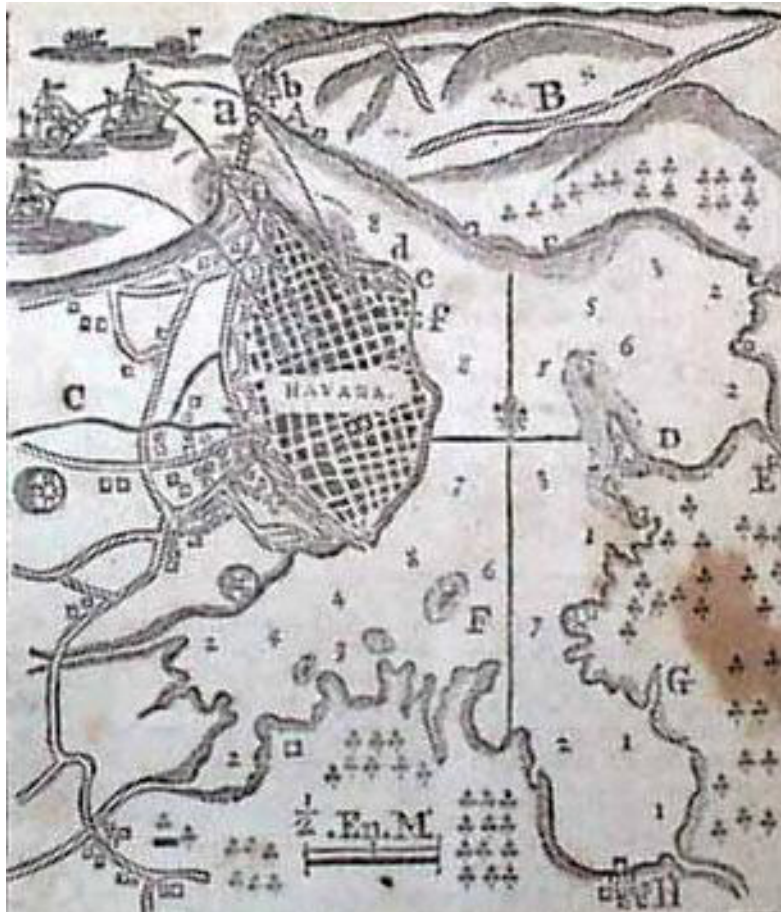
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## CUBA

## CUBA

Here is a map of the port of [Havana](#) that would be published during the year of this invasion, depicting a naval bombardment:





CUBA

CUBA

1740

Based on the “Factoria” model, another royal monopoly corporation was created to handle all imports and exports to [Havana](#). This “Real Compañía de Comercio” would soon acquire a bad reputation with [Cubans](#), who would complain they were being fleeced and that the commerce was being restricted in order to keep prices high to the detriment of potential profits.

September 23, Friday: Dr. John Prescott of [Concord](#) had organized a company of 100 local men to join in Massachusetts’s filibustering expedition against the Spanish island of [Cuba](#). On this day this invasion fleet embarked in [Boston](#).

(Damn that commie Fidel Castro! –The result of this would be for the town of [Concord](#) a disaster.)

War was declared by Great Britain against Spain in Oct. 23, 1739, and the next year the expedition against [Cuba](#) was undertaken. The inhabitants of the colonies were invited to embark in it. In presenting the subject to the General Court, and urging preparations to be made for 1,000 men, Governor [Jonathan] Belcher said, “it would open a more extensive, rich, and beneficial trade for ourselves in the West Indies than we have yet enjoyed.” This, and the promise of booty and lands in [Cuba](#), as bounties to individual soldiers and expectations of being settled there, were the most plausible reasons for engaging in this most unfortunate enterprise. Though the General Court treated the wishes of the governor rather coolly, yet five companies of 100 men each were raised and put under the command of Captains John Prescott of [Concord](#), David Goffe, Thomas Phillips, George Stuart and John Winslow. The Governor himself paid the expenses of one company and Winslow paid that of his own. They embarked Sept. 23, 1740. Hon. Wm. Gouch of Virginia was Colonel of the regiment; Hon. Henry Cope, Lt. Colonel; Wm. Blakeley, Adj. General. General Thomas Wentworth commanded the land forces at [Cuba](#); and Admiral Edward Vernon [Mount Vernon, Washington’s residence, was named for him], the fleet. The whole expedition was under Lord Cathcart.

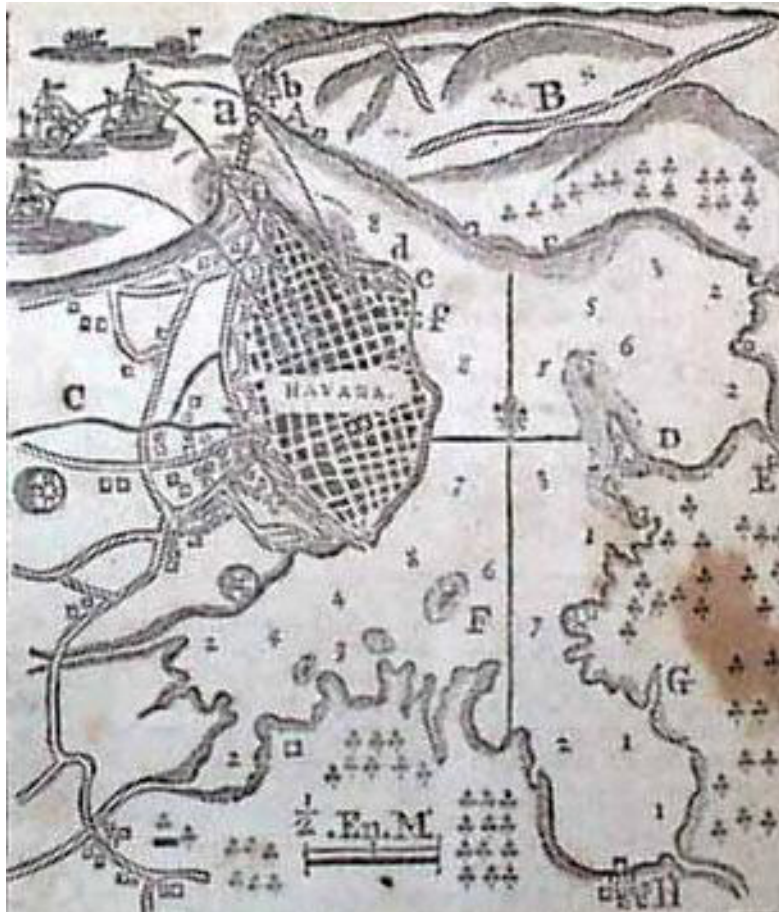
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## CUBA

## CUBA

Here is a map of the port of [Havana](#) published during this filibustering expedition and depicting a naval bombardment:



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**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1741**

February: Dr. John Prescott of [Concord](#) and his company of 100 Middlesex men lay in their vessel off [Cuba](#)'s Don Maria Bay as the Massachusetts filibustering expedition disintegrated.



CUBA

CUBA

1742

July 6, Tuesday (Old Style): At this point there were 468 New England survivors of the disastrous British expedition against [Cuba](#), a goodly number of them from [Concord](#), waiting listlessly aboard ship in the Caribbean, hoping eventually to be taken home.

War was declared by Great Britain against Spain in Oct. 23, 1739, and the next year the expedition against [Cuba](#) was undertaken. The inhabitants of the colonies were invited to embark in it. In presenting the subject to the General Court, and urging preparations to be made for 1,000 men, Governor [Jonathan] Belcher said, "it would open a more extensive, rich, and beneficial trade for ourselves in the West Indies than we have yet enjoyed." This, and the promise of booty and lands in [Cuba](#), as bounties to individual soldiers and expectations of being settled there, were the most plausible reasons for engaging in this most unfortunate enterprise. Though the General Court treated the wishes of the governor rather coolly, yet five companies of 100 men each were raised and put under the command of Captains John Prescott of [Concord](#), David Goffe, Thomas Phillips, George Stuart and John Winslow. The Governor himself paid the expenses of one company and Winslow paid that of his own. They embarked Sept. 23, 1740. Hon. Wm. Gouch of Virginia was Colonel of the regiment; Hon. Henry Cope, Lt. Colonel; Wm. Blakeley, Adj. General. General Thomas Wentworth commanded the land forces at [Cuba](#); and Admiral Edward Vernon [Mount Vernon, Washington's residence, was named for him], the fleet. The whole expedition was under Lord Cathcart.

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## CUBA

## CUBA

October 24, Sunday (Old Style): The New England survivors of the disastrous British expedition against [Cuba](#) were finally able to return to their homes. When they had set out they had numbered 500, but they had been “decimated”: their number had dwindled by one full order of magnitude, only 50 being able to return. The 16 that had set out from [Concord](#) did considerably better than the average in that four, a full quarter of them, were able to return alive: Captain John Prescott, Jonathan Heywood, Ebenezer Lampson, and Henry Yours.

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CUBA

CUBA

1743

In [Concord](#), Samuel Heywood, Joseph Wright, David Melvin, John Jones, Nathaniel Whittemore, and Ephraim Jones were Selectmen. (six selectmen?)

In [Concord](#), Samuel Heywood was again Town Clerk.

James Minott was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

William Lawrence of [Concord](#) graduated at Harvard College. He would go into the ministry.

Dr. John Prescott was back in [Boston](#) and [Concord](#) after the failed filibustering expedition against the island of [Cuba](#). Soon the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony would be sending him to England on official business.

In about this year Jacob Baker, Jr. was born, a son of Jacob Baker and Grace Billings Baker of Sudbury. He would settle on the farm that later would come to be owned by Major Higginson.

December 30, Friday (Old Style): Having been sent to England on official business by the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Dr. John Prescott died in [London](#) of the [small-pox](#) at the age of 35. Because Dr. Prescott had succumbed while on the government service, his widow Ann Lynde Prescott in [Concord](#) would be receiving a lifelong pension.

JOHN PRESCOTT [of [Concord](#)], son of Dr. Jonathan Prescott, was born May 8, 1707, and graduated [at [Harvard College](#)] in 1727. He was a physician in [Concord](#), and highly esteemed for his professional skill and excellent character. When the unfortunate expedition to [Cuba](#) was proposed, he entered readily into the views of the government, and enlisted a company of 100 men from this neighborhood. He sailed from [Boston](#), as commander of this company, September 23, 1740, and was off "Don Maria Bay" in the following February. After the melancholy failure of the expedition, he returned to this country in 1743, and not long after went to England, at the request of the government, where he was treated with great respect. He died in [London](#), of the [small-pox](#), December 30, 1743, aged 35.

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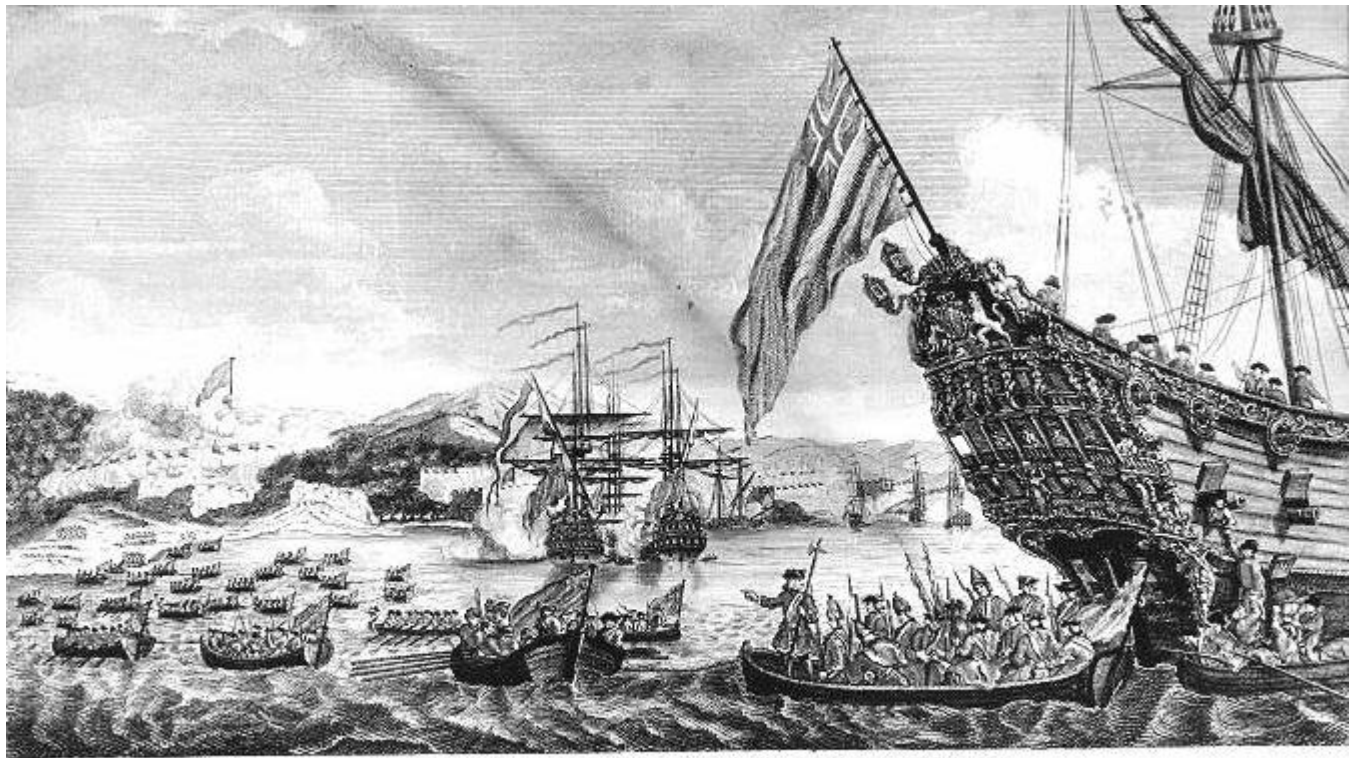
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1745

Louisburg Square on [Boston](#)'s Beacon Hill was named for the Battle of Louisburg in what was then being denominated "New France," north of "New England."



The EXPEDITION against CAPE BRETON in NOVA SCOTIA. 1745.

*Cape Breton with the Important Fort of Louisbourg was taken (after a siege of 30 Days) by the New-England Forces under the Command of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Pepperell Esq<sup>r</sup> a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships of War Commanded by the brave Commodore Boscawen, after a loss made Worth of the Barks of His Majesty's Fleet.*

Printed for & Sold by C. GREENGLASS BOWLES, at his Map & Print Warehouse, N<sup>o</sup> 66 in St Dun's Church Yard J. 1745.

Massachusetts furnished 3,250 of the fighters who reduced Louisburg. All in all, this particular military adventure was far more successful than had been the previous adventure, the one of a few years before in which they had attempted to conquer [Cuba](#) and had lost most of their men. Dr. Jonathan Prescott of [Concord](#)'s son Benjamin Prescott was killed in the attack, in May, as was Amos Wood of Concord, and David Melvin of Concord was wounded in that attack but survived to return home, and died of his wound on November 18th. Other of Concord's young men survived the battle:

David Melvin of [Concord](#) commanded a company there and received a wound, of which he died Nov. 18, 1745, in his 57th year, after his return home. Benjamin Prescott son of Dr. Jonathan Prescott, was killed there in the previous May. Amos Row was also killed and Samuel Wood was sick and became disabled. Eleazer Melvin, brother of the above, was a lieutenant and engaged as captain in several subsequent campaigns.<sup>11</sup>

11. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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CUBA

CUBA

1746

Captains John Dennis and Robert Morris, [privateers](#) out of [Rhode Island](#), captured a French vessel near Cape Tiburon and brought it to [Newport](#), where its black crewmembers were sold into [slavery](#) in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and [New York](#). This brought a protest from the Governor of Cuba, that these particular black seamen had in [Cuba](#) been not slaves but free men. Learning of this, the Rhode Island General Assembly voted that an apology be tendered, and that the black sailors be purchased from their purchasers –who were to be fully reimbursed– and the seamen set free and allowed to depart at will. Of course, no consideration was given to the paying of back wages for services rendered, but a message was sent to Cuba: this adventure into the [international slave trade](#) had been a mere inadvertent error (RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORDS, V. 170, 176-7; [Dawson's Historical Magazine](#), XVIII. 98).

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1748

The University of San Jerónimo opened its doors in [Havana](#).

[Coffee](#) plants were introduced into [Cuba](#).





1752

September 26, Tuesday: Near [Havana](#) 16 unidentified ships were lost in a hurricane. The *Speedwel* was lost.



Nearly 100 would be killed by this storm as it struck [Charleston, South Carolina](#).

1760

September 8, Monday: In the ongoing struggle now known as the “Seven Years War” or the “French and Indian War” (1756 to 1763), the French forces at Québec had been defeated in 1759, and at this point the French forces at Montréal were likewise vanquished and New France (otherwise known as [Canada](#)) fell into British hands. Troops from [Fort Michilimackinac](#) had been present at both the defense of Québec and the defense of Montréal. Here they are on this day, the cuties, taking over in Montréal:



(In 1763 France would be obliged to hand over to the English all territory to the east of the Mississippi River, except in the vicinity of New Orleans. The Spanish would then likewise relinquish east and west Florida to the English, in return for [Cuba](#).)

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

1762

In the Caribbean, the English occupied Martinique and captured Grenada. Dominica would be ceded to Britain.

After a British campaign in [Cuba](#), General Israel “Old Put” Putnam returned to his Connecticut brewery and tavern with 3 donkey-loads of Havana [cigars](#), previously unknown in these continental colonies.

January England declared war on Spain. During the year the British fleet would capture Manila in the Philippine Islands. However, the British would not expand their occupation of the island of [Cuba](#) beyond the port, and would abandon the island in less than 2 years.



Between this point and 1838, about 391,000 black [slaves](#) would be brought to [Cuba](#). (That’s not counting the yellow slaves, [Chinese](#) coolies who as “contract workers” lacked any prospect of return to [China](#).)



CUBA

CUBA

August 14, Saturday: British invaders captured [Havana](#) from the Spanish.



1763

February 10, Thursday: Initialing of the Treaty of Paris ended the French and Indian War (Seven Years War).

The French relinquished to the English all their claims to Canada and to all land east of the Mississippi, except in regard to their New Orleans colony. England obtained possession of East & West Florida from Spain in exchange for [Cuba](#).



[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

The war over, everybody lived happily ever after. Yeah, right. As one result of the Treaty of Paris ending the “Seven Years’ War,” Britain became the dominant power in India. France lost most of its New World empire. (It would later get its revenge, by supporting the revolution of the colonies along the Eastern seaboard against their mother country, England.) France ceded Grenada, Tobago, and Dominica to the British. The English and Spanish government also made a convenient trade: [Florida](#) (which had been captured by the Spanish) for [Havana](#). In turning over the town of St. Augustine, the Spanish did not abandon their black freedom fighters of Fort Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose but transported them to the continued freedom of [Cuba](#). The power of Prussia was left unchallenged and its military reputation had been exalted.



France, by the treaty of Paris, ceded to England Canada, and the island of Cape Breton, with the islands and coasts of the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. The boundaries between the two nations in North America were fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth. All on the left or eastern bank of that river, was given up to England, except the city of New Orleans, which was reserved to France; as was also the liberty of the fisheries on a part of the coasts of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The islands of St. Peter and Miquelon were given them as a shelter for their



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fishermen, but without permission to raise fortifications. The islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Desirada, and St. Lucia, were surrendered to France; while Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, were ceded to England. This latter power retained her conquests on the Senegal, and restored to France the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa. France was put in possession of the forts and factories which belonged to her in the East Indies, on the coasts of Coromandel, Orissa, Malabar, and Bengal under the restriction of keeping up no military force in Bengal.

In Europe, France restored all the conquests she had made in Germany; as also the island of Minorca. England gave up to her Belleisle, on the coast of Brittany; while Dunkirk was kept in the same condition as had been determined by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The island of Cuba, with the Havana, were restored to the King of Spain, who, on his part, ceded to England Florida, with Port-Augustine and the Bay of Pensacola. The King of Portugal was restored to the same state in which he had been before the war. The colony of St. Sacrament in America, which the Spaniards had conquered, was given back to him.

The peace of Paris, of which we have just now spoken, was the era of England's greatest prosperity. Her commerce and navigation extended over all parts of the globe, and were supported by a naval force so much the more imposing, as it was no longer counterbalanced by the maritime power of France, which had been almost annihilated in the preceding war. The immense territories which that peace had secured her, both in Africa and America, opened up new channels for her industry: and what deserves specially to be remarked is, that she acquired at the same time vast and important possessions in the East Indies.



## CUBA

## CUBA



August 12, Friday: King Friedrich II of Prussia issued the General-Landschul-Reglement reforming all schools in Prussian territory, affirming religious education, regulating hours of teaching, syllabi, and textbooks, providing books for each child and setting penalties for truancy.

British forces occupied [Cuba](#) (the occupation would continue until the following July).





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1768**

October 15-25: One of the deadliest of Caribbean hurricanes hit [Cuba](#). 43 persons were killed and more than 1000, perhaps as many as 4,100 or more, houses were destroyed.



CUBA

CUBA

WEATHER THE 40 DEADLIEST ATLANTIC HURRICANES OF ALL HURRICANES WEATHER HURRICANES

November 1590	Gulf of Mexico	1,000 dead (34th deadliest)
1601	Veracruz, <a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead (38th deadliest)
1605	Offshore Nicaragua	1,300 dead (30th deadliest)
September 1622	Florida Straits	1,090 dead (33rd deadliest)
October 1644	<a href="#">Cuba</a> , Florida Straits	1,500 dead (28th deadliest)
August 1666	Guadeloupe, Martinique	2,000 dead (25th deadliest)
September 1694	Offshore Barbados	1,000 dead (35th deadliest)
July 1715	Florida Straits, Bahamas	1,000 dead (36th deadliest)
August 1767	Martinique	600 dead (26th deadliest)
October 1768	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,000 dead (37th deadliest)
September 1775	Newfoundland Banks	4,000 dead (8th deadliest)
September 1776	Guadeloupe	6,000 dead (7th deadliest)
October 1780	Barbados, St. Eustatius, Martinique	20,000-22,000 dead (deadliest)
October 1780	Eastern Gulf of Mexico	2,000 dead (22nd deadliest)
October 1780	Jamaica, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,115 dead (32nd deadliest)
1781	Offshore Florida	2,000 dead (20th deadliest)
September 1782	Central Atlantic offshore	3,000 dead (12th deadliest)
June 1791	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	3,000 dead (15th deadliest)
August 1813	Martinique	3,000 dead (13th deadliest)
<b>July 1825</b>	<b>Guadeloupe, Puerto Rico</b>	<b>1,300 dead (29th deadliest)</b>
<b>August 1831</b>	<b>Barbados</b>	<b>1,500 dead, 2,500 missing (16th deadliest)</b>
October 1870	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,000-2,000 dead (23rd deadliest)
August 1893	South Carolina, Georgia	2,000-2,500 dead (21st deadliest)
October 1893	Louisiana	1,800 dead, 2,000 missing (24th deadliest)
August 1899	Puerto Rico, Carolinas	3,063 dead, 3,433 missing (9th deadliest)
September 1900	Galveston,	8,000-12,000 dead (3rd deadliest)
August 1909	<a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead, 1,500 missing (27th deadliest)
September 1928	Martinique, Guadeloupe, Puerto Rico, Turks and Caicos, Florida	3,375 dead, 4,075 missing (10th deadliest)
September 1930	Dominican Republic	2,000-8,000 dead (5th deadliest)
September 1931	Belize	1,500 dead, 2,500 missing (17th deadliest)
November 1932	Cayman Islands, Jamaica, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	2,500 dead, 3,107 missing (11th deadliest)

# CUBA

# CUBA

June 1934	El Salvador, Honduras	2,000-3,006 dead (14th deadliest)
October 1935	Haiti, Jamaica, Honduras	1,000-2,168 dead (18th deadliest)
October 1954	Hazel, Grenada, Haiti, USA, Canada	1,000 dead (39th deadliest)
October 1963	Flora, Haiti, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	8,000 dead (6th deadliest)
September/ October 1966	Inez, Caribbean, <a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead (40th deadliest)
September 1974	Fifi, Honduras	8,000-10,000 dead (4th deadliest)
September 1979	David, Dominica, Dominican Republic, United States	2,063 dead, 2,068 missing (19th deadliest)
November 1994	Gordon, Costa Rica, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Florida	1,145 dead (31st deadliest)
October 1998	Mitch, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Belize	9,086 dead, 9190 missing (2nd deadliest)







CUBA

CUBA

1778

June 15, Monday: The General Court of Massachusetts had created a constitution and sent it around to the various towns of the Bay Colony for approval. On this day the citizens of the town of [Concord](#), all 111 of them unanimously, voted to repudiate this document.

[George DeWolf](#) was born in [Bristol, Rhode Island](#), son of Captain [Charles DeWolf](#) (3) and Mary Tyler DeWolf. Like his father he would be a prosperous ship owner and merchant, and in addition he would acquire a plantation in [Cuba](#) the working of which of course would require the labor of many black slaves. For a time his wealth would approach that of his uncle James DeWolf but then his failure in business would almost paralyze Bristol. Prominent in matters military, on horseback he would cut a splendid figure, and so for the years 1818-1821 he functioned as the brigadier-general in command of the 1st Rhode Island Brigade of troops from Newport and Bristol, and for the years 1822-1825 as the major-general in command of all Rhode Island troops (fortunately, nothing much would be going down during those years, except of course endless parades).

October 28, Wednesday-31, Saturday: A hurricane in [Cuba](#) caused many drownings.



1780

Fall: This autumn there were 3 successive supremely deadly hurricanes in the Caribbean. On October 3/4 there were 1,115 deaths in Jamaica, and in addition there was an earthquake, and between the forces of the water and the forces of the earth, Savannah-la-mar, Westmoreland, Hanover, a great portion of Cornwall, St. James, and St. Elizabeth were destroyed. The hurricane was felt on the 4th in [Cuba](#).

Then on October 10/11 there was a second hurricane striking the islands of Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Christopher, and Martinique — the total loss of life on these islands was 22,000. The sugar industry on Grenada was wiped out. Between this earthquake and these hurricanes, 9,000 lives were lost on Martinique alone, with property damage amounting to some 700,000 Louis-d'or.

HURRICANES

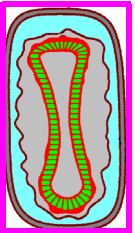


1781

July 13, Friday: The British had had a long-standing policy of promising after-war freedom to any able-bodied American black slaves who would do wartime heavy lifting for the army of occupation in what were known as "Black Pioneer" brigades. On this date General Alexander Leslie wrote to General Charles Cornwallis:

Above 700 Negroes are come down the River in the Small Pox. I shall distribute them about the Rebell Plantations.

For the final defeat of the besieged army under General Cornwallis at Yorktown, the revolutionary forces had made use of funds collected from people living in the area of the present states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, which were at that time part of Mejjico. This siege at Yorktown in which the British finally were defeated had been planned by Captain Francisco de Saavedra and had involved expenditure not only of £500,000 from Cuba but also of £1,000,000 donated to the Continental Congress by King Carlos of Spain. During the withdrawal of the army, pursuing revolutionaries began to notice numbers of sick or dying blacks along the sides of the road and very correctly began to suspect that germ warfare was being conducted against them:



Within these days past, I have marched by 18 or 20 Negroes that lay dead by the way-side, putrifying with the small pox ... [abandoned by the Brits to] spread smallpox thro' the country.

VARIOLA

The comment that has been made about this by Elizabeth A. Fenn, writing on the topic of biological warfare for the New York Times on April 11, 1998, OP-ED page A25, column 5, is:

Not only did the British perpetrate biological warfare, but they used desperate slaves to commit the deed.

Dr. Thacher, surgeon in Scammell's regiment, in his description of this siege, would write: "The labor on the Virginia plantations is performed altogether by a species of the human race cruelly wrested from their native country, and doomed to perpetual bondage, while their masters are manfully contending for freedom and the natural rights of man. Such is the inconsistency of human nature." After the surrender at Yorktown, some 1,800 slaves would be collected by the revolutionary forces and restored to their American masters. Well was it said by Dr. Barnes, in his late work on Slavery: "No slave was any nearer his freedom after the surrender of Yorktown than when Patrick Henry first taught the notes of liberty to echo among the hills and vales of Virginia." On the basis of this sad history of human abuse of humans, in 1847 Friend John Greenleaf Whittier would write:

YORKTOWN.

FROM Yorktown's ruins, ranked and still,  
Two lines stretch far o'er vale and hill:  
Who curbs his steed at head of one?  
Hark! the low murmur: Washington!  
Who bends his keen, approving glance,  
Where down the gorgeous line of France



CUBA

CUBA

Shine knightly star and plume of snow?  
Thou too art victor, Rochambeau!

The earth which bears this calm array  
Shook with the war-charge yesterday,

Ploughed deep with hurrying hoof and wheel,  
Shot-sown and bladed thick with steel;  
October's clear and noonday sun  
Paled in the breath-smoke of the gun,  
And down night's double blackness fell,  
Like a dropped star, the blazing shell.

Now all is hushed: the gleaming lines  
Stand moveless as the neighboring pines;  
While through them, sullen, grim, and slow,  
The conquered hosts of England go:  
O'Hara's brow belies his dress,  
Gay Tarleton's troop rides bannerless:  
Shout, from thy fired and wasted homes,  
Thy scourge, Virginia, captive comes!

Nor thou alone: with one glad voice  
Let all thy sister States rejoice;  
Let Freedom, in whatever clime  
She waits with sleepless eye her time,  
Shouting from cave and mountain wood  
Make glad her desert solitude,  
While they who hunt her quail with fear;  
The New World's chain lies broken here!

But who are they, who, cowering, wait  
Within the shattered fortress gate?  
Dark tillers of Virginia's soil,  
Classed with the battle's common spoil,  
With household stuffs, and fowl, and swine,  
With Indian weed and planters' wine,  
With stolen beeves, and foraged corn, —  
Are they not men, Virginian born?

Oh, veil your faces, young and brave!  
Sleep, Scammel, in thy soldier grave!  
Sons of the Northland, ye who set  
Stout hearts against the bayonet,  
And pressed with steady footfall near  
The moated battery's blazing tier,  
Turn your scarred faces from the sight,  
Let shame do homage to the right!

Lo! fourscore years have passed; and where  
The Gallic bugles stirred the air,  
And, through breached batteries, side by side,  
To victory stormed the hosts allied,  
And brave foes grounded, pale with pain,  
The arms they might not lift again,  
As abject as in that old day  
The slave still toils his life away.

Oh, fields still green and fresh in story,  
Old days of pride, old names of glory,  
Old marvels of the tongue and pen,  
Old thoughts which stirred the hearts of men,  
Ye spared the wrong: and over all  
Behold the avenging shadow fall!  
Your world-wide honor stained with shame, —  
Your freedom's self a hollow name!

Where's now the flag of that old war?  
Where flows its stripe? Where burns its star?  
Bear witness, Palo Alto's day,  
Dark Vale of Palms, red Monterey,





**CUBA**

Where Mexic Freedom, young and weak,  
Fleshes the Northern eagle's beak;

Symbol of terror and despair,  
Of chains and slaves, go seek it there!

Laugh, Prussia, midst thy iron ranks!  
Laugh, Russia, from thy Neva's banks!  
Brave sport to see the fledgling born  
Of freedom by its parent torn!  
Safe now is Spielberg's dungeon cell,  
Safe drear Siberia's frozen hell:  
With Slavery's flag o'er both unrolled,  
What of the New World fears the Old?

**CUBA**

1782

May 8, Wednesday: A Spanish force from [Havana](#) captured the British garrison of New Providence (Nassau) in the Bahamas.

August/September: There was a supremely deadly hurricane off our Central Atlantic coast. The *Corfaire*, St. Juan Nepomuzeno, Captain Gallardo, sailing from St. Andero toward [Havana](#), foundered while already in sight of its destination port — and all aboard were lost.

[HURRICANES](#)





CUBA

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1783

March 10, Monday: Anonymous US officers issued the Newburgh Addresses, threatening mutiny if they didn't begin receiving back pay.

The USS *Alliance* and USS *Duc de Lauzun*, sailing from [Havana](#), were set upon by HMS *Sybil* and 2 other ships. The Americans drove off the attackers, in the final naval engagement of the war.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1785**

August 24, Wednesday-29, Monday: A hurricane passing over Jamaica, Puerto Rico, [Cuba](#), and St.Croix caused 142 deaths.



CUBA

CUBA

1791

[William Cowper](#) published his improvement on Alexander Pope's version of Homer. When the widow Mary Unwin with whom he had been living long-term fell ill, the poet relapsed into another depression, one from which he would never fully recover.

A pamphlet was published in an attempt to get the people of Great Britain to abstain from West Indian [cane sugar](#) and [rum](#), so as to abolish the [international slave trade](#).<sup>12</sup> It quoted the following, attributed as "Cowper's Negro's Complaint":

Why did all-creating Nature  
Make the plant for which we toil?  
Sighs must fan it, Tears must water,  
Sweat of ours must dress the soil.  
Think ye Masters, iron-hearted,  
Lolling at your jovial Boards,  
Think how many Backs have smarted  
For the Sweets your Cane affords!

12. "Address to the People of Great Britain on the propriety of abstaining from West India Sugar and [Rum](#)," M. Gurney et. al., 8th edition, No. 128 Holborn-Hill, 1791. Except for the decline in [cane sugar](#) production which was caused by the Haitian Revolution of 1791-1803, the island of Haiti being the world's largest colonial producer, world production of sugar has not suffered more than an occasional hiccup in the course of five centuries.

# CUBA

# CUBA

June 21, Tuesday: The royal family, King Louis XVI and Queen [Marie Antoinette](#) with their daughter [Marie Thérèse Charlotte](#) and their son [Louis-Charles](#), attempted to flee secretly from the Tuileries Palace. The attempt would be detected and they would be returned to Paris.

There was a supremely deadly Caribbean hurricane that struck the island of [Cuba](#). Over and above the enormous loss of human life, 11,700 head of cattle drowned in the associated floods

HURRICANES



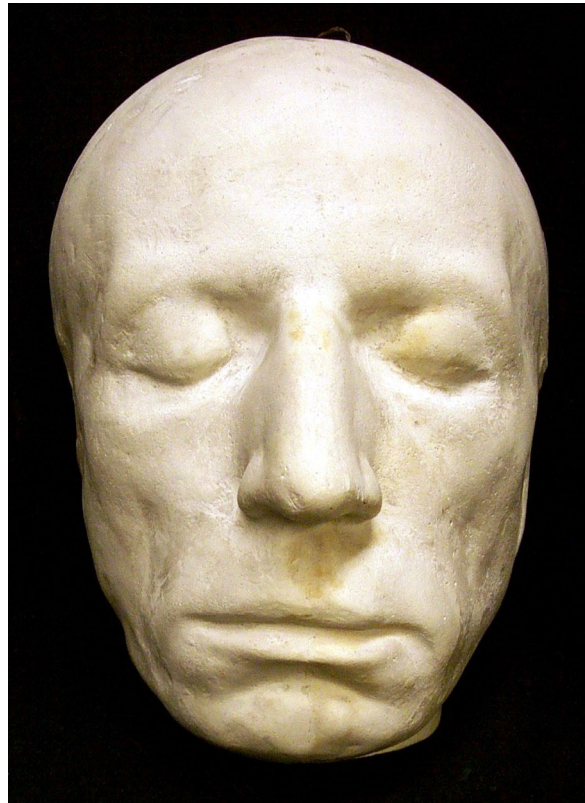


1792



William Wordsworth's youthful 2d tour of the continent:

Thus WORDSWORTH fell into temptation,  
In France during a long vacation  
Saw in the fall of the Bastille  
The Parousia of liberty ...  
A liberal fellow-traveller ran  
With Sans-culotte and Jacobin,  
Nor guessed what circles he was in,  
But ended as the Devil knew  
An earnest Englishman would do,  
Left by Napoleon in the lurch  
Supporting the Established Church.



(not a deathmask, this was, alas, a "lifemask")

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## CUBA

## CUBA

When the young poet returned to England he was imbued with the free spirit of the revolution. A French woman, Annette Vallon, was bearing him a daughter, but they would never marry as the Englishman would be prevented by the Reign of Terror from returning to French soil. Instead he would settle in Dorsetshire with his sister Dorothy and would eventually come to look like this:



The period of the Napoleonic Wars, until 1815, would bring prosperity to [Cuba](#) despite restrictions and obstacles placed by the crown. Demand for sugar, tobacco, and coffee would increase, and more capital would be injected into crop production. More slaves would be introduced, and trade between the US and Cuba would increase.



HDT

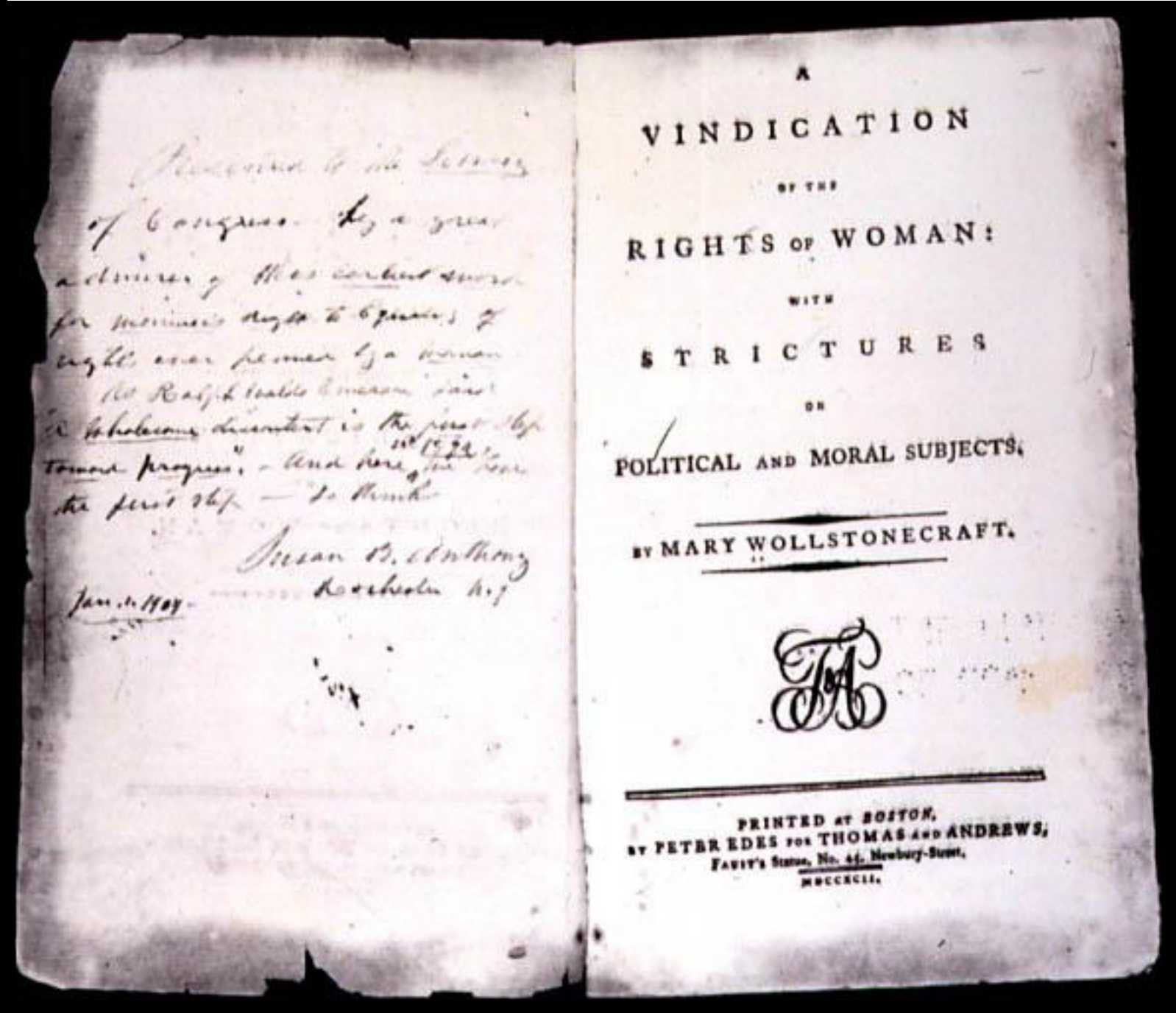
WHAT?

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Mary Wollstonecraft's VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN.



Thomas Taylor's VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF BRUTES (London: Jeffrey) mocked the aspirations of [Mary Wollstonecraft](#) and the French Revolution in musing about the absurdities to which such calls for liberty may lead: women's rights, animal rights, vegetable and even "mineral rights."

YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK  
ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP  
A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION.  
WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH  
OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS  
HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS,  
LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:  
IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**

1795

The United States government entered into a treaty with Spain, opening navigation on the Mississippi River, which treaty would later be misapplied in the case *The U.S. v. The Libelants, etc., of the Schooner Amistad*. Article 9 of this Pinckney treaty dealt with the prompt return of ships and merchandise in times of peace, when saved from pirates or robbers, and Article 6 dealt with the prompt return of ships and merchandise in time of war when property of either nation had by force been brought under the jurisdiction of the other. It would take the Supreme Court decision of March 9, 1841 to correct a preposterous government allegation that the blacks of the *La Amistad*, who had been kidnapped from Africa, were property which the US government was obligated under this treaty with Spain to deliver back to Cuba — to be there burned at the stake as pirates.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

November: In August [John Brown](#) had conspired with Captain Peleg Wood to inject another [sloop](#) vessel into the [international slave trade](#). During this month this turned out to be the *Hope*, an old square-rigger fitted out in [Providence](#). The ship's mission would be to load a cargo of human beings along the Slave Coast and dispose of them for a large profit at the barracoons of [Havana, Cuba](#). This was not to be in secret — in order to test the [Rhode Island](#) legislation that had recently rendered this sort of activity very illegal.



CUBA

CUBA

1796

Late in the year: Captain Peleg Wood brought [John Brown's](#) [Toro Hope](#) back to [Rhode Island](#) after a successful voyage in which he had brought a cargo of newly enslaved human beings from the coast of Africa to the barracoons of [Havana, Cuba](#). A new law had just forbidden Rhode Islanders from any participation in the [international slave trade](#), and Captain Wood's son was overheard to comment that [Newport](#) slavetraders were eagerly awaiting the outcome of this "experiment ... to try the strength of the law."

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Meantime, in spite of the prohibitory State laws, the African slave-trade to the United States continued to flourish. It was notorious that New England traders carried on a large traffic.<sup>13</sup> Members stated on the floor of the House that "it was much to be regretted that the severe and pointed statute against the slave trade had been so little regarded. In defiance of its forbiddance and its penalties, it was well known that citizens and vessels of the United States were still engaged in that traffic.... In various parts of the nation, outfits were made for slave-voyages, without secrecy, shame, or apprehension.... Countenanced by their fellow-citizens at home, who were as ready to buy as they themselves were to collect and to bring to market, they approached our Southern harbors and inlets, and clandestinely disembarked the sooty offspring of the Eastern, upon the ill fated soil of the Western hemisphere. In this way, it had been computed that, during the last twelve months, twenty thousand enslaved negroes had been transported from Guinea, and, by smuggling, added to the plantation stock of Georgia and South Carolina. So little respect seems to have been paid to the existing prohibitory statute, that it may almost be considered as disregarded by common consent."<sup>14</sup>

These voyages were generally made under the flag of a foreign nation, and often the vessel was sold in a foreign port to escape confiscation. South Carolina's own Congressman confessed that although the State had prohibited the trade since 1788, she "was unable to enforce" her laws. "With navigable rivers running into the heart of it," said he, "it was impossible, with our means, to prevent our Eastern brethren, who, in some parts of the Union, in defiance of the authority of the General Government, have been engaged in this trade, from introducing them into the country. The law was completely evaded, and, for the last year or two [1802-3], Africans were introduced into the country in numbers little short, I believe, of what they would have been had the trade been a legal one."<sup>15</sup> The same tale undoubtedly might have been told of Georgia.

13. Cf. Fowler, LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT, etc., page 126.

14. Speech of S.L. Mitchell of New York, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress, 1st Session, page 1000. Cf. also speech of Bedinger: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, pages 997-8.

15. Speech of Lowndes in the House, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress,, 1st Session, page 992. Cf. Stanton's speech later: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress, 2d Session, page 240.



CUBA

CUBA

1797

August 5, Monday: There was a preliminary appearance in federal court in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on this day, in preparation for the trial of [John Brown](#) on charge of being engaged in the [international slave trade](#).

Per Jay Coughtry, Associate Professor of History at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas:

On August 5, 1797, [John Brown](#), the premier merchant and first citizen of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), reluctantly entered federal district court in his hometown and became the first American to be tried under the U.S. Slave Trade Act of 1794. After months of out-of-court wrangling with the plaintiffs, officers of a state abolition society, it appeared that Brown would now stand trial for fitting out his ship *Hope* for the African [slave trade](#). The voyage had concluded profitably in [Havana, Cuba](#), with the sale of 229 [slaves](#) a year earlier.<sup>16</sup>

Brown's accusers included his younger brother, [Moses](#), a tireless opponent of both slavery and the slave trade since his conversion, on the eve of the American Revolution, from the family's [Baptist](#) faith to the [Society of Friends](#). A founding member and officer of the Abolition Society, chartered in 1789, [Moses Brown](#) had been fighting Rhode Island slave traders, including brother John, for a decade, since the passage of the largely ineffective state statute of 1787 that prohibited the trade to state residents.<sup>17</sup>

In this instance, the society's traditional tactic -cajoling a pledge from the accused to forswear slaving in the future in exchange for dropping the suit- had failed. Even so, as Moses had pointedly reminded John before trial, the charges thus far were limited, involving only the comparatively mild first section of the three-year-old federal statute. A conviction would therefore require nothing more than forfeiture of the vessel, an aging one at that. What John should most fear, Moses advised, were "larger prosecutions" should he further provoke the Abolition Society by refusing to settle out of court.<sup>18</sup>

Ultimately, the elder Brown ignored his brother's mediation efforts and offered only an eleventh hour plea for a continuance to haggle over milder pledge terms. Its patience exhausted, the Abolition Society flatly rejected that ploy whereupon the case proceeded swiftly to trial. As predicted, the district court judge had little choice but to assent to the arguments and evidence in the prosecution's narrowly defined case. Consequently, [John Brown](#) lost his vessel at a local auction in late August, thereby closing the forfeiture case. When the Abolition Society again sought Brown's promise to abandon his African commerce, he refused, quickly prompting the "larger prosecutions" Moses had warned him about.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, Moses had become suspicious of John's continuing

16. Jay Coughtry, *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE* (Philadelphia, 1981), pages 214-215.

17. *NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE*, chapter 6. See also Mack Thompson, [MOSES BROWN: RELUCTANT REFORMER](#) (Chapel Hill, 1962), pages 175-190.

18. [Moses Brown](#) to [John Brown](#), March 15, 1797, [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, no. 29, Rhode Island Historical Society; [Moses Brown](#) to [John Brown](#), *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 32.

19. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), July 29, 31, 1797, [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, nos. 43 and 44, Rhode Island Historical Society. See also *NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE* at 215.



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recalcitrance. It seemed premeditated in his younger brother's view, perhaps a deliberate strategy devised by John's "friends at [Newport](#)" (i.e., slave traders) to guarantee further suits over the illegal sale of the slaves. Such litigation, while potentially more costly, would also require a jury trial, and the slave traders assumed that local juries would not convict one of their own. They were right. Within six months [John Brown](#) announced his court victory over the "Wicked and Abominable Combination I mean the Abolition Society."<sup>20</sup>

This insiders' view of the foregoing case of the ship *Hope* is documented, along with numerous other key prosecutions, in the correspondence of John and especially Moses Brown, now available in this microfilm series, PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE: SELECTIONS FROM THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Moreover, Moses Brown's letters reveal not only the Abolition Society's formal legal stratagems but also its traditional policy of intense but informal negotiating with slave traders who often yielded to the group's demands without a court fight. Cyprian Sterry, for example, the principal slave trader in Providence during the 1790s with fifteen voyages to the African coast in 1794 alone, fully succumbed to the society's persistent pressure. He escaped prosecution (along with his captain, Samuel Packard) for an African voyage involving the ship *Ann* by signing a written pledge to leave the [slave trade](#) forever.<sup>21</sup>

Despite occasional successes in and out of court, in general the campaign against the slave traders in the wake of federal prohibition was proceeding haltingly at best. Moses Brown continued to monitor the efforts of customs officials in the Rhode Island district for the Abolition Society, which increasingly relinquished its early prosecutorial role to the U.S. Attorney's office. Congress bolstered the federal district attorney's legal arsenal with amendments to the 1794 statute in 1800 and again in 1803. Meanwhile, an aggressive secretary of the treasury appointed a special prosecutor for the district in 1801. The new laws closed the most obvious loopholes in the original act while the appointment of a resident special prosecutor provided a full-time federal agent who could focus exclusively on the escalating volume of vessels clearing state ports for Africa.<sup>22</sup>

Documentation for these events not only reveals the growing docket of slaver cases but also regularly exposes the personal and political dimensions of enforcement and evasion. By century's end, for example, it had become clear that slavers had rendered nearly null the local auctions designed to separate owners from their slaving vessels. African merchants and their influential supporters simply intimidated all potential bidders and then repurchased their ships for a fraction of their assessed value. To end such bogus sales-at-auction, the government in 1799 sent Samuel Bosworth, surveyor of the port of [Bristol](#), to bid for the D'Wolf family's recently condemned schooner *Lucy*. Twice within twenty-four hours of the scheduled sale, [John Brown](#) and two D'Wolf brothers, the country's largest slave traders, visited Bosworth at home to dissuade him from his duty. Despite a threatened dunking in [Bristol](#) harbor, Bosworth

20. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), July 31, 1797, [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, no. 44, Rhode Island Historical Society and Moses Brown to [John Brown](#), November 17, 1797, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 49; [John Brown](#) to James Brown, June 21, 1798, [John Brown Papers](#), box D, Rhode Island Historical Society

21. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, no. 43. See also NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 213-214.

22. NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 216-222.





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“with considerable fear and trembling” arrived at the wharf on auction morning where he was met by a party of local “Indians” in unconvincing native garb and with faces blackened. No [Bristol](#) version of the patriotic tea party ensued, fortunately. Instead, Bosworth’s captors hustled him aboard a waiting sailboat and deposited him two miles down the bay at the foot of Mount Hope. The government never employed that strategy again.<sup>23</sup> Such an outrage was not the limit of “the trade’s supporters” arrogance, however. Soon, Special Prosecutor John Leonard would personally feel the wrath of Rhode Island’s African merchants. Even his limited success in libeling several of their vessels under the anemic section one was enough to prompt an attack on his person. They apparently feared that Leonard’s February 1801 victory in prosecuting a D’Wolf captain caught redhanded by a U.S. Navy cruiser would set a costly precedent. Consequently, several overzealous supporters of the [slave trade](#) assaulted Leonard on the steps of the federal courthouse in Washington.<sup>24</sup> Even [John Brown](#) thought this response somewhat extreme, especially as he was then involved in concocting a federal legislative solution to his slaving constituents’ problem. During the hectic months between Thomas Jefferson’s election and inauguration as president, Brown successfully spearheaded a move in Congress to create a separate customs district for the port of [Bristol](#). Following passage of the requisite legislation late in February 1801 and the eventual appointment of customs officers amenable to the slave traders’ needs, the effort to stop the [slave trade](#) in the courts permanently stalled. The end of Rhode Island participation in illegal African commerce would begin only years later with the implementation of the Anti-Slave Trade Act of 1807 on January 1, 1808. This now constitutional statute outlawed all foreign slave trading by American citizens in any capacity. By the time violations of this new law carried the death penalty in 1819, Rhode Islanders, along with other New Englanders, had found new markets for their commerce and textile factories for their surplus capital. The brief revival of the slave trade in clipper ships of the antebellum era from ports such as Baltimore would proceed without them.<sup>25</sup>

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23. Samuel Bosworth to Oliver Wolcott, August 1799, Shepley Papers, vol. 9, no. 8, Rhode Island Historical Society; Jonathan Russell to Albert Gallatin, March 18, 1804, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 7. George Howe tells the tale of the *Lucy* in his MOUNT HOPE: A NEW ENGLAND CHRONICLE (New York, 1959), 107-108.

24. [John Brown](#) to Benjamin Bourn, February 1801, Peck MSS, vol. 11, no. 66, Rhode Island Historical Society.

25. [John Brown](#) to James D’Wolf and Shearjashub Bourn (n.d. but 1800), [JOHN BROWN PAPERS](#), Rhode Island Historical Society; [John Brown](#) to Shearjashub Bourn, February 1801, Peck MSS, box 11, no. 66, Rhode Island Historical Society. The full story of the separate district issue and the eventual end of slave trading from [Rhode Island](#) is detailed in NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 225-229 and 233-237.



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In this instance, the society's traditional tactic -cajoling a pledge from the accused to forswear slaving in the future in exchange for dropping the suit- had failed. Even so, as Moses had pointedly reminded John before trial, the charges thus far were limited, involving only the comparatively mild first section of the three-year-old federal statute. A conviction would therefore require nothing more than forfeiture of the vessel, an aging one at that. What John should most fear, Moses advised, were "larger prosecutions" should he further provoke the Abolition Society by refusing to settle out of court.<sup>28</sup>

Ultimately, the elder Brown ignored his brother's mediation efforts and offered only an eleventh hour plea for a continuance to haggle over milder pledge terms. Its patience exhausted, the Abolition Society flatly rejected that ploy whereupon the case proceeded swiftly to trial. As predicted, the district court judge had little choice but to assent to the arguments and evidence in the prosecution's narrowly defined case. Consequently, [John Brown](#) lost his vessel at a local auction in late August, thereby closing the forfeiture case. When the Abolition Society again sought Brown's promise to abandon his African commerce, he refused, quickly prompting the "larger prosecutions" Moses had warned him about.<sup>29</sup>

Meanwhile, Moses had become suspicious of John's continuing recalcitrance. It seemed premeditated in his younger brother's view, perhaps a deliberate strategy devised by John's "friends at [Newport](#)" (i.e., slave traders) to guarantee further suits over the illegal sale of the slaves. Such litigation, while potentially more costly, would also require a jury trial, and the slave traders assumed that local juries would not convict one of their own. They were right. Within six months [John Brown](#) announced his court victory over the "Wicked and Abominable Combination I mean the Abolition Society."<sup>30</sup>

This insiders' view of the foregoing case of the ship *Hope* is documented, along with numerous other key prosecutions, in the correspondence of John and especially Moses Brown, now available in this microfilm series, PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE:

26. Jay Coughtry, *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE* (Philadelphia, 1981), pages 214-215.

27. *NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE*, chapter 6. See also Mack Thompson, *MOSES BROWN: RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill, 1962), pages 175-190.

28. [Moses Brown](#) to [John Brown](#), March 15, 1797, *MOSES BROWN PAPERS*, vol. 9, no. 29, Rhode Island Historical Society; [Moses Brown](#) to [John Brown](#), *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 32.

29. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), July 29, 31, 1797, *MOSES BROWN PAPERS*, vol. 9, nos. 43 and 44, Rhode Island Historical Society. See also *NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE* at 215.

30. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), July 31, 1797, *MOSES BROWN PAPERS*, vol. 9, no. 44, Rhode Island Historical Society and Moses Brown to [John Brown](#), November 17, 1797, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 49; [John Brown](#) to James Brown, June 21, 1798, *John Brown Papers*, box D, Rhode Island Historical Society



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SELECTIONS FROM THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Moreover, Moses Brown's letters reveal not only the Abolition Society's formal legal stratagems but also its traditional policy of intense but informal negotiating with slave traders who often yielded to the group's demands without a court fight. Cyprian Sterry, for example, the principal slave trader in Providence during the 1790s with fifteen voyages to the African coast in 1794 alone, fully succumbed to the society's persistent pressure. He escaped prosecution (along with his captain, Samuel Packard) for an African voyage involving the ship *Ann* by signing a written pledge to leave the [slave trade](#) forever.<sup>31</sup>

Despite occasional successes in and out of court, in general the campaign against the slave traders in the wake of federal prohibition was proceeding haltingly at best. Moses Brown continued to monitor the efforts of customs officials in the Rhode Island district for the Abolition Society, which increasingly relinquished its early prosecutorial role to the U.S. Attorney's office. Congress bolstered the federal district attorney's legal arsenal with amendments to the 1794 statute in 1800 and again in 1803. Meanwhile, an aggressive secretary of the treasury appointed a special prosecutor for the district in 1801. The new laws closed the most obvious loopholes in the original act while the appointment of a resident special prosecutor provided a full-time federal agent who could focus exclusively on the escalating volume of vessels clearing state ports for Africa.<sup>32</sup>

Documentation for these events not only reveals the growing docket of slaver cases but also regularly exposes the personal and political dimensions of enforcement and evasion. By century's end, for example, it had become clear that slavers had rendered nearly null the local auctions designed to separate owners from their slaving vessels. African merchants and their influential supporters simply intimidated all potential bidders and then repurchased their ships for a fraction of their assessed value. To end such bogus sales-at-auction, the government in 1799 sent Samuel Bosworth, surveyor of the port of [Bristol](#), to bid for the D'Wolf family's recently condemned schooner *Lucy*. Twice within twenty-four hours of the scheduled sale, [John Brown](#) and two D'Wolf brothers, the country's largest slave traders, visited Bosworth at home to dissuade him from his duty. Despite a threatened dunking in [Bristol](#) harbor, Bosworth "with considerable fear and trembling" arrived at the wharf on auction morning where he was met by a party of local "Indians" in unconvincing native garb and with faces blackened. No [Bristol](#) version of the patriotic tea party ensued, fortunately. Instead, Bosworth's captors hustled him aboard a waiting sailboat and deposited him two miles down the bay at the foot of Mount Hope. The government never employed that strategy again.<sup>33</sup>

Such an outrage was not the limit of "the trade's supporters" arrogance, however. Soon, Special Prosecutor John Leonard would personally feel the wrath of Rhode Island's African merchants. Even his limited success in libeling several of their vessels under the anemic section one was enough to prompt an attack on his person. They apparently feared that Leonard's February 1801

31. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, no. 43. See also NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 213-214.

32. NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 216-222.

33. Samuel Bosworth to Oliver Wolcott, August 1799, Shepley Papers, vol. 9, no. 8, Rhode Island Historical Society; Jonathan Russell to Albert Gallatin, March 18, 1804, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 7. George Howe tells the tale of the *Lucy* in his MOUNT HOPE: A NEW ENGLAND CHRONICLE (New York, 1959), 107-108.



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victory in prosecuting a D'Wolf captain caught redhanded by a U.S. Navy cruiser would set a costly precedent. Consequently, several overzealous supporters of the [slave trade](#) assaulted Leonard on the steps of the federal courthouse in Washington.<sup>34</sup> Even [John Brown](#) thought this response somewhat extreme, especially as he was then involved in concocting a federal legislative solution to his slaving constituents' problem. During the hectic months between Thomas Jefferson's election and inauguration as president, Brown successfully spearheaded a move in Congress to create a separate customs district for the port of [Bristol](#). Following passage of the requisite legislation late in February 1801 and the eventual appointment of customs officers amenable to the slave traders' needs, the effort to stop the [slave trade](#) in the courts permanently stalled. The end of Rhode Island participation in illegal African commerce would begin only years later with the implementation of the Anti-Slave Trade Act of 1807 on January 1, 1808. This now constitutional statute outlawed all foreign slave trading by American citizens in any capacity. By the time violations of this new law carried the death penalty in 1819, Rhode Islanders, along with other New Englanders, had found new markets for their commerce and textile factories for their surplus capital. The brief revival of the slave trade in clipper ships of the antebellum era from ports such as Baltimore would proceed without them.<sup>35</sup>

34. [John Brown](#) to Benjamin Bourn, February 1801, Peck MSS, vol. 11, no. 66, Rhode Island Historical Society.

35. [John Brown](#) to James D'Wolf and Shearjashub Bourn (n.d. but 1800), [JOHN BROWN PAPERS](#), Rhode Island Historical Society; [John Brown](#) to Shearjashub Bourn, February 1801, Peck MSS, box 11, no. 66, Rhode Island Historical Society. The full story of the separate district issue and the eventual end of slave trading from [Rhode Island](#) is detailed in NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 225-229 and 233-237.



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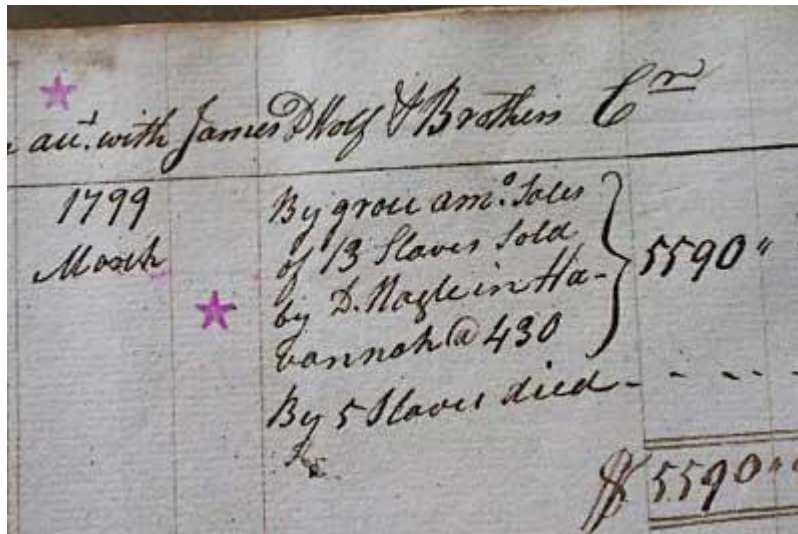
CUBA

1798

November 16, Friday: HMS *Carnatic* waylaid USS *Baltimore* in [Havana](#) harbor and impressed 5 of its sailors, the captain asserting them to be British subjects.

1799

March: James DeWolf of Rhode Island made a record of a financial transaction involving 13 live slaves (and 5 who had died) in Havana, Cuba:



1800

➡ The English took Curacao.


[Alexander von Humboldt](#), traveling in [Cuba](#) and the West Indies, noted that whites there represented but 17% of the human population. He would warn that the “great mass of the planters of the West Indies” were harboring an illusion of invincibility, whereas inevitably “the political preponderance will pass into the hands of those who have strength to labour, will to be free, and courage to endure long privations.” His warnings, as thus belatedly published, had been heeded by the British but not by the French.



Bear in mind that C.L.R. James, in *THE BLACK JACOBINS: TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND THE SAN DOMINGO REVOLUTION* (New York: Vintage, 1963, 2d Edition revised) has said, of this “Pearl of the Antilles” colony at the end of the 18th Century, that “On no portion of the globe did its surface in proportion to its dimensions yield so much wealth as the colony of St. Domingo.” Haiti simply was not, in this period, the sorry, sordid place we now see. Or, at least, it was not so for a very privileged group of white and mulatto persons. For them, it was a mansion in which they indulged themselves in extravagant wealth and privilege.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**CUBA****CUBA****1802**

 April: In *Saint-Domingue*, for purposes of mass executions of blacks, the invading French converted the hold of one of their vessels into a crude but effective gas chamber. The vessel was known as *The Stifler*. Hunting dogs were brought from [Cuba](#) that had been trained to hunt down, kill, and devour human prey. General Henri Christophe defected to the French forces.



1804

➡ March: [Alexander von Humboldt](#) sailed from Vera Cruz on the Mexican coast to [Havana, Cuba](#), and on to Philadelphia during the month of May. To do this was to brave the British naval blockade of the coast of the US, of course, but in the event Humboldt had more trouble with the weather: he came close to losing everything, in a shipwreck off the coast of Georgia.



➡ Spring: From March through May, Alexander von Humboldt was sailing from Vera Cruz on the Mexican coast to Havana, [Cuba](#), and on to Philadelphia. To do this was to brave the British naval blockade of the coast of the US, of course, but in the event Humboldt had more trouble with the weather: he came close to losing everything, in a shipwreck off the coast of Georgia.



1809

July 29, Saturday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and Hobhouse arrived in Cadiz.

American slaver captains like La Coste of South Carolina, caught red-handed and convicted, were usually at the last moment the beneficiaries of “executive clemency” by the President of the United States. For instance, on this day our new President, [James Madison](#), himself the proud owner of other human beings, pardoned the skippers of 15 vessels arriving at New Orleans from [Cuba](#) with 666 white persons and 683 negroes (in fact, as we can see by inspecting PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179, this President would remit each and every such penalty incurred, during his entire term in the office, under the Act of 1807). He must have been a truly compassionate man, for he never met a slaver he couldn’t sympathize with.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

It appears that our President, although he could sympathize with the sinner, could not sympathize with the sin, for during this year he would appear before the federal Congress to challenge the Representatives and Senators thusly: “[I]t appears that American citizens are instrumental in carrying on a traffic in enslaved Africans, equally in violation of the laws of humanity, and in defiance of those of their own country. The same just and benevolent motives which produced the interdiction in force against this criminal conduct, will doubtless be felt by Congress, in devising further means of suppressing the evil.”<sup>36</sup>

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

*7th day 29 of 7 Mo // The Gun has announced the Setting Sun.  
Another day has gone, gone no more to be recall’d, & all who  
draw the breath of life are now a day nearer the silent grave -  
Awful consideration indeed, may I proffit by it, may I take  
warning from what I now feel.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

36. HOUSE JOURNAL (reprinted 1826), 11th Congress, 3d session, VII. page 435.



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1810



[Snuff-taking](#) was common among the classes of women who could afford it.


Less well-to-do women such as the mother of [Horace Greeley](#), in New Hampshire, smoked the [pipe](#). In this year a [Cuban cigar](#)-roller was brought to Suffield, Connecticut to train local workers.




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1811

 The British Parliament made engaging in the [international slave trade](#) a felony punishable by transportation (exile to a penal colony) for all subjects, or foreigners caught trading in British possessions. Sugar prices would fall sharply through this year. Britain would assume most of the responsibility for interdicting the transatlantic slave trade, partly in order to protect its sugar colonies. The British navy's attempts at interdiction of the international traffic in such a valuable commodity as human slaves would, unfortunately, prove to be as utterly ineffective as has been our national "War on Drugs." Spain's revolutionary Cortes debated abolition and received [Cuban](#) objections. Java was captured by the British and the slave trade to that island was ended.

[SLAVERY](#)

 June 11, Tuesday evening: Don Jose Joaquin de Ferrer last determined, from [Havana](#), the C/1811 F1 [comet](#)'s position, and would last see the comet in conjunction with the sun on June 15, by which time its elongation would have decreased to 41 degrees.

[SKY EVENT](#)

Grand Duke Karl Friedrich of Baden died and was succeeded by his grandson, Karl Ludwig Friedrich.

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

*3rd day 11 of 6 Mo// Again nothing material to insert except that I have been much engaged in various ways. -*

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[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

1812



April 9, Thursday: At 9:30AM José Antonio Aponte and other leaders of an uprising of blacks in [Cuba](#) were [hanged](#). His head in an iron cage would be placed on display in front of the home in which he had lived (heads of these other leaders would also be variously posed).


THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

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

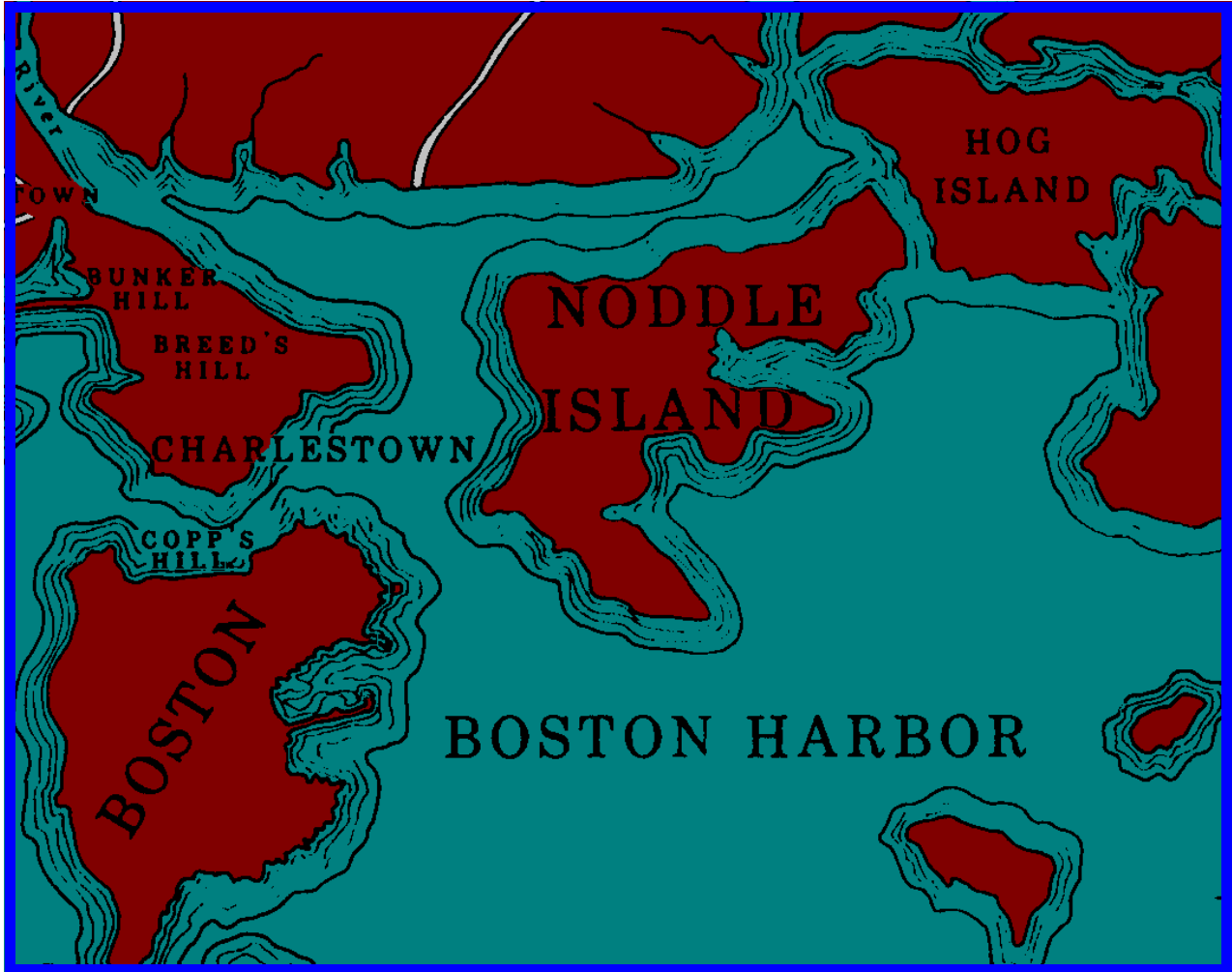
*5th day 8 [sic] of 4 M // Our meeting was silent & I thought my mind was favor'd to partake of quiet, altho' some weakening things obtruded - this Afternoon, brought into serious thoughtfulness & feelings on various subjects especially the necessity of a preparation for the final chance - & the uncertainty of time. -*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 11, Saturday: United States forces invaded Canada near Detroit.

The boys of the Boston Latin School, including [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#), worked on the fortifications of Fort Strong<sup>37</sup> on Noddle Island:



The great [comet Flaugergues \(C/1811 F1\)](#) had been invisible even to telescopes due to its position in regard to the sun (astronomers refer to this difficult portion of the sky as the ecliptic), but on this date it was rediscovered by a [telescope](#) in [Cuba](#). Its tail was 10 arc-minutes in length.

SKY EVENT

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

*7th day 7 M 11 / Spent lesure time in reading Robert Sutcliff,  
I think it an highly valuable publication*

37. This is not the Fort Strong which would be active during our civil strife, as that one would be on the Long Island of Boston Harbor.





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1814



From this year into 1825, in the Caribbean, there would be repeated engagements between [pirates](#) and American ships or squadrons especially ashore and offshore about [Cuba](#), Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Yucatan. Some 3,000 pirate attacks on merchantmen would be reported between 1815 and 1823. In this pirate suppression activity, by 1822, Commodore James Biddle would be employing in the West Indies a squadron of 2 frigates, 4 sloops of war, 2 brigs, 4 schooners, and 2 gunboats.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

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

1816

➡ Crop failure was widespread in Europe, resulting in food riots in England, France, and Belgium.

At [St. Helena](#), the captain of a visiting British warship had a conversation with [Napoléon](#) about the Liu Chiu Islands, an Asian kingdom without weapons. “Then how do they fight?” asked the Corsican. “They don’t fight,” came the reply. “You see, they have no money.” The essential correctness of this witticism was occasioned less from an intimate understanding of the Ryukyuan Kingdom (where on one occasion foreign sailors were clubbed in an attempt to defend their women), than a misunderstanding of a Neo-Confucianist ethical system that expected gentlemen, should they carry weapons at all, to keep them well concealed.

The Dutch controlled Curacao.

In [Cuba](#), the Spanish [tobacco](#) monopoly established in 1717 was abolished.

The “[Sugar](#) Rebellion” on the Caribbean island of Barbados, after which 123 slaves would be exiled to Sierra Leone.

➡ February 13, Tuesday: The Teatro San Carlo of Naples was destroyed by fire (the cost of rebuilding would be paid entirely by the wealthy Domenico Barbaja).

As an experiment [Frederic Tudor](#) began construction, in [Havana](#), of the 1st above-ground-level structure for the storage of large quantities of nice, clean [ice](#) to be placed on the tongues of white slavemasters in exchange for coins they had in their pockets on account of the blood, sweat, and tears of their forced labor (not to put too fine a point on it). He would spend \$2,400 in the construction of this building.

➡ March 15, Friday: [Frederic Tudor](#)’s [Havana, Cuba](#) ice-house was fully charged and its doors were sealed. He began to carefully monitor the hogsheads of water that ran off from this enclosed stack of [ice](#), to determine the “product decay” per hour. Eventually, by experimenting with various insulation materials, such as blankets and boards and dry and wet sawdust, he would get his losses down to about 18 pounds of saleable product per hour.



“We cannot know how long it took the Walden block to melt, but a millennium or two is quite realistic based on modern analogs and heat flux calculations.”







CUBA

CUBA

1817

 The [Cuban tobacco](#) monopoly, known as the “Factoria,” was abolished. A new census documented the growth of the population of Cuba: 552,000 inhabitants of whom 239,000 were white, and 331,000 not.

[RACE SLAVERY](#)

 December 27, Saturday: Broadwood and Sons of London sent a new 6-octave piano to [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) in Vienna.

Gioachino Rossini’s dramma *Adelaide di Borgogna* to words of Schmidt was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Argentina, Rome (to almost unanimous disdain).

[Samuel J. Jones](#) died in Havana, [Cuba](#) at the age of 18 (the body would be brought to the South Burying Place of [Concord](#), Massachusetts).



CUBA

CUBA

1818

 [Cuba](#) was granted the privilege to vend its [tobacco](#) worldwide.

An invention important to the development of the cloth industry occurred during this year. William Eaton developed a self-acting frame. Because this development would have an impact on the demand for bales of [cotton](#) as a raw material for cloth, it would have an impact on the demand for field labor to grow this cotton, and therefore would have consequences in terms of human [slavery](#) — and in terms of the [international slave trade](#).

At one point during the year, [cotton](#) was reaching 31<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> cents per pound on the world market. With cotton being that highly valued, the value of the labor of slaves, and the value of farmland, was also high. With one's slaves and one's farmland being of high value, one would take care to take care of them, and to work them as hard as they could possibly be worked. The important thing was, to create cotton and get it to market, and sell it for enough money to have collateral to purchase more slaves and more land, on margin, at high prices. But in Liverpool, the cotton importers for the mills of England were becoming alarmed. A manufacturer who had only one source of raw materials was at the mercy of that source. The importers began to diversify by switching some of their orders from America to East [India](#). Toward the end of the year, the price of American cotton on the Liverpool dock was wavering. In December the news of this would reach America, and in one day the price of the cotton in transit would decline by 19%. By the end of the year cotton would be selling in New Orleans for 14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>10</sub> cents a pound. With cotton that low, the value of the labor of slaves, and the value of farmland, would be similarly lowered. With one's slaves and one's farmland being of low value, and with high interest to pay on large short-term loans taken out in order to purchase them, one would take care to work them as hard as they could possibly be worked, and it would not make a whole lot of difference if the slaves were worked right into the ground, or if the ground itself were worked down to sterile barrenness. The important thing was, to create cotton and get it to market and get whatever one could get for it, in order to meet the payments and not lose the plantation and thus lose the prestigious status of being white planters.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The history of slavery and the slave-trade after 1820 must be read in the light of the industrial revolution through which the civilized world passed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between the years 1775 and 1825 occurred economic events and changes of the highest importance and widest influence. Though all branches of industry felt the impulse of this new industrial life, yet, "if we consider single industries, cotton manufacture has, during the nineteenth century, made the most magnificent and gigantic advances."<sup>38</sup> This fact is easily explained by the remarkable series of inventions that revolutionized this industry between 1738 and 1830, including Arkwright's, Watt's, Compton's, and Cartwright's epoch-making contrivances.<sup>39</sup> The effect which these inventions had on the manufacture of cotton goods is best illustrated by the fact that in England, the chief cotton market of the world, the consumption of raw cotton rose steadily from 13,000 bales in 1781, to 572,000 in 1820, to 871,000 in 1830, and to 3,366,000 in 1860.<sup>40</sup> Very early, therefore, came the query whence the supply of raw cotton was to come. Tentative experiments on the rich, broad fields of the Southern United States, together with the indispensable invention of Whitney's cotton-gin, soon answered this question: a new economic future was opened up to this land, and immediately the whole South began to extend its cotton culture, and more and more to throw its

38. Beer, *GESCHICHTE DES WELTHANDELS IM 19<sup>TE</sup> JAHRHUNDERT*, II. 67.



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CUBA

whole energy into this one staple.

Here it was that the fatal mistake of compromising with slavery in the beginning, and of the policy of *laissez-faire* pursued thereafter, became painfully manifest; for, instead now of a healthy, normal, economic development along proper industrial lines, we have the abnormal and fatal rise of a slave-labor large farming system, which, before it was realized, had so intertwined itself with and braced itself upon the economic forces of an industrial age, that a vast and terrible civil war was necessary to displace it. The tendencies to a patriarchal serfdom, recognizable in the age of Washington and Jefferson, began slowly but surely to disappear; and in the second quarter of the century Southern slavery was irresistibly changing from a family institution to an industrial system.

The development of Southern slavery has heretofore been viewed so exclusively from the ethical and social standpoint that we are apt to forget its close and indissoluble connection with the world's cotton market. Beginning with 1820, a little after the close of the Napoleonic wars, when the industry of cotton manufacture had begun its modern development and the South had definitely assumed her position as chief producer of raw cotton, we find the average price of cotton per pound, 8½d. From this time until 1845 the price steadily fell, until in the latter year it reached 4d.; the only exception to this fall was in the years 1832-1839, when, among other things, a strong increase in the English demand, together with an attempt of the young slave power to "corner" the market, sent the price up as high as 11d. The demand for cotton goods soon outran a crop which McCullough had pronounced "prodigious," and after 1845 the price started on a steady rise, which, except for the checks suffered during the continental revolutions and the Crimean War, continued until 1860.<sup>41</sup> The steady increase in the production of cotton explains the fall in price down to 1845. In 1822 the crop was a half-million bales; in 1831, a million; in 1838, a million and a half; and in 1840-1843, two million. By this time the world's consumption of cotton goods began to increase so rapidly that, in spite of the increase in Southern crops, the price kept rising. Three million bales were gathered in 1852, three and a half million in 1856, and the remarkable crop of five million bales in 1860.<sup>42</sup>

Here we have data to explain largely the economic development of the South. By 1822 the large-plantation slave system had gained footing; in 1838-1839 it was able to show its power in

39. A list of these inventions most graphically illustrates this advance: —

1738, John Jay, fly-shuttle. John Wyatt, spinning by rollers.

1748, Lewis Paul, carding-machine.

1760, Robert Kay, drop-box.

1769, Richard Arkwright, water-frame and throstle. James Watt, steam-engine.

1772, James Lees, improvements on carding-machine.

1775, Richard Arkwright, series of combinations.

1779, Samuel Compton, mule.

1785, Edmund Cartwright, power-loom.

1803-4, Radcliffe and Johnson, dressing-machine.

1817, Roberts, fly-frame.

1818, William Eaton, self-acting frame.

1825-30, Roberts, improvements on mule.


Cf. Baines, HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE, pages 116-231; *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA*, 9th ed., article "Cotton."

40. Baines, HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE, page 215. A bale weighed from 375 lbs. to 400 lbs.

41. The prices cited are from Newmarch and Tooke, and refer to the London market. The average price in 1855-60 was about 7d.

42. From United States census reports.



the cotton "corner;" by the end of the next decade it had not only gained a solid economic foundation, but it had built a closed oligarchy with a political policy. The changes in price during the next few years drove out of competition many survivors of the small-farming free-labor system, and put the slave régime in position to dictate the policy of the nation. The zenith of the system and the first inevitable signs of decay came in the years 1850-1860, when the rising price of cotton threw the whole economic energy of the South into its cultivation, leading to a terrible consumption of soil and slaves, to a great increase in the size of plantations, and to increasing power and effrontery on the part of the slave barons. Finally, when a rising moral crusade conjoined with threatened economic disaster, the oligarchy, encouraged by the state of the cotton market, risked all on a political *coup-d'état*, which failed in the war of 1861-1865.<sup>43</sup>

 June: The [negrero](#) *Constitution* was captured on the Florida coast, by a United States army officer, and found to have aboard it a cargo of 84 [slaves](#).



The [negreros](#) *Louisa* and *Merino* were captured while smuggling from [Cuba](#) to the United States (after five years of litigation, these vessels would be condemned) (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 15th Congress, 2d session VI, No. 107; 19th Congress, 1st session VI-IX. Nos. 121, 126, 152, 163; HOUSE REPORTS, 19th Congress, 1st session II, No. 231; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL AFFAIRS, II, No. 308; Decisions of the United States Supreme Court in *9 Wheaton*, 391).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 Winter: Because the winter was exceptionally mild and ice was not forming in adequate supply on the lakes and ponds of New England, [Frederic Tudor](#) sent men with picks to Labrador to get ice from icebergs. Evidently, the cooling dust from the explosion of Mount Tambora in 1815  had gotten out of this planet's atmosphere by this date. Normally, Tudor was able to use the ice from Fresh Pond near Cambridge, Massachusetts, owned by [Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth](#), where Jarvis had been developing ice cutting machines with iron runners and saw teeth which cut the ice into such neat blocks that they could be stored and shipped tight up against each other, thus reducing melting. At the suggestion of Wyeth, the ships used to transport ice, and the Tudor ice warehouses in [Havana](#), [Charleston](#), and the West Indies, would begin to use cheap sawdust, an industrial waste product from Maine, in the 1820s to gradually reduce losses due to melting below the figure of 8%.

43. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, THE COTTON KINGDOM.

1819

➡ April 18, Sunday: Carlos Manuel de Céspedes was born in Bayamo, Cuba.



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

*1st day 18th of 4 M / Our morning meeting appeared to be a season of favor. Anne Greene H Dennis & D Buffum in succession were very lively in testimony. The Afternoon Meeting was su[?] of which & hardly of the morning I was hardly in a state to judge, being very unwell & suffering very considerable constant pain of body thro' the day - A Greene & Sarah Fowler took tea with us. - In the evening I called on several friends, but soon returned Home & passed the evening quietly & pleasantly with my H & Sister Mary, who has been with us several*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS





CUBA

CUBA

1820



At the suggestion of [Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth](#), the ships used to transport ice, and [Frederic Tudor](#)'s ice warehouses in Havana, [Cuba](#), [Charleston, South Carolina](#), and the West Indies, would begin to use cheap sawdust, an industrial waste product from [Maine](#), during the 1820s to gradually reduce losses due to melting below the figure of 8%.

1821

The American Colonization Society sent Dr. Eli Ayres, a white man, to purchase some coastal land north of Sierra Leone. With the aid of US naval Lieutenant Robert F. Stockton, another white man, Dr. Ayres cruised the coastal waters west of Grand Bassa seeking out lands appropriate for the colony. Lt. Stockton took charge of the negotiations with leaders of the Dey and Bassa peoples who lived in the area of Cape Mesurado. The local leaders were persuaded –some said at the point of a gun– to part with a “36 mile long and 3 mile wide” strip of coastal land for approximately \$300 worth of trade goods, supplies, weapons, and rum.

Between this year and 1831 more than 300 [slaving](#) expeditions would be bringing an estimated 60,000 more black captives to [Cuba](#)



TRIANGULAR TRADE

The [cross](#) *La Jeune Eugène, La Daphnée, La Mathilde, and L'Elize* were during this year captured by the USS [gator](#). *La Jeune Eugène* was sent to the port of [Boston](#), but the other slavers escaped, only to be recaptured under the French flag (there would be controversy over credit, between the US and France) (HOUSE REPORTS, 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 187; FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1824, pages 35-41).



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The [negrero](#) *La Pensée* was captured with a cargo of 220 [slaves](#), by the USS *Hornet*, and taken to Louisiana (HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress, 1st session II, No. 92, page 5; 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 186).

The [negrero](#) *Esencia* succeeded in putting 113 black [slaves](#) ashore at Matanzas (PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, FURTHER PAPERS, III. page 78).

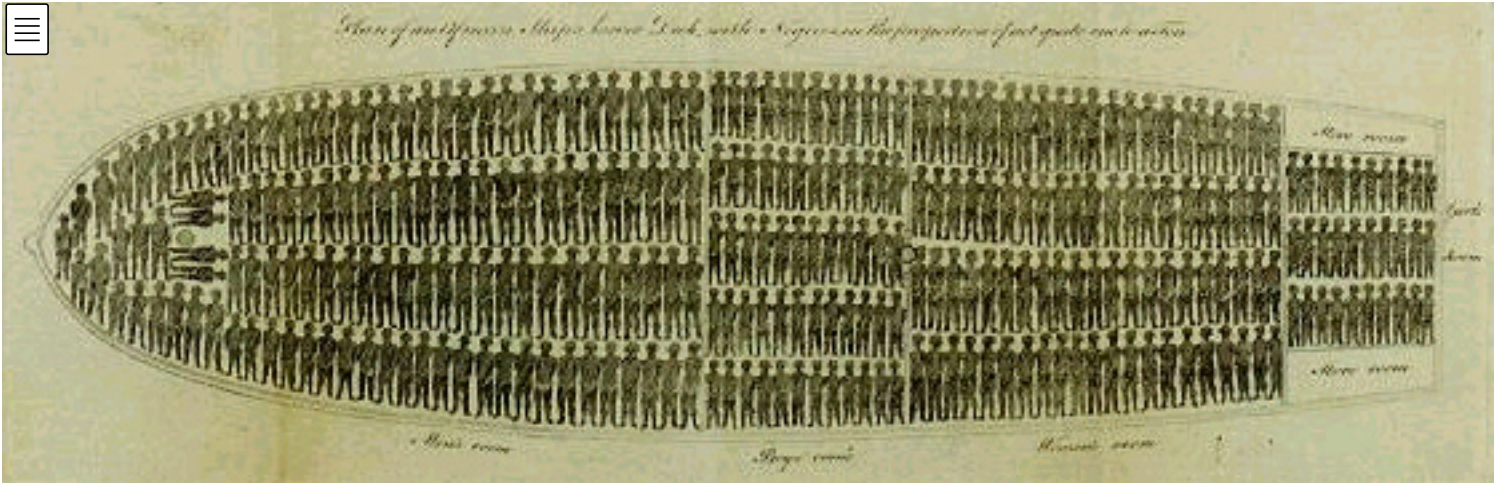
We infer that most likely it was in this year that the [negrero](#) *Dolphin* was captured by United States officers and sent into the harbor of [Charleston](#), South Carolina (FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE (1824), pages 31-2).



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January: A **negrero** flying the Spanish flag, the *Atalanta*, master Peoli, J.J., on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 570 **enslaved** Africans at the port of **Havana**.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE





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➡ March: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Herculina*, master José Garay, on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 390 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of [Havana, Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

➡ March 11, Sunday: Daniel Dennis of Gloucester, 47 years of age, drowned at sea.

Sardinian liberals issued a manifesto calling for the unification of [Italy](#).

☰ A [negrero](#) flying the US flag, the *Esencia*, master Brown, on its only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 113 Africans at Matanzas, [Cuba](#).

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

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

*1st day 11th of 3rd M / Our meetings were well attended. In the forenoon D Buffum, Father Rodman & J Dennis were engaged in testimony & in the Afternoon Father again had a short communication*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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November 8, Thursday, evening: Captain Jackson's brig *Cobbesecontee* had sailed that morning from [Havana](#) toward Boston. He had only proceeded about 4 miles from Moro Castle when brought to by a vessel with about 30 pirates. Captain Jackson had noticed their sloop at Regla the day before. These [Cubans](#) took the personal items of the captain and his mate, stripping them nearly naked. They broke a large broadsword across the captain's back and stabbed him through his thigh so that he almost bled to death. After they beat the mate, he was [hanged](#) under the maintop. From the cargo were obtained 3 bales of cochineal and 6 boxes of cigars. Captain Jackson would confirm a report brought by other American sailors who had been brought to grief in Havana, that some of the local whites were openly countenancing these acts of [piracy](#) against US citizens — as a gesture of retaliation against US interference with the [Cuban slave](#) trade.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

*5th day of 11 M / Our Meeting was small - a considerable portion of those who generally attend were absent at David Buffums where Sarah Sherman has lain very ill for some weeks & while the Meeting was sitting today She expired - She was a [-] lid [solid?, words obscured by binding crease] young woman & tho' all the forepart of her illness she was deprived of her mental powers, but a few days previous to her death she came to her understanding & expressed her reconciliation to the Solemn Change -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

## THE WEST INDIA PIRATES

**CONTAINING ACCOUNTS OF THEIR ATROCITIES, MANNERS OF LIVING, &C., WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE SQUADRON UNDER COMMODORE PORTER IN THOSE SEAS, THE VICTORY AND DEATH OF LIEUTENANT ALLEN, THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN LINCOLN, &C.<sup>44</sup>**



Those innumerable groups of islands, keys and sandbanks, known as the West-Indies, are peculiarly adapted from their locality and formation, to be a favorite resort for pirates; many of them are composed of coral rocks, on which a few cocoa trees raise their lofty heads; where there is sufficient earth for vegetation between the interstices of the rocks, stunted brushwood grows. But a chief peculiarity of some of the islands, and which renders them suitable to those who frequent them as pirates, are the numerous caves with which the rocks are perforated; some of them are above high-water mark, but the majority with the sea water flowing in and out of them, in some cases merely rushing in at high-water filling deep pools, which

44. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)





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are detached from each other when the tide recedes, in others with a sufficient depth of water to allow a large boat to float in. It is hardly necessary to observe how convenient the higher and dry caves are as receptacles for articles which are intended to be concealed, until an opportunity occurs to dispose of them. The Bahamas, themselves are a singular group of isles, reefs and quays; consisting of several hundred in number, and were the chief resort of pirates in old times, but now they are all rooted from them; they are low and not elevated, and are more than 600 miles in extent, cut up into numerous intricate passages and channels, full of sunken rocks and coral reefs. They afforded a sure retreat to desperadoes. Other islands are full of mountain fastnesses, where all pursuit can be eluded. Many of the low shores are skirted, and the islands covered by the mangrove, a singular tree, shooting fresh roots as it grows, which, when the tree is at its full age, may be found six or eight feet from the ground, to which the shoots gradually tend in regular succession; the leaf is very thick and stiff and about eight inches long and nine wide, the interval between the roots offer secure hiding places for those who are suddenly pursued. Another circumstance assists the pirate when pursued. — As the islands belong to several different nations, when pursued from one island he can pass to that under the jurisdiction of another power. And as permission must be got by those in pursuit of him, from the authorities of the island to land and take him, he thus gains time to secrete himself. A tropical climate is suited to a roving life, and liquor as well as dissolute women being in great abundance, to gratify him during his hours of relaxation, makes this a congenial region for the lawless.

The crews of pirate vessels in these seas are chiefly composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Mulattoes, Negroes, and a few natives of other countries. The island of Cuba is the great nest of pirates at the present day, and at the Havana, piracy is as much tolerated as any other profession. As the piracies committed in these seas, during a single year, have amounted to more than fifty, we shall give only a few accounts of the most interesting.

In November 1821, the brig *Cobbesecontee*, Captain Jackson, sailed from Havana, on the morning of the 8th for Boston, and on the evening of the same day, about four miles from the Moro, was brought to by a piratical sloop containing about 30 men. A boat from her, with 10 men, came alongside, and soon after they got on board commenced plundering. They took nearly all the clothing from the captain and mate — all the cooking utensils and spare rigging — unrove part of the running rigging — cut the small cable — broke the compasses — cut the mast's coats to pieces — took from the captain his watch and four boxes cigars — and from the cargo three bales cochineal and six boxes cigars. They beat the mate unmercifully, and hung him up by the neck under the maintop. They also beat the captain severely — broke a large broad sword across his back, and ran a long knife through his thigh, so that he almost bled to death. Captain Jackson saw the sloop at Regla the day before.

Captain Jackson informs us, and we have also been informed by other persons from the Havana, that this system of piracy is openly countenanced by some of the inhabitants of that place — who say that it is a retaliation on the Americans for interfering against the Slave Trade.



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About this time the ship Liverpool Packet, Ricker, of Portsmouth, N.H., was boarded off Cape St. Antonio, Cuba, by two piratical schooners; two barges containing thirty or forty men, robbed the vessel of every thing movable, even of her *flags*, rigging, and a boat which happened to be afloat, having a boy in it, which belonged to the ship. They held a consultation whether they should murder the crew, as they had done before, or not – in the mean time taking the ship into anchoring ground. On bringing her to anchor, the crew saw a brig close alongside, burnt to the water's edge, and three dead bodies floating near her. The pirates said they had burnt the brig the day before, and *murdered all the crew!* – and intended doing the same with them. They said "look at the turtles (meaning the dead bodies) you will soon be the same." They said the vessel was a Baltimore brig, which they had robbed and burnt, and murdered the crew as before stated, of which they had little doubt. Captain Ricker was most shockingly bruised by them. The mate was hung till he was supposed to be dead, but came to, and is now alive. They told the captain that they belonged in Regla, and should kill them all to prevent discovery.

In 1822, the United States had several cruisers among the West-India islands, to keep the pirates in check. Much good was done but still many vessels were robbed and destroyed, together with their crews. This year the brave Lieutenant Allen fell by the hand of pirates; he was in the United States schooner Alligator, and receiving intelligence at Matanzas, that several vessels which had sailed from that port, had been taken by the pirates, and were then in the bay of Lejuapo. He hastened to their assistance. He arrived just in time to save five sail of vessels which he found in possession of a gang of pirates, 300 strong, established in the bay of Lejuapo, about 15 leagues east of this. He fell, pierced by two musket balls, in the van of a division of boats, attacking their principal vessel, a fine schooner of about eighty tons, with a long eighteen pounder on a pivot, and four smaller guns, *with the bloody flag nailed to the mast*. Himself, Captain Freeman of Marines, and twelve men, were in the boat, much in advance of his other boats, and even took possession of the schooner, after a desperate resistance, which nothing but a bravery almost too daring could have overcome. The pirates, all but one, escaped by taking to their boats and jumping overboard, before the Alligator's boat reached them. Two other schooners escaped by the use of their oars, the wind being light.

Captain Allen survived about four hours, during which his conversation evinced a composure and firmness of mind, and correctness of feeling, as honorable to his character, and more consoling to his friends, than even the dauntless bravery he before exhibited.

The surgeon of the Alligator in a letter to a friend, says, "He continued giving orders and conversing with Mr. Dale and the rest of us, until a few minutes before his death, with a degree of cheerfulness that was little to be expected from a man in his condition. He said he wished his relatives and his country to know that he had fought well, and added that he died in peace and good will towards all the world, and hoped for his reward in the next."

Lieutenant Allen had but few equals in the service. He was ardently devoted to the interest of his country, was brave,



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intelligent, and accomplished in his profession. He displayed, living and dying, a magnanimity that sheds lustre on his relatives, his friends, and his country.

About this time Captain Lincoln fell into the hands of the pirates, and as his treatment shows the peculiar habits and practices of these wretches, we insert the very interesting narrative of the captain.

The schooner Exertion, Captain Lincoln, sailed from Boston, bound for Trinidad de Cuba, Nov. 13th, 1821, with the following crew; Joshua Bracket, mate; David Warren, cook; and Thomas Young, Francis De Suze, and George Reed, seamen.

The cargo consisted of flour, beef, pork, lard, butter, fish, beans, onions, potatoes, apples, hams, furniture, sugar box shooks, &c., invoiced at about eight thousand dollars. Nothing remarkable occurred during the passage, except much bad weather, until my capture, which was as follows: -

Monday, December 17th, 1821, commenced with fine breezes from the eastward. At daybreak saw some of the islands northward of Cape Cruz, called Keys - stood along northwest; every thing now seemed favorable for a happy termination of our voyage. At 3 o'clock, P.M., saw a sail coming round one of the Keys, into a channel called Boca de Cavolone by the chart, nearly in latitude 20° 55' north, longitude 79° 55' west, she made directly for us with all sails set, sweeps on both sides (the wind being light) and was soon near enough for us to discover about forty men on her deck, armed with muskets, blunderbusses, cutlasses, long knives, dirks, &c., two carronades, one a twelve, the other a six pounder; she was a schooner, wearing the Patriot flag (blue, white and blue) of the Republic of Mexico. I thought it not prudent to resist them, should they be pirates, with a crew of seven men, and only five muskets; accordingly ordered the arms and ammunition to be immediately stowed away in as secret a place as possible, and suffer her to speak us, hoping and believing that a republican flag indicated both honor and friendship from those who wore it, and which we might expect even from Spaniards. But how great was my astonishment, when the schooner having approached very near us, hailed in English, and ordered me to heave my boat out immediately and come on board of her with my papers. - Accordingly my boat was hove out, but filled before I could get into her. - I was then ordered to tack ship and lay by for the pirates' boat to board me; which was done by Bolidar, their first lieutenant, with six or eight Spaniards armed with as many of the before mentioned weapons as they could well sling about their bodies. They drove me into the boat, and two of them rowed me to their privateer (as they called their vessel), where I shook hands with their commander, Captain Jonnia, a Spaniard, who before looking at my papers, ordered Bolidar, his lieutenant, to follow the Mexican in, back of the Key they had left, which was done. At 6 o'clock, P.M., the Exertion was anchored in eleven feet water, near this vessel, and an island, which they called Twelve League Key (called by the chart Key Largo), about thirty or thirty-five leagues from Trinidad. After this strange conduct they began examining my papers by a Scotchman who went by the name of Nickola, their sailing master. - He spoke good English, had a countenance rather pleasing, although his beard and mustachios had a frightful appearance - his face, apparently full of anxiety, indicated something in my favor; he gave me my papers, saying "take good care of them, for



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I am afraid you have fallen into bad hands." The pirates' boat was then sent to the Exertion with more men and arms; a part of them left on board her; the rest returning with three of my crew to their vessel; viz., Thomas Young, Thomas Goodall, and George Reed – they treated them with something to drink, and offered them equal shares with themselves, and some money, if they would enlist, but they could not prevail on them. I then requested permission to go on board my vessel which was granted, and further requested Nickola should go with me, but was refused by the captain, who vociferated in a harsh manner, "No, No, No." accompanied with a heavy stamp upon the deck. When I got on board, I was invited below by Bolidar, where I found they had emptied the case of liquors, and broken a cheese to pieces and crumbled it on the table and cabin floor; the pirates, elated with their prize (as they called it), had drank so much as to make them desperately abusive. I was permitted to lie down in my berth; but, reader, if you have ever been awakened by a gang of armed, desperadoes, who have taken possession of your habitation in the midnight hour, you can imagine my feelings. – Sleep was a stranger to me, and anxiety was my guest. Bolidar, however, pretended friendship, and flattered me with the prospect of being soon set at liberty. But I found him, as I suspected, a consummate hypocrite; indeed, his very looks indicated it. He was a stout and well built man, of a dark, swarthy complexion, with keen, ferocious eyes, huge whiskers, and beard under his chin and on his lips, four or five inches long; he was a Portuguese by birth, but had become a naturalized Frenchman – had a wife, if not children (as I was told) in France, and was well known there as commander of a first rate privateer. His appearance was truly terrific; he could talk some English, and had a most lion-like voice.

Tuesday, 18th. – Early this morning the captain of the pirates came on board the Exertion; took a look at the cabin stores, and cargo in the state rooms, and then ordered me back with him to his vessel, where he, with his crew, held a consultation for some time respecting the cargo. After which, the interpreter, Nickola, told me that "the captain had, or pretended to have, a commission under General Traspelascus, commander-in-chief of the republic of Mexico, authorizing him to take all cargoes whatever of provisions, bound to any royalist Spanish port – that my cargo being bound to an enemy's port, must be condemned; but that the vessel should be given up and be put into a fair channel for Trinidad, where I was bound." I requested him to examine the papers thoroughly, and perhaps he would be convinced to the contrary, and told him my cargo was all American property taken in at Boston, and consigned to an American gentleman, agent at Trinidad. But the captain would not take the trouble, but ordered both vessels under way immediately, and commenced beating up amongst the Keys through most of the day, the wind being very light. They now sent their boats on board the Exertion for stores, and commenced plundering her of bread, butter, lard, onions, potatoes, fish, beans, &c., took up some sugar box shocks that were on deck, and found the barrels of apples; selected the best of them and threw the rest overboard. They inquired for spirits,



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wine, cider, &c. and were told "they had already taken all that was on board." But not satisfied they proceeded to search the state rooms and forcastle, ripped up the floor of the later and found some boxes of bottled cider, which they carried to their vessel, gave three cheers, in an exulting manner to me, and then began drinking it with such freedom, that a violent quarrel arose between officers and men, which came very near ending in bloodshed. I was accused of falsehood, for saying they had got all the liquors that were on board, and I thought they had; the truth was, I never had any bill of lading of the cider, and consequently had no recollection of its being on board; yet it served them as an excuse for being insolent. In the evening peace was restored and they sung songs. I was suffered to go below for the night, and they placed a guard over me, stationed at the companion way.

Wednesday, 19th, commenced with moderate easterly winds, beating towards the northeast, the pirate's boats frequently going on board the Exertion for potatoes, fish, beans, butter, &c. which were used with great waste and extravagance. They gave me food and drink, but of bad quality, more particularly the victuals, which was wretchedly cooked. The place assigned me to eat was covered with dirt and vermin. It appeared that their great object was to hurt my feelings with threats and observations, and to make my situation as unpleasant as circumstances would admit. We came to anchor near a Key, called by them Brigantine, where myself and mate were permitted to go on shore, but were guarded by several armed pirates. I soon returned to the Mexican and my mate to the Exertion, with George Reed, one of my crew; the other two being kept on board the Mexican. In the course of this day I had considerable conversation with Nickola, who appeared well disposed towards me. He lamented most deeply his own situation, for he was one of those men, whose early good impressions were not entirely effaced, although confederated with guilt. He told me "those who had taken me were no better than pirates, and their end would be the halter; but," he added, with peculiar emotion, "I will never be hung as a pirate," showing me a bottle of laudanum which he had found in my medicine chest, saying, "If we are taken, that shall cheat the hangman, before we are condemned." I endeavored to get it from him, but did not succeed. I then asked him how he came to be in such company, as he appeared to be dissatisfied. He stated, that he was at New Orleans last summer, out of employment, and became acquainted with one Captain August Orgamar, a Frenchman, who had bought a small schooner of about fifteen tons, and was going down to the bay of Mexico to get a commission under General Traspelascus, in order to go a privateering under the patriot flag. Capt. Orgamar made him liberal offers respecting shares, and promised him a sailing master's berth, which he accepted and embarked on board the schooner, without sufficiently reflecting on the danger of such an undertaking. Soon after she sailed



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from Mexico, where they got a commission, and the vessel was called Mexican. They made up a complement of twenty men, and after rendering the General some little service, in transporting his troops to a place called ----- proceeded on a cruise; took some small prizes off Campeachy; afterwards came on the south coast of Cuba, where they took other small prizes, and the one which we were now on board of. By this time the crew were increased to about forty, nearly one half Spaniards, the others Frenchmen and Portuguese. Several of them had sailed out of ports in the United States with American protections; but, I confidently believe, none are natives, especially of the northern states. I was careful in examining the men, being desirous of knowing if any of my countrymen were among this wretched crew; but am satisfied there were none, and my Scotch friend concurred in the opinion. And now, with a new vessel, which was the prize of these plunderers, they sailed up Manganeil bay; previously, however, they fell in with an American schooner, from which they bought four barrels of beef, and paid in tobacco. At the Bay was an English brig belonging to Jamaica, owned by Mr. John Louden of that place. On board of this vessel the Spanish part of the crew commenced their depredations as pirates, although Captain Orgamar and Nickola protested against it, and refused any participation; but they persisted, and like so many ferocious blood-hounds, boarded the brig, plundered the cabin, stores, furniture, captain's trunk, &c., took a hogshead of rum, one twelve pound carronade, some rigging and sails. One of them plundered the chest of a sailor, who made some resistance, so that the Spaniard took his cutlass, and beat and wounded him without mercy. Nickola asked him "why he did it?" the fellow answered, "I will let you know," and took up the cook's axe and gave him a cut on the head, which nearly deprived him of life. Then they ordered Captain Orgamar to leave his vessel, allowing him his trunk and turned him ashore, to seek for himself. Nickola begged them to dismiss him with his captain, but no, no, was the answer; for they had no complete navigator but him. After Captain Orgamar was gone, they put in his stead the present brave (or as I should call him cowardly) Captain Jonnia, who headed them in plundering the before mentioned brig, and made Bolidar their first lieutenant, and then proceeded down among those Keys or Islands, where I was captured. This is the amount of what my friend Nickola told me of their history.

Saturday, 22d. - Both vessels under way standing to the eastward, they ran the Exertion aground on a bar, but after throwing overboard most of her deck load of shooks, she floated off; a pilot was sent to her, and she was run into a narrow creek between two keys, where they moored her head and stern along side of the mangrove trees, set down her yards and topmasts, and covered her mast heads and shrouds with bushes to prevent her being seen by vessels which might pass that way. I was then suffered to go on board my own vessel,



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and found her in a very filthy condition; sails torn, rigging cut to pieces, and every thing in the cabin in waste and confusion. The swarms of moschetoës and sand-flies made it impossible to get any sleep or rest. The pirate's large boat was armed and manned under Bolidar, and sent off with letters to a merchant (as they called him) by the name of Dominico, residing in a town called Principe, on the main island of Cuba. I was told by one of them, who could speak English, that Principe was a very large and populous town, situated at the head of St. Maria, which was about twenty miles northeast from where we lay, and the Keys lying around us were called Cotton Keys. — The captain pressed into his service Francis de Suze, one of my crew, saying that he was one of his countrymen. Francis was very reluctant in going, and said to me, with tears in his eyes, "I shall do nothing but what I am obliged to do, and will not aid in the least to hurt you or the vessel; I am very sorry to leave you." He was immediately put on duty and Thomas Goodall sent back to the Exertion.

Sunday, 23d. — Early this morning a large number of the pirates came on board of the Exertion, threw out the long boat, broke open the hatches, and took out considerable of the cargo, in search of rum, gin, &c., still telling me "I had some and they would find it," uttering the most awful profaneness. In the afternoon their boat returned with a perough, having on board the captain, his first lieutenant and seven men of a patriot or piratical vessel that was chased ashore at Cape Cruz by a Spanish armed brig. These seven men made their escape in said boat, and after four days, found our pirates and joined them; the remainder of the crew being killed or taken prisoners.

Monday, 24th. — Their boat was manned and sent to the before-mentioned town. — I was informed by a line from Nickola, that the pirates had a man on board, a native of Principe, who, in the garb of a sailor, was a partner with Dominico, but I could not get sight of him. This lets us a little into the plans by which this atrocious system of piracy has been carried on. Merchants having partners on board of these pirates! thus pirates at sea and robbers on land are associated to destroy the peaceful trader. The willingness exhibited by the seven above-mentioned men, to join our gang of pirates, seems to look like a general understanding among them; and from there being merchants on shore so base as to encourage the plunder and vend the goods, I am persuaded there has been a systematic confederacy on the part of these unprincipled desperadoes, under cover of the patriot flag; and those on land are no better than those on the sea. If the governments to whom they belong know of the atrocities committed (and I have but little doubt they do) they deserve the execration of all mankind.

Thursday, 27th. — A gang of the pirates came and stripped our masts of the green bushes, saying, "she appeared more like a sail than trees" — took one barrel of bread and one of potatoes, using about one of each





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every day. I understood they were waiting for boats to take the cargo; for the principal merchant had gone to Trinidad.

Sunday, 30th. — The beginning of trouble! This day, which peculiarly reminds Christians of the high duties of compassion and benevolence, was never observed by these pirates. This, of course, we might expect, as they did not often know when the day came, and if they knew it, it was spent in gambling. The old saying among seamen, "no Sunday off soundings," was not thought of; and even this poor plea was not theirs, for they were on soundings and often at anchor. — Early this morning, the merchant, as they called him, came with a large boat for the cargo. I was immediately ordered into the boat with my crew, not allowed any breakfast, and carried about three miles to a small island out of sight of the Exertion, and left there by the side of a little pond of thick, muddy water, which proved to be very brackish, with nothing to eat but a few biscuits. One of the boat's men told us the merchant was afraid of being recognized, and when he had gone the boat would return for us; but we had great reason to apprehend they would deceive us, and therefore passed the day in the utmost anxiety. At night, however, the boats came and took us again on board the Exertion; when, to our surprise and astonishment, we found they had broken open the trunks and chests, and taken all our wearing apparel, not even leaving a shirt or pair of pantaloons, nor sparing a small miniature of my wife which was in my trunk. The little money I and my mate had, with some belonging to the owners, my mate had previously distributed about the cabin in three or four parcels, while I was on board the pirate, for we dare not keep it about us; one parcel in a butter pot they did not discover. — Amidst the hurry with which I was obliged to go to the before-mentioned island, I fortunately snatched by vessel's papers, and hid them in my bosom, which the reader will find was a happy circumstance for me. My writing desk, with papers, accounts, &c., all Mr. Lord's letters (the gentlemen to whom my cargo was consigned) and several others were taken and maliciously destroyed. My medicine chest, which I so much wanted, was kept for their own use. What their motive could be to take my papers I could not imagine, except they had hopes of finding bills of lading for some Spaniards, to clear them from piracy. Mr. Bracket had some notes and papers of consequence to him, which shared the same fate. My quadrant, charts, books and bedding were not yet taken, but I found it impossible to hide them, and they were soon gone from my sight.

Tuesday, January 1st, 1822 — A sad new-year's day to me. Before breakfast orders came for me to cut down the Exertion's railing and bulwarks on one side, for their vessel to heave out by, and clean her bottom. On my hesitating a little they observed with anger, "very well, captain, suppose you no do it quick, we do it for you." Directly afterwards another boat full of armed men



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came along side; they jumped on deck with swords drawn, and ordered all of us into her immediately; I stepped below, in hopes of getting something which would be of service to us; but the captain halloed, "Go into the boat directly or I will fire upon you." Thus compelled to obey, we were carried, together with four Spanish prisoners, to a small, low island or key of sand in the shape of a half moon, and partly covered with mangrove trees; which was about one mile from and in sight of my vessel. There they left nine of us, with a little bread, flour, fish, lard, a little coffee and molasses; two or three kegs of water, which was brackish; an old sail for a covering, and a pot and some other articles no way fit to cook in. Leaving us these, which were much less than they appear in the enumeration, they pushed off, saying, "we will come to see you in a day or two." Selecting the best place, we spread the old sail for an awning; but no place was free from flies, moschetoës, snakes, the venomous skinned scorpion, and the more venomous santipee. Sometimes they were found crawling inside of our pantaloons, but fortunately no injury was received. This afternoon the pirates hove their vessel out by the Exertion and cleaned one side, using her paints, oil, &c. for that purpose. To see my vessel in that situation and to think of our prospects was a source of the deepest distress. At night we retired to our tent; but having nothing but the cold damp ground for a bed, and the heavy dew of night penetrating the old canvass – the situation of the island being fifty miles from the usual track of friendly vessels, and one hundred and thirty-five from Trinidad – seeing my owner's property so unjustly and wantonly destroyed – considering my condition, the hands at whose mercy I was, and deprived of all hopes, rendered sleep or rest a stranger to me.

Friday, 4th. – Commenced with light winds and hot sun, saw a boat coming from the Exertion, apparently loaded; she passed between two small Keys to northward, supposed to be bound for Cuba. At sunset a boat came and inquired if we wanted anything, but instead of adding to our provisions, took away our molasses, and pushed off. We found one of the Exertion's water casks, and several pieces of plank, which we carefully laid up, in hopes of getting enough to make a raft.

Saturday, 5th. – Pirates again in sight, coming from the eastward; they beat up along side their prize, and commenced loading. In the afternoon Nickola came to us, bringing with him two more prisoners, which they had taken in a small sail boat coming from Trinidad to Manganeil, one a Frenchman, the other a Scotchman, with two Spaniards, who remained on board the pirate, and who afterwards joined them. The back of one of these poor fellows was extremely sore, having just suffered a cruel beating from Bolidar, with the broad side of a cutlass. It appeared, that when the officer asked him "where their money was, and how much," he answered, "he was not certain but believed they had only two ounces of gold" – Bolidar furiously swore he said "ten," and not finding



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any more, gave him the beating. Nickola now related to me a singular fact; which was, that the Spanish part of the crew were determined to shoot him; that they tied him to the mast, and a man was appointed for the purpose; but Lion, a Frenchman, his particular friend, stepped up and told them, if they shot him they must shoot several more; some of the Spaniards sided with him, and he was released. Nickola told me, the reason for such treatment was, that he continually objected to their conduct towards me, and their opinion if he should escape, they would be discovered, as he declared he would take no prize money. While with us he gave me a letter written in great haste, which contains some particulars respecting the cargo; - as follows: -

*January 4th, 1822.*

Sir, - We arrived here this morning, and before we came to anchor, had five canoes alongside ready to take your cargo, part of which we had in; and as I heard you express a wish to know what they took out of her, to this moment, you may depend upon this account of Jamieson for quality and quantity; if I have the same opportunity you will have an account of the whole. The villain who bought your cargo is from the town of Principe, his name is Dominico, as to that it is all that I can learn; they have taken your charts aboard the schooner Mexican, and I suppose mean to keep them, as the other captain has agreed to act the same infamous part in the tragedy of his life. Your clothes are here on board, but do not let me flatter you that you will get them back; it may be so, and it may not. Perhaps in your old age, when you recline with ease in a corner of your cottage, you will have the goodness to drop a tear of pleasure to the memory of him, whose highest ambition should have been to subscribe himself, though devoted to the gallows, your friend,  
Excuse haste. NICKOLA MONACRE.

Sunday, 6th. - The pirates were under way at sunrise, with a full load of the Exertion's cargo, going to Principe again to sell a second freight, which was done readily for cash. I afterwards heard that the flour only fetched five dollars per barrel, when it was worth at Trinidad thirteen; so that the villain who bought my cargo at Principe, made very large profits by it.

Tuesday, 8th. - Early this morning the pirates in sight again, with fore top sail and top gallant sail set; beat up along side of the Exertion and commenced loading; having, as I supposed, sold and discharged her last freight among some of the inhabitants of Cuba. They appeared to load in great haste; and the song, "O he oh," which echoed from one vessel to the other, was distinctly heard by us. How wounding was this to me! How different was this sound from what it would have been, had I been permitted to pass unmolested by these lawless plunderers, and been favored with a safe arrival at the port of my destination, where my cargo would have found an excellent sale. Then would the "O he oh," on its discharging, have been a delightful sound to me. In the



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afternoon she sailed with the perough in tow, both with a full load, having chairs, which was part of the cargo, slung at her quarters.

Monday, 14th. – They again hove in sight, and beat up as usual, along-side their prize. While passing our solitary island, they laughed at our misery, which was almost insupportable – looking upon us as though we had committed some heinous crime, and they had not sufficiently punished us; they hallooed to us, crying out “Captain, Captain,” accompanied with obscene motions and words, with which I shall not blacken these pages – yet I heard no check upon such conduct, nor could I expect it among such a gang, who have no idea of subordination on board, except when in chase of vessels, and even then but very little. My resentment was excited at such a malicious outrage, and I felt a disposition to revenge myself, should fortune ever favor me with an opportunity. It was beyond human nature not to feel and express some indignation at such treatment. – Soon after, Bolidar, with five men, well armed, came to us; he having a blunderbuss, cutlass, a long knife and pair of pistols – but for what purpose did he come? He took me by the hand, saying, “Captain, me speak with you, walk this way.” I obeyed, and when at some distance from my fellow prisoners, (his men following) he said, “the captain send me for your wash” I pretended not to understand what he meant, and replied, “I have no clothes, nor any soap to wash with – you have taken them all,” for I had kept my watch about me, hoping they would not discover it. He demanded it again as before; and was answered, “I have nothing to wash;” this raised his anger, and lifting his blunderbuss, he roared out, “what the d – l you call him that make clock? give it me.” I considered it imprudent to contend any longer, and submitted to his unlawful demand. As he was going off, he gave me a small bundle, in which was a pair of linen drawers, sent to me by Nickola, and also the Rev. Mr. Brooks’ “Family Prayer Book.” This gave me great satisfaction. Soon after, he returned with his captain, who had one arm slung up, yet with as many implements of war, as his diminutive wicked self could conveniently carry; he told me (through an interpreter who was his prisoner.) “that on his cruize he had fallen in with two Spanish privateers, and beat them off; but had three of his men killed, and himself wounded in the arm” – Bolidar turned to me and said, “it is a d – n lie” – which words proved to be correct, for his arm was not wounded, and when I saw him again, which was soon afterwards, he had forgotten to sling it up. He further told me, “after tomorrow you shall go with your vessel, and we will accompany you towards Trinidad.” This gave me some new hopes, and why I could not tell. They then left us without rendering any assistance. – This night we got some rest.

Tuesday, 15th. The words “go after tomorrow,” were used among our Spanish fellow prisoners, as though that happy tomorrow would never come – in what manner it came will



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soon be noticed.

Friday, 18th commenced with brighter prospects of liberty than ever. The pirates were employed in setting up our devoted schooner's shrouds, stays, &c. My condition now reminded me of the hungry man, chained in one corner of a room, while at another part was a table loaded with delicious food and fruits, the smell and sight of which he was continually to experience, but alas! his chains were never to be loosed that he might go and partake – at almost the same moment they were thus employed, the axe was applied with the greatest dexterity to both her masts and I saw them fall over the side! Here fell my hopes – I looked at my condition, and then thought of home. – Our Spanish fellow prisoners were so disappointed and alarmed that they recommended hiding ourselves, if possible, among the mangrove trees, believing, as they said, we should now certainly be put to death; or, what was worse, compelled to serve on board the Mexican as pirates. Little else it is true, seemed left for us; however, we kept a bright look out for them during the day, and at night "an anchor watch" as we called it, determined if we discovered their boats coming towards us, to adopt the plan of hiding, although starvation stared us in the face – yet preferred that to instant death. This night was passed in sufficient anxiety – I took the first watch.

Saturday, 19th. – The pirate's largest boat came for us – it being day-light, and supposing they could see us, determined to stand our ground and wait the result. They ordered us all into the boat, but left every thing else; they rowed towards the Exertion – I noticed a dejection of spirits in one of the pirates, and inquired of him where they were going to carry us? He shook his head and replied, "I do not know." I now had some hopes of visiting my vessel again – but the pirates made sail, ran down, took us in tow and stood out of the harbor. Bolidar afterwards took me, my mate and two of my men on board and gave us some coffee. On examination I found they had several additional light sails, made of the Exertion's. Almost every man, a pair of canvas trousers; and my colors cut up and made into belts to carry their money about them. My jolly boat was on deck, and I was informed, all my rigging was disposed of. Several of the pirates had on some of my clothes, and the captain one of my best shirts, a cleaner one, than I had ever seen him have on before. – He kept at a good distance from me, and forbid my friend Nickola's speaking to me. – I saw from the companion way in the captain's cabin my quadrant, spy glass and other things which belonged to us, and observed by the compass, that the course steered was about west by south, – distance nearly twenty miles, which brought them up with a cluster of islands called by some "Cayman Keys." Here they anchored and caught some fish, (one of which was named *guard fish*) of which we had a taste. I observed that my friend Mr. Bracket was somewhat dejected, and asked him in a low voice, what his opinion was with respects to our fate? He



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answered, "I cannot tell you, but it appears to me the worst is to come." I told him that I hoped not, but thought they would give us our small boat and liberate the prisoners. But mercy even in this shape was not left-for us. Soon after, saw the captain and officers whispering for some time in private conference. When over, their boat was manned under the command of Bolidar, and went to one of those Islands or Keys before mentioned. On their return, another conference took place - whether it was a jury upon our lives we could not tell. I did not think conscience could be entirely extinguished in the human breast, or that men could become fiends. In the afternoon, while we knew not the doom which had been fixed for us, the captain was engaged with several of his men in gambling, in hopes to get back some of the five hundred dollars, they said, he lost but a few nights before; which had made him unusually fractious. A little before sunset he ordered all the prisoners into the large boat, with a supply of provisions and water, and to be put on shore. While we were getting into her, one of my fellow prisoners, a Spaniard, attempted with tears in his eyes to speak to the captain, but was refused with the answer. "I'll have nothing to say to any prisoner, go into the boat." In the mean time Nickola said to me, "My friend, I will give you your book," (being Mr. Colman's Sermons,) "it is the only thing of yours that is in my possession; I dare not attempt any thing more." But the captain forbid his giving it to me, and I stepped into the boat - at that moment Nickola said in a low voice, "never mind, I may see you again before I die." The small boat was well armed and manned, and both set off together for the island, where they had agreed to leave us to perish! The scene to us was a funereal scene. There were no arms in the prisoners boat, and, of course, all attempts to relieve ourselves would have been throwing our lives away, as Bolidar was near us, well armed. We were rowed about two miles north-easterly from the pirates, to a small low island, lonely and desolate. We arrived about sunset; and for the support of us eleven prisoners, they only left a ten gallon keg of water, and perhaps a few quarts, in another small vessel, which was very poor; part of a barrel of flour, a small keg of lard, one ham and some salt fish; a small kettle and an old broken pot; an old sail for a covering, and a small mattress and blanket, which was thrown out as the boats hastened away. One of the prisoners happened to have a little coffee in his pocket, and these comprehended all our means of sustaining life, and for what length of time we knew not. We now felt the need of water, and our supply was comparatively nothing. A man may live nearly twice as long without food, as without water. Look at us now, my friends, left benighted on a little spot of sand in the midst of the ocean, far from the usual track of vessels, and every appearance of a violent thunder tempest, and a boisterous night. Judge of my feelings, and the circumstances which our band of sufferers now witnessed. Perhaps you can and have pitied us. I assure



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you, we were very wretched; and to paint the scene, is not within my power. When the boats were moving from the shore, on recovering myself a little, I asked Bolidar, "If he was going to leave us so?" - he answered, "no, only two days - we go for water and wood, then come back, take you." I requested him to give us bread and other stores, for they had plenty in the boat, and at least one hundred barrels of flour in the Mexican. "No, no, suppose to-morrow morning me come, me give you bread," and hurried off to the vessel. This was the last time I saw him. We then turned our attention upon finding a spot most convenient for our comfort, and soon discovered a little roof supported by stakes driven into the sand; it was thatched with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, considerable part of which was torn or blown off. After spreading the old sail over this roof, we placed our little stock of provisions under it. Soon after came on a heavy shower of rain which penetrated the canvas, and made it nearly as uncomfortable inside, as it would have been out. We were not prepared to catch water, having nothing to put it in. Our next object was to get fire, and after gathering some of the driest fuel to be found, and having a small piece of cotton wick-yarn, with flint and steel, we kindled a fire, which was never afterwards suffered to be extinguished. The night was very dark, but we found a piece of old rope, which when well lighted served for a candle. On examining the ground under the roof, we found perhaps thousands of creeping insects, scorpions, lizards, crickets, &c. After scraping them out as well as we could, the most of us having nothing but the damp earth for a bed, laid ourselves down in hopes of some rest; but it being so wet, gave many of us severe colds, and one of the Spaniards was quite sick for several days.

Sunday, 20th. - As soon as day-light came on, we proceeded to take a view of our little island, and found it to measure only one acre, of coarse, white sand; about two feet, and in some spots perhaps three feet above the surface of the ocean. On the highest part were growing some bushes and small mangroves, (the dry part of which was our fuel) and the wild castor oil beans. We were greatly disappointed in not finding the latter suitable food; likewise some of the prickly pear bushes, which gave us only a few pears about the size of our small button pear; the outside has thorns, which if applied to the fingers or lips, will remain there, and cause a severe smarting similar to the nettle; the inside a spongy substance, full of juice and seeds, which are red and a little tartish - had they been there in abundance, we should not have suffered so much for water - but alas! even this substitute was not for us. On the northerly side of the island was a hollow, where the tide penetrated the sand, leaving stagnant water. We presumed, in hurricanes the island was nearly overflowed. According to the best calculations I could make, we were about thirty-five miles from any part of Cuba, one hundred from Trinidad and forty from the usual track of American vessels, or others which might pass





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that way. No vessel of any considerable size, can safely pass among these Keys (or "Queen's Gardens," as the Spaniards call them) being a large number extending from Cape Cruz to Trinidad, one hundred and fifty miles distance; and many more than the charts have laid down, most of them very low and some covered at high water, which makes it very dangerous for navigators without a skilful pilot. After taking this view of our condition, which was very gloomy, we began to suspect we were left on this desolate island by those merciless plunderers to perish. Of this I am now fully convinced; still we looked anxiously for the pirate's boat to come according to promise with more water and provisions, but looked in vain. We saw them soon after get under way with all sail set and run directly from us until out of our sight, and *we never saw them again!* One may partially imagine our feelings, but they cannot be put into words. Before they were entirely out of sight of us, we raised the white blanket upon a pole, waving it in the air, in hopes, that at two miles distance they would see it and be moved to pity. But pity in such monsters was not to be found. It was not their interest to save us from the lingering death, which we now saw before us. We tried to compose ourselves, trusting to God, who had witnessed our sufferings, would yet make use of some one, as the instrument of his mercy towards us. Our next care, now, was to try for water. We dug several holes in the sand and found it, but quite too salt for use. The tide penetrates probably through the island. We now came on short allowances for water. Having no means of securing what we had by lock and key, some one in the night would slyly drink, and it was soon gone. The next was to bake some bread, which we did by mixing flour with salt water and frying it in lard, allowing ourselves eight quite small pancakes to begin with. The ham was reserved for some more important occasion, and the salt fish was lost for want of fresh water. The remainder of this day was passed in the most serious conversation and reflection. At night, I read prayers from the "Prayer Book," before mentioned, which I most carefully concealed while last on board the pirates. This plan was pursued morning and evening, during our stay there. Then retired for rest and sleep, but realized little of either.

Monday, 21st. — In the morning we walked round the beach, in expectation of finding something useful. On our way picked up a paddle about three feet long, very similar to the Indian canoe paddle, except the handle, which was like that of a shovel, the top part being split off; we laid it by for the present. We likewise found some konchs and roasted them; they were pretty good shell fish, though rather tough. We discovered at low water, a bar or spit of sand extending north-easterly from us, about three miles distant, to a cluster of Keys, which were covered with mangrove trees, perhaps as high as our quince tree. My friend Mr. Bracket and George attempted to wade across, being at that time of tide only up to their armpits; but were pursued by a shark, and returned without success. The



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tide rises about four feet.

Tuesday, 22d. — We found several pieces of the palmetto or cabbage tree, and some pieces of boards, put them together in the form of a raft, and endeavored to cross, but that proved ineffectual. Being disappointed, we set down to reflect upon other means of relief, intending to do all in our power for safety while our strength continued. While setting here, the sun was so powerful and oppressive, reflecting its rays upon the sea, which was then calm, and the white sand which dazzled the eye, was so painful, that we retired under the awning; there the moschetoes and flies were so numerous, that good rest could not be found. We were, however, a little cheered, when, in scraping out the top of the ground to clear out, I may say, thousands of crickets and bugs, we found a hatchet, which was to us peculiarly serviceable. At night the strong north-easterly wind, which prevails there at all seasons, was so cold as to make it equally uncomfortable with the day. Thus day after day, our sufferings and apprehensions multiplying, we were very generally alarmed.

Thursday, 24th. — This morning, after taking a little coffee, made of the water which we thought least salt, and two or three of the little cakes, we felt somewhat refreshed, and concluded to make another visit to those Keys, in hopes of finding something more, which might make a raft for us to escape the pirates, and avoid perishing by thirst. Accordingly seven of us set off, waded across the bar and searched all the Keys thereabouts. On one we found a number of sugar-box shooks, two lashing plank and some pieces of old spars, which were a part of the Exertion's deck load, that was thrown overboard when she grounded on the bar, spoken of in the first part of the narrative. It seems they had drifted fifteen miles, and had accidentally lodged on these very Keys within our reach. Had the pirates known this, they would undoubtedly have placed us in another direction. They no doubt thought that they could not place us on a worse place. The wind at this time was blowing so strong on shore, as to prevent rafting our stuff round to our island, and we were obliged to haul it upon the beach for the present; then dug for water in the highest place, but found it as salt as ever, and then returned to our habitation. But hunger and thirst began to prey upon us, and our comforts were as few as our hopes.

Friday, 25th. — Again passed over to those Keys to windward in order to raft our stuff to our island, it being most convenient for building. But the surf on the beach was so very rough, that we were again compelled to postpone it. Our courage, however, did not fail where there was the slightest hopes of life. Returning without it, we found on our way an old top timber of some vessel; it had several spikes on it, which we afterwards found very serviceable. In the hollow of an old tree, we found two guarnas of small size, one male, the other female. Only one was caught. After taking off the skin, we



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judged it weighed a pound and a half. With some flour and lard, (the only things we had except salt water,) it made us a fine little mess. We thought it a rare dish, though a small one for eleven half starved persons. At the same time a small vessel hove in sight; we made a signal to her with the blanket tied to a pole and placed it on the highest tree – some took off their white clothes and waved them in the air, hoping they would come to us; should they be pirates, they could do no more than kill us, and perhaps would give us some water, for which we began to suffer most excessively; but, notwithstanding all our efforts, she took no notice of us.

Saturday, 26th. – This day commenced with moderate weather and smooth sea; at low tide found some cockles; boiled and eat them, but they were very painful to the stomach. David Warren had a fit of strangling, with swelling of the bowels; but soon recovered, and said, "something like salt rose in his throat and choked him." Most of us then set off for the Keys, where the plank and shooks were put together in a raft, which we with pieces of boards paddled over to our island; when we consulted the best plan, either to build a raft large enough for us all to go on, or a boat; but the shooks having three or four nails in each, and having a piece of large reed or bamboo, previously found, of which we made pins, we concluded to make a boat.

Sunday, 27 – Commenced our labor, for which I know we need offer no apology. We took the two planks, which were about fourteen feet long, and two and a half wide, and fixed them together for the bottom of the boat; then with moulds made of palmetto bark, cut timber and knees from mangrove trees which spread so much as to make the boat four feet wide at the top, placed them exactly the distance apart of an Havana sugar box. – Her stern was square and the bows tapered to a peak, making her form resemble a flat-iron. We proceeded thus far and returned to rest for the night – but Mr. Bracket was too unwell to get much sleep.

Monday, 28 – Went on with the work as fast as possible. Some of the Spaniards had long knives about them, which proved very useful in fitting timbers, and a gimblet of mine, accidentally found on board the pirate, enabled us to use the wooden pins. And now our spirits began to revive, though *water, water*, was continually in our minds. We now feared the pirates might possibly come, find out our plan and put us to death, (although before we had wished to see them, being so much in want of water.) Our labor was extremely burdensome, and the Spaniards considerably peevish – but they would often say to me "never mind captain, by and by, Americana or Spanyol catch them, me go and see 'um hung." We quitted work for the day, cooked some cakes but found it necessary to reduce the quantity again, however small before. We found some herbs on a windward Key, which the Spaniards called Spanish tea. – This when well boiled we found somewhat palatable, although the water was very



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salt. This herb resembles pennyroyal in look and taste, though not so pungent. In the evening when we were setting round the fire to keep of the moschetoos, I observed David Warren's eyes shone like glass. The mate said to him - "David I think you will die before morning - I think you are struck with death now." I thought so too, and told him, "I thought it most likely we should all die here soon; but as some one of us might survive to carry the tidings to our friends, if you have any thing to say respecting your family, now is the time." - He then said, "I have a mother in Saco where I belong - she is a second time a widow - to-morrow if you can spare a scrap of paper and pencil I will write something." But no tomorrow came to him. - In the course of the night he had another spell of strangling, and soon after expired, without much pain and without a groan. He was about twenty-six years old. - How solemn was this scene to us! Here we beheld the ravages of death commenced upon us. More than one of us considered death a happy release. For myself I thought of my wife and children; and wished to live if God should so order it, though extreme thirst, hunger and exhaustion had well nigh prostrated my fondest hopes.

Tuesday, 29th. - Part of us recommenced labor on the boat, while myself and Mr. Bracket went and selected the highest clear spot of sand on the northern side of the island, where we dug Warren's grave, and boxed it up with shooks, thinking it would be the most suitable spot for the rest of us - whose turn would come next, we knew not. At about ten o'clock, A.M. conveyed the corpse to the grave, followed by us survivors - a scene, whose awful solemnity can never be painted. We stood around the grave, and there I read the funeral prayer from the Rev. Mr. Brooks's Family Prayer Book; and committed the body to the earth; covered it with some pieces of board and sand, and returned to our labor. One of the Spaniards, an old man, named Manuel, who was partial to me, and I to him, made a cross and placed it at the head of the grave saying, "Jesus Christ hath him now." Although I did not believe in any mysterious influence of this cross, yet I was perfectly willing it should stand there. The middle part of the day being very warm, our mouths parched with thirst, and our spirits so depressed, that we made but little progress during the remainder of this day, but in the evening were employed in picking oakum out of the bolt rope taken from the old sail.

Wednesday, 30th. - Returned to labor on the boat with as much vigor as our weak and debilitated state would admit, but it was a day of trial to us all; for the Spaniards and we Americans could not well understand each other's plans, and they being naturally petulant, would not work, nor listen with any patience for Joseph, our English fellow prisoner, to explain our views - they would sometimes undo what they had done, and in a few minutes replace it again; however before night we began to caulk her seams, by means of pieces of hard mangrove,



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made in form of a caulking-iron, and had the satisfaction of seeing her in a form something like a boat.

Thursday, 31st. - Went on with the work, some at caulking, others at battening the seams with strips of canvas, and pieces of pine nailed over, to keep the oakum in. Having found a suitable pole for a mast, the rest went about making a sail from the one we had used for a covering, also fitting oars of short pieces of boards, in form of a paddle, tied on a pole, we having a piece of fishing line brought by one of the prisoners. Thus, at three P.M. the boat was completed and put afloat. - We had all this time confidently hoped, that she would be sufficiently large and strong to carry us all - we made a trial and were disappointed! This was indeed a severe trial, and the emotions it called up were not easy to be suppressed. She proved leaky, for we had no carpenter's yard, or smith's shop to go to. - And now the question was, "who should go, and how many?" I found it necessary for six; four to row, one to steer and one to bale. Three of the Spaniards and the Frenchman claimed the right, as being best acquainted with the nearest inhabitants; likewise, they had when taken, two boats left at St. Maria, (about forty miles distant,) which they were confident of finding. They promised to return within two or three days for the rest of us - I thought it best to consent - Mr. Brackett it was agreed should go in my stead, because my papers must accompany me as a necessary protection, and my men apprehended danger if they were lost. Joseph Baxter (I think was his name) they wished should go, because he could speak both languages - leaving Manuel, George, Thomas and myself, to wait their return. Having thus made all arrangements, and putting up a keg of the least salt water, with a few pancakes of salt fish, they set off a little before sunset with our best wishes and prayers for their safety and return to our relief. - To launch off into the wide ocean, with strength almost exhausted, and in such a frail boat as this, you will say was very hazardous, and in truth it was; but what else was left to us? - Their intention was to touch at the Key where the Exertion was and if no boat was to be found there, to proceed to St. Maria, and if none there, to go to Trinidad and send us relief. - But alas! it was the last time I ever saw them! - Our suffering this day was most acute.

Tuesday, 5th. - About ten o'clock, A.M. discovered a boat drifting by on the southeastern side of the island about a mile distant. I deemed it a providential thing to us, and urged Thomas and George trying the raft for her. They reluctantly consented and set off, but it was nearly three P.M. when they came up with her - it was the same boat we had built! Where then was my friend Brackett and those who went with him? Every appearance was unfavorable. - I hoped that a good Providence had yet preserved him. - The two men who went for the boat, found it full of water, without oars, paddle, or sail;



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being in this condition, and about three miles to the leeward, the men found it impossible to tow her up, so left her, and were until eleven o'clock at night getting back with the raft. They were so exhausted, that had it not been nearly calm, they could never have returned.

Wednesday, 6th. — This morning was indeed the most gloomy I had ever experienced. — There appeared hardly a ray of hope that my friend Bracket could return, seeing the boat was lost. Our provisions nearly gone; our mouths parched extremely with thirst; our strength wasted; our spirits broken, and our hopes imprisoned within the circumference of this desolate island in the midst of an unfrequented ocean; all these things gave to the scene around us the hue of death. In the midst of this dreadful despondence, a sail hove in sight bearing the white flag! Our hopes were raised, of course — but no sooner raised than darkened, by hearing a gun fired. Here then was another gang of pirates. She soon, however, came near enough to anchor, and her boat pushed off towards us with three men in her. — Thinking it now no worse to die by sword than famine, I walked down immediately to meet them. I knew them not. — A moment before the boat touched the ground, a man leaped from her bows and caught me in his arms! *It was Nickola!* — saying, "Do you now believe Nickola is your friend? yes, said he, *Jamieson* will yet prove himself so." — No words can express my emotions at this moment. This was a friend indeed. The reason of my not recognizing them before, was that they had cut their beards and whiskers. Turning to my fellow-sufferers, Nickola asked — "Are these all that are left of you? where are the others?" — At this moment seeing David's grave — "are they dead then? Ah! I suspected it, I know what you were put here for." As soon as I could recover myself, I gave him an account of Mr. Bracket and the others. — "How unfortunate," he said, "they must be lost, or some pirates have taken them." — "But," he continued, "we have no time to lose; you had better embark immediately with us, and go where you please, we are at your service." The other two in the boat were Frenchmen, one named Lyon, the other Parrikete. They affectionately embraced each of us; then holding to my mouth the nose of a teakettle, filled with wine, said "Drink plenty, no hurt you." I drank as much as I judged prudent. They then gave it to my fellow sufferers — I experienced almost immediate relief, not feeling it in my head; they had also brought in the boat for us, a dish of salt beef and potatoes, of which we took a little. Then sent the boat on board for the other two men, being five in all; who came ashore, and rejoiced enough was I to see among them Thomas Young, one of my crew, who was detained on board the Mexican, but had escaped through Nickola's means; the other a Frenchman, named John Cadedt. I now thought again and again, with troubled emotion, of my dear friend Bracket's fate. I took the last piece of paper I had, and wrote with pencil a few words, informing him (should he come there) that "I and the rest were safe; that I was not mistaken in the friend



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in whom I had placed so much confidence, that he had accomplished my highest expectations; and that I should go immediately to Trinidad, and requested him to go there also, and apply to Mr. Isaac W. Lord, my consignee, for assistance." I put the paper into a junk bottle, previously found on the beach, put in a stopper, and left it, together with what little flour remained, a keg of water brought from Nickola's vessel, and a few other things which I thought might be of service to him. We then repaired with our friends on board, where we were kindly treated. She was a sloop from Jamaica, of about twelve tons, with a cargo of rum and wine, bound to Trinidad. I asked "which way they intended to go?" They said "to Jamaica if agreeable to me." As I preferred Trinidad, I told them, "if they would give me the Exertion's boat which was along-side (beside their own) some water and provisions, we would take chance in her." - "For perhaps," said I, "you will fare better at Jamaica, than at Trinidad." After a few minutes consultation, they said "you are too much exhausted to row the distance of one hundred miles, therefore we will go and carry you - we consider ourselves at your service." I expressed a wish to take a look at the Exertion, possibly we might hear something of Mr. Bracket. Nickola said "very well," so got under way, and run for her, having a light westerly wind. He then related to me the manner of their desertion from the pirates; as nearly as I can recollect his own words, he said, "A few days since, the pirates took four small vessels, I believe Spaniards; they having but two officers for the two first, the third fell to me as prize master, and having an understanding with the three Frenchmen and Thomas, selected them for my crew, and went on board with orders to follow the Mexican; which I obeyed. The fourth, the pirates took out all but one man and bade him also follow their vessel. Now our schooner leaked so bad, that we left her and in her stead agreed to take this little sloop (which we are now in) together with the one man. The night being very dark we all agreed to desert the pirates - altered our course and touched at St. Maria, where we landed the one man - saw no boats there, could hear nothing from you, and agreed one and all at the risk of our lives to come and liberate you if you were alive; knowing, as we did, that you were put on this Key to perish. On our way we boarded the Exertion, thinking possibly you might have been there. On board her we found a sail and paddle. We took one of the pirate's boats which they had left along-side of her, which proves how we came by two boats. My friend, the circumstance I am now about to relate, will somewhat astonish you. When the pirate's boat with Bolidar was sent to the before mentioned Key, on the 19th of January, it was their intention to leave you prisoners there, where was nothing but salt water and mangroves, and no possibility of escape. This was the plan of Baltizar, their abandoned pilot; but Bolidar's heart failed him, and he objected to it; then, after a conference, Captain Jonnia ordered you to be put on the





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little island from whence we have now taken you. But after this was done, that night the French and Portuguese part of the Mexican's crew protested against it; so that Captain Jonnia to satisfy them, sent his large boat to take you and your fellow prisoners back again, taking care to select his confidential Spaniards for this errand. And you will believe me they set off from the Mexican, and after spending about as much time as would really have taken them to come to you, they returned, and reported they had been to your island, and landed, and that none of you were there, somebody having taken you off! This, all my companions here know to be true. - I knew it was impossible you could have been liberated, and therefore we determined among ourselves, that should an opportunity occur we would come and save your lives, as we now have." He then expressed, as he hitherto had done (and I believe with sincerity), his disgust with the bad company which he had been in, and looked forward with anxiety to the day when he might return to his native country. I advised him to get on board an American vessel, whenever an opportunity offered, and come to the United States; and on his arrival direct a letter to me; repeating my earnest desire to make some return for the disinterested friendship which he had shown toward me. With the Frenchman I had but little conversation, being unacquainted with the language.

Here ended Nickola's account. "And now" said the Frenchman, "our hearts be easy." Nickola observed he had left all and found us. I gave them my warmest tribute of gratitude, saying I looked upon them under God as the preservers of our lives, and promised them all the assistance which my situation might enable me to afford. - This brings me to,

Thursday evening, 7th, when, at eleven o'clock, we anchored at the creek's mouth, near the Exertion. I was anxious to board her; accordingly took with me Nickola, Thomas, George and two others, well armed, each with a musket and cutlass. I jumped on her deck, saw a fire in the camboose, but no person there: I called aloud Mr. Bracket's name several times, saying "it is Captain Lincoln, don't be afraid, but show yourself," but no answer was given. She had no masts, spars, rigging, furniture, provisions or any thing left, except her bowsprit, and a few barrels of salt provisions of her cargo. Her ceiling had holes cut in it, no doubt in their foolish search for money. I left her with peculiar emotions, such as I hope never again to experience; and returned to the little sloop where we remained till -

Friday, 8th - When I had disposition to visit the island on which we were first imprisoned. - Found nothing there - saw a boat among the mangroves, near the Exertion. Returned, and got under way immediately for Trinidad. In the night while under full sail, run aground on a sunken Key, having rocks above the water, resembling old stumps of trees; we, however, soon got off and anchored. Most of those Keys have similar rocks about them, which



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navigators must carefully guard against.

Monday, 11th – Got under way – saw a brig at anchor about five miles below the mouth of the harbor; we hoped to avoid her speaking us; but when we opened in sight of her, discovered a boat making towards us, with a number of armed men in her. This alarmed my friends, and as we did not see the brig's ensign hoisted, they declared the boat was a pirate, and looking through the spy-glass, they knew some of them to be the Mexican's men! This state of things was quite alarming. They said, "we will not be taken alive by them." Immediately the boat fired a musket; the ball passed through our mainsail. My friends insisted on beating them off: I endeavored to dissuade them, believing, as I did, that the brig was a Spanish man-of-war, who had sent her boat to ascertain who we were. I thought we had better heave to. Immediately another shot came. Then they insisted on fighting, and said "if I would not help them, I was no friend." I reluctantly acquiesced, and handed up the guns – commenced firing upon them and they upon us. We received several shot through the sails, but no one was hurt on either side. Our boats had been cast adrift to make us go the faster, and we gained upon them – continued firing until they turned from us, and went for our boats, which they took in tow for the brig. Soon after this, it became calm: then I saw that the brig had us in her power. – She manned and armed two more boats for us. We now concluded, since we had scarcely any ammunition, to surrender; and were towed down alongside the brig on board, and were asked by the captain, who could speak English, "what for you fire on the boat?" I told him "we thought her a pirate, and did not like to be taken by them again, having already suffered too much;" showing my papers. He said, "Captain Americana, never mind, go and take some dinner – which are your men?" I pointed them out to him, and he ordered them the liberty of the decks; but my friend Nickola and his three associates were immediately put in irons. They were, however, afterwards taken out of irons and examined; and I understood the Frenchmen agreed to enlist, as they judged it the surest way to better their condition. Whether Nickola enlisted, I do not know, but think that he did, as I understood that offer was made to him: I however endeavored to explain more distinctly to the captain, the benevolent efforts of these four men by whom my life had been saved, and used every argument in my power to procure their discharge. I also applied to the governor, and exerted myself with peculiar interest, dictated as I trust with heartfelt gratitude – and I ardently hope ere this, that Nickola is on his way to this country, where I may have an opportunity of convincing him that such an act of benevolence will not go unrewarded. Previous to my leaving Trinidad, I made all the arrangements in my power with my influential friends, and doubt not, that their laudable efforts will be accomplished. – The sloop's cargo was then taken on board the brig; after which the captain requested a certificate that I was politely treated by him, saying



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that his name was Captain Candama, of the privateer brig Prudentee of eighteen guns. This request I complied with. His first lieutenant told me he had sailed out of Boston, as commander for T.C. Amory, Esq. during the last war. In the course of the evening my friends were taken out of irons and examined separately, then put back again. The captain invited me to supper in his cabin, and a berth for the night, which was truly acceptable. The next morning after breakfast, I with my people were set on shore with the few things we had, with the promise of the Exertion's small boat in a day or two, - but it was never sent me - the reason, let the reader imagine. On landing at the wharf Casildar, we were immediately taken by soldiers to the guard house, which was a very filthy place; thinking I suppose, and even calling us, pirates. Soon some friends came to see me. Mr. Cotton, who resides there brought us in some soup. Mr. Isaac W. Lord, of Boston, my merchant, came with Captain Tate, who sent immediately to the governor; for I would not show my papers to any one else. He came about sunset, and after examining Manuel my Spanish fellow prisoner, and my papers, said to be, giving me the papers, "Captain, you are at liberty." I was kindly invited by Captain Matthew Rice, of schooner Galaxy, of Boston, to go on board his vessel, and live with him during my stay there. This generous offer I accepted, and was treated by him with the greatest hospitality; for I was hungered and he gave me meat, I was athirst and he gave me drink, I was naked and he clothed me, a stranger and he took me in. He likewise took Manuel and my three men for that night. Next day Mr. Lord rendered me all necessary assistance in making my protest. He had heard nothing from me until my arrival. I was greatly disappointed in not finding Mr. Bracket, and requested Mr. Lord to give him all needful aid if he should come there. To Captain Carnes, of the schooner Hannah, of Boston, I would tender my sincere thanks, for his kindness in giving me a passage to Boston, which I gladly accepted. To those gentlemen of Trinidad, and many captains of American vessels, who gave me sea clothing, &c., I offer my cordial gratitude.

I am fully of the opinion that these ferocious pirates are linked in with many inhabitants of Cuba; and the government in many respects appears covertly to encourage them.

It is with heartfelt delight, that, since the above narrative was written, I have learned that Mr. Bracket and his companions are safe; he arrived at Port d'Esprit, about forty leagues east of Trinidad. A letter has been received from him, stating that he should proceed to Trinidad the first opportunity. - It appears that after reaching the wreck, they found a boat from the shore, taking on board some of the Exertion's cargo, in which they proceeded to the above place. Why it was not in his power to come to our relief will no doubt be satisfactorily disclosed when he may be so fortunate as once more to return to his native country and friends.

I felt great anxiety to learn what became of Jamieson, who, my readers will recollect, was detained on board the Spanish brig Prudentee near Trinidad. I heard nothing from him, until I



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believe eighteen months after I reached home, when I received a letter from him, from Montego Bay, Jamaica, informing me that he was then residing in that island. I immediately wrote to him, and invited him to come on to the United States. He accordingly came on passenger with Captain Wilson of Cohasset, and arrived in Boston, in August, 1824. Our meeting was very affecting. Trying scenes were brought up before us; scenes gone forever, through which we had passed together, where our acquaintance was formed, and since which time, we had never met. I beheld once more the preserver of my life; the instrument, under Providence, of restoring me to my home, my family, and my friends, and I regarded him with no ordinary emotion. My family were delighted to see him, and cordially united in giving him a warm reception. He told me that after we separated in Trinidad, he remained on board the Spanish brig. The commander asked him and his companions if they would enlist; the Frenchmen replied that they would, but he said nothing, being determined to make his escape, the very first opportunity which should present. The Spanish brig afterwards fell in with a Columbian Patriot, an armed brig of eighteen guns. Being of about equal force, they gave battle, and fought between three and four hours. Both parties were very much injured; and, without any considerable advantage on either side, both drew off to make repairs. The Spanish brig Prudentee, put into St. Jago de Cuba. Jamieson was wounded in the action, by a musket ball, through his arm, and was taken on shore, with the other wounded, and placed in the hospital of St. Jago. Here he remained for a considerable time, until he had nearly recovered, when he found an opportunity of escaping, and embarking for Jamaica. He arrived in safety at Kingston, and from there, travelled barefoot over the mountains, until very much exhausted, he reached Montego Bay, where he had friends, and where one of his brothers possessed some property. From this place, he afterwards wrote to me. He told me that before he came to Massachusetts, he saw the villainous pilot of the Mexican, the infamous Baltizar, with several other pirates, brought into Montego Bay, from whence they were to be conveyed to Kingston to be executed. Whether the others were part of the Mexican's crew, or not, I do not know. Baltizar was an old man, and as Jamieson said, it was a melancholy and heart-rending sight, to see him borne to execution with those gray hairs, which might have been venerable in virtuous old age, now a shame and reproach to this hoary villain, for he was full of years, and old in iniquity. When Jamieson received the letter which I wrote him, he immediately embarked with Captain Wilson, and came to Boston, as I have before observed.

According to his own account he was of a very respectable family in Greenock, Scotland. His father when living was a rich cloth merchant, but both his father and mother had been dead many years. He was the youngest of thirteen children, and being, as he said, of a roving disposition, had always followed the seas. He had received a polite education, and was of a very gentlemanly deportment. He spoke several living languages, and was skilled in drawing and painting. He had travelled extensively in different countries, and acquired in consequence an excellent knowledge of their manners and customs. His varied information (for hardly any subject escaped him) rendered him a very entertaining companion. His observations on the character of different nations were very liberal; marking their various



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traits, their virtues and vices, with playful humorousness, quite free from bigotry, or narrow prejudice.

I was in trade, between Boston and Philadelphia, at the time he came to Massachusetts, and he sailed with me several trips as my mate. He afterwards went to Cuba, and was subsequently engaged in the mackerel fishery, out of the port of Hingham, during the warm season, and in the winter frequently employed himself in teaching navigation to young men, for which he was eminently qualified. He remained with us, until his death, which took place in 1829. At this time he had been out at sea two or three days, when he was taken sick, and was carried into Cape Cod, where he died, on the first day of May, 1829, and there his remains lie buried. Peace be to his ashes! They rest in a strange land, far from his kindred and his native country.

Since his death I have met with Mr. Stewart, of Philadelphia, who was Commercial Agent in Trinidad at the time of my capture. He informed me that the piratical schooner Mexican, was afterwards chased by an English government vessel, from Jamaica, which was cruising in search of it. Being hotly pursued, the pirates deserted their vessel, and fled to the mangrove bushes, on an island similar to that on which they had placed me and my crew to die. The English surrounded them, and thus they were cut off from all hopes of escape. They remained there, I think fourteen days, when being almost entirely subdued by famine, eleven surrendered themselves, and were taken. The others probably perished among the mangroves. The few who were taken were carried by the government vessel into Trinidad. Mr. Stewart said that he saw them himself, and such miserable objects, that had life, he never before beheld. They were in a state of starvation; their beards had grown to a frightful length, their bodies, were covered with filth and vermin, and their countenances were hideous. From Trinidad they were taken to Kingston, Jamaica, and there hung on Friday, the 7th of February, 1823.

About a quarter of an hour before day dawn, the wretched culprits were taken from the jail, under a guard of soldiers from the 50th regiment, and the City Guard. On their arrival at the wherry wharf, the military retired, and the prisoners, with the Town Guard were put on board two wherries, in which they proceeded to Port Royal Point, the usual place of execution in similar cases. They were there met by a strong party of military, consisting of 50 men, under command of an officer. They formed themselves into a square round the place of execution, with the sheriff and his officers with the prisoners in the centre. The gallows was of considerable length, and contrived with a drop so as to prevent the unpleasant circumstances which frequently occur.

The unfortunate men had been in continual prayer from the time they were awakened out of a deep sleep till they arrived at that place, where they were to close their existence.

They all expressed their gratitude for the attention they had met with from the sheriff and the inferior officers. Many pressed the hands of the turnkey to their lips, others to their hearts and on their knees, prayed that God, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary would bless him and the other jailors for their goodness. They all then fervently joined in prayer. To the astonishment of all, no clerical character, of any persuasion, was present. They repeatedly called out "*Adonde esta el padre,*"



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(Where is the holy father).

Juan Hernandez called on all persons present to hear him – he was innocent; what they had said about his confessing himself guilty was untrue. He had admitted himself guilty, because he hoped for pardon; but that now he was to die, he called God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, to witness that he spoke the truth – that he was no pirate, no murderer – he had been forced. The Lieutenant of the pirates was a wretch, who did not fear God, and had compelled him to act. Juan Gutierrez and Francisco de Sayas were loud in their protestations of innocence.

Manuel Lima said, for himself, he did not care; he felt for the old man (Miguel Jose). How could he be a pirate who could not help himself? If it were a Christian country, they would have pardoned him for his gray hairs. He was innocent – they had both been forced. Let none of his friends or relations ever venture to sea – he hoped his death would be a warning to them, that the innocent might suffer for the guilty. The language of this young man marked him a superior to the generality of his companions in misfortune. The seamen of the Whim stated that he was very kind to them when prisoners on board the piratical vessel. Just before he was turned off, he addressed the old man – “*Adios viejo, para siempre adios.*” – (Farewell, old man, forever farewell.)

Several of the prisoners cried out for mercy, pardon, pardon. Domingo Eucalla, the black man, then addressed them. “Do not look for mercy here, but pray to God; we are all brought here to die. This is not built for nothing; here we must end our lives. You know I am innocent, but I must die the same as you all. There is not any body here who can do us any good, so let us think only of God Almighty. We are not children but men, you know that all must die; and in a few years those who kill us must die too. When I was born, God set the way of my death; I do not blame any body. I was taken by the pirates and they made me help them; they would not let me be idle. I could not show that this was the truth, and therefore they have judged me by the people they have found me with. I am put to death unjustly, but I blame nobody. It was my misfortune. Come, let us pray. If we are innocent, so much the less we have to repent. I do not come here to accuse any one. Death must come one day or other; better to the innocent than guilty.” He then joined in prayer with the others. He seemed to be much revered by his fellow prisoners. He chose those prayers he thought most adapted to the occasion. Hundreds were witnesses to the manly firmness of this negro. Observing a bystander listening attentively to the complaints of one of his fellow wretches, he translated what had been said into English. With a steady pace, and a resolute and resigned countenance, he ascended the fatal scaffold. Observing the executioner unable to untie a knot on the collar of one of the prisoners, he with his teeth untied it. He then prayed most fervently till the drop fell.

Miguel Jose protested his innocence. – “*No he robado, no he matado ningune, muero inocente.*” – (I have robbed no one, I have killed no one, I die innocent. I am an old man, but my family will feel my disgraceful death.)

Francisco Migul prayed devoutly, but inaudibly. – His soul seemed to have quitted the body before he was executed.

Breti Gullimillit called on all to witness his innocence; it was





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of no use for him to say an untruth, for he was going before the face of God.

Augustus Hernandez repeatedly declared his innocence, requested that no one would say he had made a confession; he had none to make.

Juan Hernandez was rather obstinate when the execution pulled the cap over his eyes. He said, rather passionately – "*Quita is de mis ojos.*" – (Remove it from my eyes.) He then rubbed it up against one of the posts of the gallows.

Miguel Jose made the same complaint, and drew the covering from his eyes by rubbing his head against a fellow sufferer.

Pedro Nondre was loud in his ejaculations for mercy. He wept bitterly. He was covered with marks of deep wounds.

The whole of the ten included in the death warrant, having been placed on the scaffold, and the ropes suspended, the drop was let down. Nondre being an immense heavy man, broke the rope, and fell to the ground alive. Juan Hernandez struggled long. Lima was much convulsed. The old man Gullimillit, and Migul, were apparently dead before the drop fell. Eucalla (the black man) gave one convulsion, and all was over.

When Nondre recovered from the fall and saw his nine lifeless companions stretched in death, he gave an agonizing shriek; he wrung his hands, screamed "*Favor, favor, me matan sin causa. O! buenos Christianos, me amparen, ampara me, ampara me, no hay Christiano en asta, tiara?*" (Mercy, mercy, they kill me without cause. – Oh, good Christians, protect me. Oh, protect me. Is there no Christian in this land?)

He then lifted his eyes to Heaven, and prayed long and loud. Upon being again suspended, he was for a long period convulsed. He was an immense powerful man, and died hard.

A piratical station was taken in the Island of Cuba by the U.S. schooners of war, Greyhound and Beagle. They left Thompson's Island June 7, 1823, under the command of Lieuts. Kearney and Newton, and cruised within the Key's on the south side of Cuba, as far as Cape Cruz, touching at all the intermediate ports on the island, to intercept pirates. On the 21st of July, they came to anchor off Cape Cruz, and Lieut. Kearney went in his boat to reconnoitre the shore, when he was fired on by a party of pirates who were concealed among the bushes. A fire was also opened from several pieces of cannon erected on a hill a short distance off. The boat returned, and five or six others were manned from the vessels, and pushed off for the shore, but a very heavy cannonade being kept up by the pirates on the heights, as well as from the boats, were compelled to retreat. The two schooners were then warped in, when they discharged several broadsides, and covered the landing of the boats. After a short time the pirates retreated to a hill that was well fortified. A small hamlet, in which the pirates resided, was set fire to and destroyed. Three guns, one a four pounder, and two large swivels, with several pistols, cutlasses, and eight large boats, were captured. A cave, about 150 feet deep, was discovered, near where the houses were, and after considerable difficulty, a party of seamen got to the bottom, where was found an immense quantity of plunder, consisting of broadcloths, dry goods, female dresses, saddlery, &c. Many human bones were also in the cave, supposed to have been unfortunate persons who were taken and put to death. A great many of the articles were brought away, and the rest destroyed. About forty pirates escaped to the heights, but many were





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supposed to have been killed from the fire of the schooners, as well as from the men who landed. The bushes were so thick that it was impossible to go after them. Several other caves are in the neighborhood, in which it was conjectured they occasionally take shelter.

In 1823, Commodore Porter commanded the United States squadron in these seas; much good was done in preventing new acts of piracy; but these wretches kept aloof and did not venture to sea as formerly, but some were taken.

Almost every day furnished accounts evincing the activity of Commodore Porter, and the officers and men under his command; but for a long time their industry and zeal was rather shown in the *suppression* of piracy than the *punishment* of it. At length, however, an opportunity offered for inflicting the latter, as detailed in the following letter, dated Matanzas, July 10, 1823.

"I have the pleasure of informing you of a brilliant achievement obtained against the pirates on the 5th inst. by two barges attached to Commodore Porter's squadron, the Gallinipper, Lieut. Watson, 18 men, and the Moscheto, Lieut. Inman, 10 men. The barges were returning from a cruise to windward; when they were near Jiguapa Bay, 13 leagues to windward of Matanzas, they entered it - it being a rendezvous for pirates. They immediately discovered a large schooner under way, which they supposed to be a Patriot privateer; and as their stores were nearly exhausted, they hoped to obtain some supplies from her. They therefore made sail in pursuit. When they were within cannon shot distance, she rounded to and fired her long gun, at the same time run up the bloody flag, directing her course towards the shore, and continuing to fire without effect. When she had got within a short distance of the shore, she came to, with springs on her cable, continuing to fire; and when the barges were within 30 yards, they fired their muskets without touching boat or man; our men gave three cheers, and prepared to board; the pirates, discovering their intention, jumped into the water, when the bargemen, calling on the name of 'Allen,' commenced a destructive slaughter, killing them in the water and as they landed. So exasperated were our men, that it was impossible for their officers to restrain them, and many were killed after orders were given to grant quarter. Twenty-seven dead were counted, some sunk, five taken prisoners by the bargemen, and eight taken by a party of Spaniards on shore. The officers calculated that from 30 to 35 were killed. The schooner mounted a long nine pounder on a pivot, and 4 four pounders, with every other necessary armament, and a crew of 50 to 60 men, and ought to have blown the barges to atoms. She was commanded by the notorious Diablero or Little Devil. This statement I have from Lieut. Watson himself, and it is certainly the most decisive operation that has been effected against those murderers, either by the English or American force."

"This affair occurred on the same spot where the brave Allen fell about one year since. The prize was sent to Thompson's Island."

A British sloop of war, about the same time, captured a pirate schooner off St. Domingo, with a crew of 60 men. She had 200,000 dollars in specie, and other valuable articles on board. The brig Vestal sent another pirate schooner to New-Providence.

1822

➡ US naval forces put ashore on the northwest coast of Cuba to burn a pirate station.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS





November: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Aimable Socorro*, master Jozé Inza, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, delivered its cargo of unfortunates out of an unknown area of Africa at the brave new world port of [Havana](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

1823

➡ There was yet another [servile insurrection](#) to put down, on the island of Jamaica:

1640-1713	seven slave revolts in the islands of the British West Indies
1655	With Jamaica in transition between Spanish control and English control, some 1,500 slaves escaped into the mountains to form maroon communities.
1656	Juan de Bolas led many of the escaped slaves in the maroon communities of the mountains of Jamaica down to the plains and the coast with a deal in which the English granted pardon and freedom. Many maroons, however, would elect to remain in the mountains.
1668	“Lobby’s rebellion” on Jamaica — several hundred black slaves escaped to the mountains.
1725-1740	1st Maroon War on Jamaica
March 1, 1738-1739	The 1st Maroon War on Jamaica ended in a treaty guaranteeing freedom for the maroons, the deal being that henceforward they would capture and turn in for a reward any new slave or bond-laborer escapees.
1760	slave uprising on Jamaica
1776	slave uprising on Jamaica
1784	slave uprising on Jamaica
1795-1796	2d Maroon War on Jamaica
1823	slave uprising on Jamaica
1824	slave uprising on Jamaica
1831	slave uprising on Jamaica

The [Cuban](#) poet José María Heredia and José Francisco Lemus organize a secret society known as “Suns and Rays of Bolívar.” Their society was to plan a rebellion for independence and to seek union with that famed liberator. However, Spain quelled such independence movements in [Cuba](#).

➡ April 8, Tuesday: The United States navy would be making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date was near Escondido.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS


**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE APRIL 8TH, 1823 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).**





CUBA

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 April 16, Wednesday: The United States navy was making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date was near Cayo Blanco.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 16th of 4M / This morning we went down to the head of the Long Wharf to meet the Steam Boat in which we were previously advised Micajah Collins & Isaac Bassett of Lynn [-] pected to be- at 10 OClock the Boat arrived & we had just time to take our abovementioned friends by the hand [-] their way to N York & Philadelphia - Micajah expecting [-] attend the latter Yearly Meeting & spend most of the times visiting some Meetings particularly in Virginia - [-] eting. -*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

**“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**

CUBA

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→ June: Secretary of State [John Quincy Adams](#) advised the British government that free black British sailors would no longer be imprisoned upon arrival in South Carolina ports.



SLAVERY

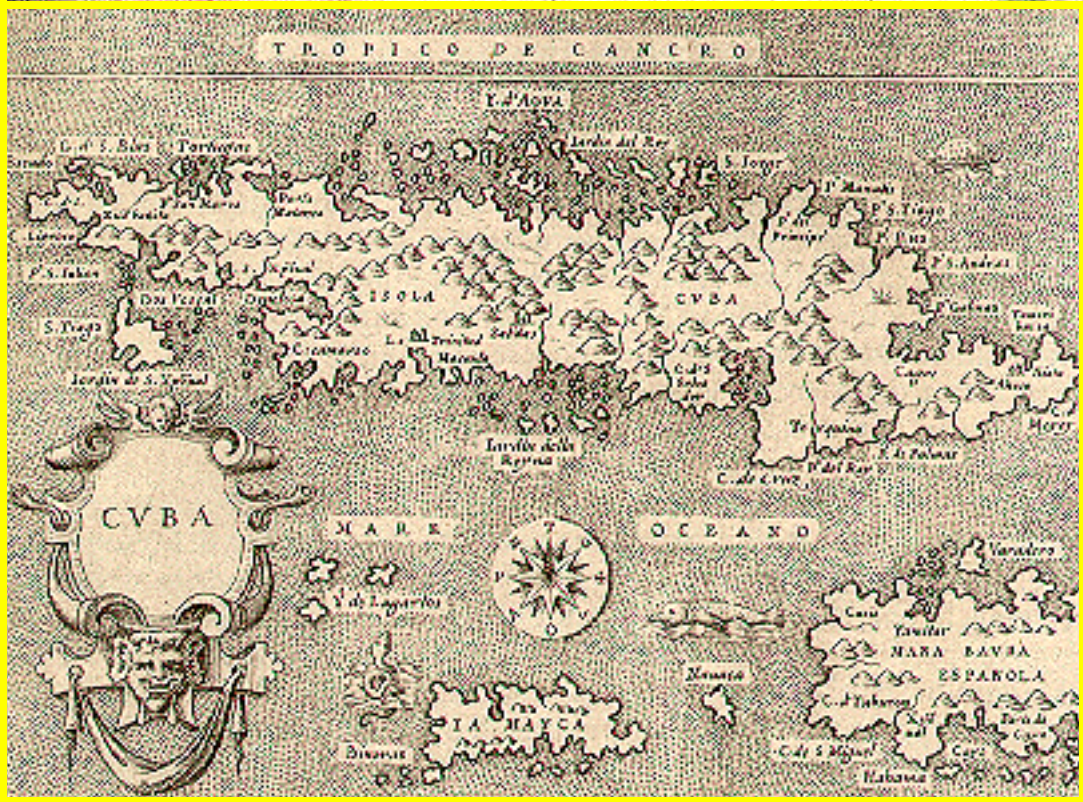


CUBA

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Secretary of State Adams made the policy of the US in the Caribbean perfectly clear, enunciating that there were “laws of political as well as physical gravitation.”

“These islands [Cuba and Puerto Rico] are natural appendages of the North American continent, and one of them [Cuba] almost within sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union....”





CUBA

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June: The [Baltimore-Conewago Canal](#) commissioners left Baltimore to meet with De Witt Clinton in New York City. They hired James Geddes as their [canal](#) director. From New York they continued to Albany and took the [Erie Canal](#) to Cayuga Lake. They took a steamboat to Ithaca and traveled overland to the Susquehanna River (their efforts would be for nothing — the canal would never be dug).

A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Aimable Socorro*, master Jozé Inza, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at the port of [Havana](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

July 11, Friday: The United States navy was making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date was at Siquapa Bay.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

July 21, Monday: The United States navy was making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date was at Cape Cruz.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

Maria Szymanowska performed in Carlsbad, Bohemia on her 3-year concert tour of Europe.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day Rose early this morning & left cousin Howlands House before any of the family were up, went to Daniel Howlands & after rectifying his Clock, to the ferry, but finding the boat was not ready to Start went up to Caleb Weavers & took a bowl of Milk, returned, come over the ferry in Season to take a Dish of Coffee*

with my H -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Desgamisada*, master Juan Sandeli, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, the port of [Havana, Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY



October 23, Thursday: The United States navy was making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date, the last for the year, was at Camrioca.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

The Boston [Weekly Messenger](#) announced that at the recent cattle show in Brighton, [John Thoreau, Senior](#)'s pencils made in [Concord](#) had won a \$2.<sup>00</sup> prize.

In Philadelphia, [Eastern State Penitentiary](#) first opened its doors (or, rather, it being a prison, a better rendition would I suppose be that it first locked its doors and drew its blinds). Its initial inmate was "...Charles Williams, Prisoner Number One. Burglar. Light Black Skin. Five feet seven inches tall. Foot: eleven inches. Scar on nose. Scar on Thigh. Broad Mouth. Black eyes. Farmer by trade. Can read. Theft included one twenty-dollar watch, one three-dollar gold seal, one, a gold key. Sentenced to two years confinement with labor. Received by Samuel R. Wood, first Warden, Eastern State Penitentiary..."

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 23 of 10th M / A Short testimony by J Dennis & by me  
some favour experienced as well as Some tossings & rovings of  
mind -*



**CUBA**


**CUBA**

*The epistle from the last Yearly, to the Subordinate Meetings was read in The Preparative meeting, & tho' I had heard it several times before, now seemed fresh – The Queries were answered as usual. –*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

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



 December 2, Tuesday: Carlos Martinez de Irujo y Tacon, marques de Casa-Irujo, duque de Sotomayor replaced Victor Damian Saez y Sanchez-Mayor as 1st Secretary of State of Spain.

The doctrine expressed in President James Monroe’s 7th annual message to Congress closed “the American continents to colonial settlements by non-American Powers” and excluded “the European Powers from all interference in the political affairs of the American Republics”:



[see following]

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Our President, in his address to the US Congress declaring our first formal foreign policy, also specifically excluded the government of the island of Haiti from protection under his Monroe Doctrine on the interesting traditional basis of its being “a Government of people of color.” Since black people could not trust white



CUBA

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**Yet more from James Monroe's 7th Annual Message to Congress:**

The late events in Spain and Portugal shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none of them more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in hope that other powers will pursue the same course....





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**From James Monroe's 7th Annual Message to Congress:**

... At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.... It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the results have been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgement of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.





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people, his reasoning went, and since the governments of the community of nations were made up of white people, the government of [Haiti](#) would inevitably exhibit “a separate interest and a distrust of other nations” — and could not therefore itself be trusted.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 2 of 12 M 1823 / In Silent waiting this morning, some touches of life were experienced - & sympathy arose with Friends in a trial which I am informed awaits them at their Quarterly Meeting held there tomorrow*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1824

April: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Aimable Socorro*, master Castello, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at the port of Havana, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

CUBA

CUBA



May: Two **negreros** flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Chatica*, master Jozé Inza, and the *Indomable*, master J. Sangredas, on their one known Middle Passage, arrived during this month at the port of Havana, **Cuba**.



RACE SLAVERY  
THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



June: Two [negreros](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Espanola*, master Luna, P.G. de, and the *Especuladora*, master Manzana, S., on their one and only known Middle Passage, arrived during this month at their destination, the port of Havana, [Cuba](#).







August: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Feliciana*, master Anlet, J., on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Havana, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY



October: The USS *Porpoise*, still on its cruise which had been authorized in 1822, landed bluejackets in pursuit of [pirates](#) near Matanzas, [Cuba](#).

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

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

CUBA

CUBA

December 9, Thursday: The revolutionary forces of Peru led by Antonio José de Sucre decisively defeated the forces of their Spanish overlords near Ayacucho, southeast of Lima. The Spanish would be thrown out of the American mainland, in the north, in the central region, and in the south. Spain still would retain control, however, over two major islands of the West Indies: Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 9th of 12 M / This morning before meeting a season of feeling - & at meeting a season of some favour - tho' thought which I wished to be clear of would intrude upon me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

December 18, Saturday: New-York mayor Philip Hone decided to back the Delaware and Hudson Canal.



Supply and demand. During this month a negrero flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the Bella Dolores, master Guerrero, on its only known Middle Passage, was arriving at its destination port of Havana, Cuba with an unknown number of fresh slaves on board.







CUBA

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Yet another [servile insurrection](#) was in this year being put down in Jamaica:

<b>1640-1713</b>	seven slave revolts in the islands of the British West Indies
<b>1655</b>	With Jamaica in transition between Spanish control and English control, some 1,500 slaves escaped into the mountains to form maroon communities.
<b>1656</b>	Juan de Bolas led many of the escaped slaves in the maroon communities of the mountains of Jamaica down to the plains and the coast with a deal in which the English granted pardon and freedom. Many maroons, however, would elect to remain in the mountains.
<b>1668</b>	“Lobby’s rebellion” on Jamaica — several hundred black slaves escaped to the mountains.
<b>1725-1740</b>	1st Maroon War on Jamaica
<b>March 1, 1738-1739</b>	The 1st Maroon War on Jamaica ended in a treaty guaranteeing freedom for the maroons, the deal being that henceforward they would capture and turn in for a reward any new slave or bond-laborer escapees.
<b>1760</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1776</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1784</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1795-1796</b>	2d Maroon War on Jamaica
<b>1823</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1824</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica
<b>1831</b>	slave uprising on Jamaica

There appears below a record of [manumissions](#) on Jamaica, an island upon which until this date a £100 bond had been required by the churchwardens as security against a manumittee becoming a parish object of charity. The Act “for the removing of impediments to the manumission of Slaves by Owners having only a limited interest,” in this year in which yet another slave uprising was being suppressed, stipulated that “Whereas it is now required by law, in all cases of manumission by deed, that a Bond should be given to the Churchwardens of the parish for payment of an annuity of £5 for the maintenance of any slave intended to be manuminised, and such bond is in many cases unnecessary. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid That it shall not be necessary to give such a bond to the churchwardens, provided that in lieu thereof the Slave, intended to be manuminised, shall be produced to the magistrates and Vestry of the Parish where such Slave shall reside, or it shall be otherwise shown to their satisfaction that the manumission is not given for the purpose of relieving the Owner from the obligation of maintaining an Aged or infirm Slave, a certificate thereof shall be given by the Vestry, and shall be annexed to, and entered in the Secretary’s Office with the Deed of Manumission.” Each such deed paper received in the Secretary’s Office required a 5/- Stamp, and the Office receipt required an additional stamp worth 2/6. The fee for recording of deeds, whether manumissions or otherwise, was 2/6 a sheet (a sheet consisting of 160 words), and therefore of course the charge for recording a manumission depended upon the number of words the Instrument contained.



**CUBA**

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We note that the ages of these persons receiving [manumission](#) are never placed on the record:

Date of Release	Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
May 28, 1796	Robert Davison	Pally Ohlson & her 2 children, Peg, William	10 shillings
January 1, 1800	Thomas Goldwin, Power of Attorney	Bessy al Bessy Foxen	£65
June 15, 1805	Caleb Powell	Mary Powell	10 shillings
June 25, 1805	Charles Rose Ellis	Charlotte & her 6 children, Elizabeth Dodd, Jane Dodd, Nancy Dodd, Charlotte Dodd, John, Sarah	£700
April 1, 1807	Sarah Baird	Bessy	10 shillings
July 2, 1811	John Morant Power of Attorney	James Allan	£110
July 2, 1811	John Morant Power of Attorney	John Allan	£139 11/-
October 8, 1812	Mary Richards	Hannah Richards & child, Mary Payne Golden	£160
March 20, 1813	William Henry Parker	Edward Cragie, Maria Williams	£90
June 4, 1813	Robert Jacobs	Joe al Joseph Jacobs Diamond	10 shillings
June 4, 1813	Henry Glassford Power of Attorney	Henry Palmer Moore	£160
August 16, 1814	Executors of Thomas Matthews's will	Henry	no value
July 27, 1815	Mary Taylor	Frank	£80
July 25, 1815	Edward Bullock	Ann al Mary Ann	£90
January 16, 1816	Trustees of Vere Free School	Mary Ann Shand & her child Margaret Ann Kohler	£140
February 1, 1816	Mary Douglas	Patrick Douglas	10 shillings
April 2, 1816	Catherine Denniss	William Norman	£50
November 25, 1817	Francis Elliott	Charles Clarke	10 shillings
March 10, 1817	Thomas Prescott	Julian Kein	10 shillings
June 4, 1817	Thomas Anderson	Thomas Anderson, Daniel Anderson	no value
July 2, 1817	Jacob Lopez Fonseca & ux.	Mary Lalote	£32
June 3, 1817	William Jno James & Hugh James	Eleanor Hackett & 2 children - Samuel, Malcolm Facey, James Malcolm Facey	£200
March 10, 1818	Mary Edwards	Sophia Jones & her unnamed female child	£120
April 3, 1818	William Rhodes James	Frances Samuels	£120
April 21, 1818	George Russell	Alexander Bruce	£60
April 27, 1818	Lawrence Hunter & ux.	Mary Goodwin	£140
May 7, 1818	Henry Cerf	Amelia	£60
June 11, 1818	Ann Dudley	William Brooks	10 shillings
July 1, 1818	Rebecca Cohall	William Hall	10 shillings



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
August 1, 1818			David Boyd & ux.	Anne Hood	£160
August 22, 1818			John McGillivray	Robert Ann Mary	10 shillings
December 16, 1818			Executors of James Codrington	Sally McDonald	£100
December 23, 1818			John Woff	Susannah Johnston Woff	no value
October 4, 1819			Richard Jackson	Thomas Jennings	£180
January	19	1819	Mary Adelaide Caross	Margaret Saratine	10 shillings
April	27	1819	George Russell	Mary Bruce	£50
September	10	1819	John Goldson Budd	Eliza Goldson Budd	10 shillings
April	23	1819	Mary Williams et al	Louisa Miller	£100
February	1	1819	John Miller	Frances Miller, Henry Miller Andrew Miller	£50
March	1	1819	William Thomas Barnes	Edward Bennett	10 shillings
August	16	1819	Mary Gale Robertson & al	Benjamin	£140
May	1	1819	George Robert Johnson Jr.	Polly Gordon	10 shillings
?	?	1819	William Gale	Quaco	10 shillings
September 15, 1820			Bienvenida Judah et al	Elizabeth Bryan, Beatrice, Betsy & her child Henry	10 shillings
April	18	1820	George Harral	James Wright	10 shillings
December	30	1820	Georgette Denis Pellon	Marie Pierre Sucrinne	no value
May	19	1820	Kean Osborn Esq., & al	Patrick Kelly, Another slave	valued £150
January	18	1820	James [Sh]ipair	Morther Willis	£5
February	24	1821	Richard Ellis	Harry Day	£300
October	17	1820	David McNish	David, William	no value
November	20	1820	Henry Portlock Roberts	Mary Hancock & child Maria Pearce	10 shillings
April	3	1821	Robert Crasswell Gabay & ux.	William Murray	£50
December	30	1820	According to the will of Sarah Nibbs Gordon	Kitty al Catherine Gordon	no value
January	23	1821	Ann Moss	Jane Gardner, Tammy Seaton, Eleanor Love-more, William Dawson, John Wysenburg, Charles Lovemore	10 shillings
September	22	1820	Henry Oneal	John Ellis	10 shillings
November	27	1820	Edward Tyrrell	Mary Tyrrell, Edward Tyrell	£50
April	5	1820	Mary Hunter	Lucy Porter & her 6 children, Robert Bradley, Elizabeth Jump, Ann Jump, Henry Jump, William Jump, Mary Hunter, Edward Marshall	no value
May	19	1820	Sarah Spence	Thomas Farquharson	10 shillings



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
September	1	1820	Robert Waugh	John Brown	£100 Sterling
August	10	1820	Isaac Nunes Da Costa jr.	Alfred al. Alfred Moore	10 shillings
March	3	1820	Thomas Samson	Quaco	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Elizabeth Messum	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Ruthy Huggins	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Nancy Lambert	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Sarah Huggins	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Frances Samson	10 shillings
January	1	1820	John Kelly	Jane Roberts	10 shillings
December	30	1820	Guethoncoeur Boisquehonene	Margaret	10 shillings
October	17	1820	Sarah Cole	Sarah Ann James	£180
December	18	1820	Ann Sarah Bailey Mytin	Catherine Thomas	£18
September	21	1820	Ruth Austin	Alick Lawrence	10 shillings
June	8	1820	Benjamin Scott	Fanny al Frances Davis	£80
August	1	1820	Rachael Thomas	Maria Freeman & child, Mary Baker, Freeman	10 shillings
May	19	1820	Kean Coburn & ux.	James Knight	no value
August	16	1820	James Mackean Smith	James Baircliffe	10 shillings
January	30	1821	Ann Clark Gott	Robert al Jn. Russell Cruikshank	10 shillings
September	7	1820	John Russell	Eliza Clarke	10 shillings
May	20	1820	Edmund Francis Green	Mary Hamilton & her child Nancy	£160
November	1	1820	Robert Allwood & ux	Susanna Miller	£5 Sterling
December	14	1820	Janett Bogle	James Hay	£160 Cy.
December	14	1820	George N Darley	Diana Thomson	£60
September	28	1820	James Fraser	Nelly al Eleanor Fraser	no value
November	10	1820	Rachael Whitehead	Isabella al Isabella Roe	10 shillings
September	16	1820	Thomas Freeman	Thomas Handley Brook	10 shillings
March	15	1820	Alexander McCallum	Alexander Gray	£140
October	6	1820	William Reeves	Ann Charlton	10 shillings
August	18	1820	Timothy Banton Mullings	William Mullings	£140
January	12	1821	Alexander Menzies & ux.	Elizabeth Burke	10 shillings
December	11	1820	Sarah Beal Willacy	Lisbon	10 shillings
February	10	1820	George Allan	Elizabeth Price	10 shillings
March	15	1820	Margaret Grant	June Hall	10 shillings



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
January	30	1821	Sarah Mitchell Sansom	Harry al Harry Henrey	10 shillings
January	27	1821	Geremiah Weakes & ux.	Elizabeth Hall	£90
March	22	1821	John McDorman	George Gardner	10 shillings
January	12	1821	Eleanor Good	Rose	£40
January	20	1821	Mary Hall	Eleanor Bartell Ballantine	£140
February	10	1821	Susanna Gall	Patience & Susanna Thomas	no value
February	23	1821	Hon. James Lewis	Mary Brue	no value
February	10	1821	John Hill Berry	Mary Ann Hill Berry & 3 children, John Hill Berry, William Hill Berry, George Hill Berry	10 shillings
February	23	1821	Do	Lucy Jones	no value
July	1	1821	Mary Hunter	William Shea, John Marshall	no value
February	23	1821	Martha Fisher	Jemmy al James Fisher, John Fisher	£30
September	26	1821	Elizabeth Truxton & Bency Wilson	Mimba al Phillis Thomas & child Ann Dorman al Ann Hope	10 shillings
February	8	1821	Samuel Walker & ux. & al	Abigail Stormer	£25
April	2	1820	Sir Simon Horton Clarke, Bart. Power of Attorney	Elizabeth McDonald & children, James Lobban, Alexander Lobban, Mary Lobban, Margaret Lobban	£315
January	2	1821	William Henry Hall	Edward Neilson	£50
June	12	1820	Sir Home Popham	July	£100
March	6	1821	Alexander Ackman & ux.	Eleanor Carter Spalding	£140
July	?	1820	Jasper Taylor Hall Power of Attorney	William Wright, Eliza Tierney, Jenny Wright, Mary Clannside	no value
March	10	1820	John Lewis	Kate	10 shillings
February	22	1820	Melchior Graham	Eliza Cross & 3 children, Elizabeth, Mary, William George	no value
March	11	1821	Rebecca Stewart	Thomas Stewart, Rebecca Murray	10 shillings
March	1	1821	Andrew Bogle	Aimable	10 shillings
March	13	1821	William Smith Cruikshank	William Smith Cruikshank, Frances Smith Sadler	10 shillings
March	20	1821	Rose Roche	Richard Hughes	no value
March	12	1821	Rev. F.I.H. Rodrigues de Araeys	Marie Noel & son, Alphonse	no value
February	21	1821	Samuel Rogers	Ider Brown, Ororo Brown & her 2 children,, Colly Brown, Godfrey Brown	10 shillings
March	30	1821	Leah Phoinning	Sarah Dias Phoinning	10 shillings
March	17	1821	John Escoffery	John Valteau	10 shillings



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
November	20	1820	Mary Gambel	Mary Ann Carter	10 shillings
March	14	1821	Bryan Edwards, p attornies.	Laetitia	£140
March	24	1821	Eleanor Hughes Willacy	Mary	10 shillings
March	1	1821	Mary Eliza Davis	Leah Ann Thomas	10 shillings
March	9	1821	William Rainsford	Benjamin Fenby	£100
March	19	1821	Alexander McCallum	Ann McCallum	no value
March	29	1821	Mary Taylor	Hazzard al William Bartholomew	£100
April	2	1821	Frances Cross	Robert Higgins	10 shillings
August	29	1820	Charlotte McPherson & others	Ann Gylliatt & 7 children, Rosy Ann Gylliatt, John Anderson, Samuel Anderson, Jeanette Anderson, Mary Anderson, James Anderson, Robert Anderson	£700
September	29	1820	Thomas Napier	Eleanor al Eleanor Thomas	10 shillings
?	?	1820	Gracey Halhead	Margian Halhead	10 shillings
October	6	1820	Jane Williamson	Margaret Williamson	£140
March	21	1821	Patrick McDonnell & wife	Mary Watson	10 shillings
September	20	1820	Elizabeth Hammond	William Hammond	10 shillings
April	21	1821	Jean Baptiste Cadou	Jean Baptiste Cadou	10 shillings
April	13	1821	Charlotte G. Bullock	Kitty Bullock	10 shillings
December	23	1820	William Davis	Lucretia White	10 shillings
February	1	1821	William Grant	Elizabeth Thayter & 2 children, James Grant, Edward Grant	10 shillings
February	1	1821	Exors of Alexander Kinlock according to will	Elizabeth Kinlock & child, Helen Kinlock	£150
April	21	1821	Susanna Edwards	James Lamb	£42
April	29	1821	William Laws	John Harris	10 shillings
February	12	1821	Janet Brown	Edward Ashley	no value
May	3	1821	Exor Of Adelaide Penaud according to will	Adelaide Bethsy	no value
February	14	1821	Milbrough Elrington Power of Attorney	Molly al Mary Spencer	50/-
March	24	1821	Thomas Nicholson Swigle	Frances Millward Hammond	no value
June	8	1820	James Minot	Faithful	10 shillings
May	13	1821	Hon. James Lee	Edward James Lee	10 shillings
May	10	1821	Elizabeth Perkins	John Dormont	10 shillings
March	26	1821	Charles Duke Bailey	Sarah Blake, Jane Dawkins, George Dawkins	10 shillings





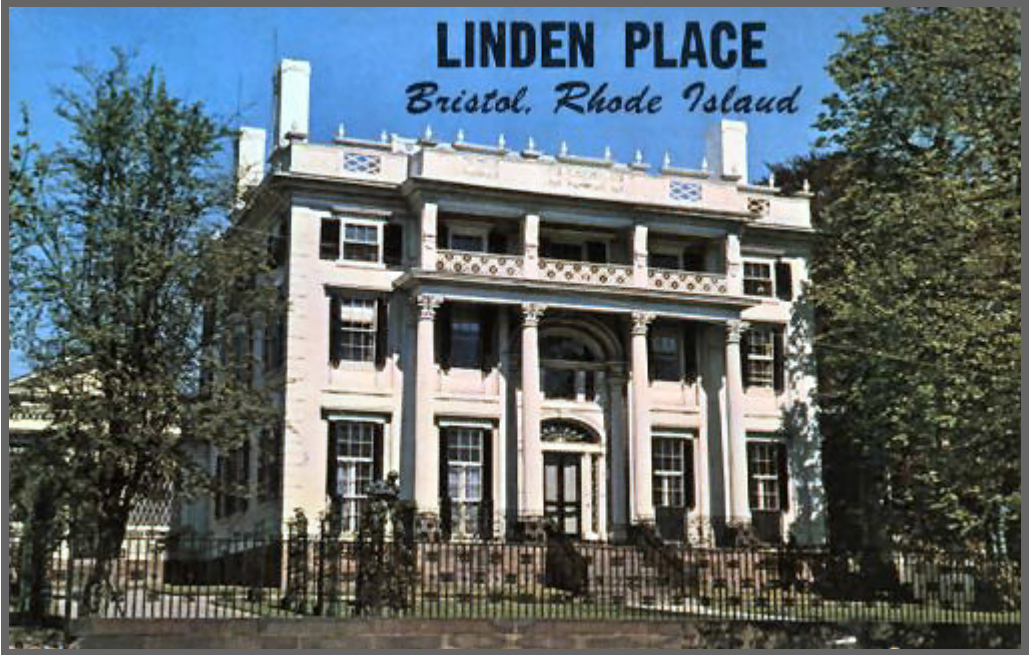
**CUBA**

**CUBA**

Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
November	22	1820	Stephen Denton Power of Attorney	Rachael Harriot	£300
November	10	1821	Louis Horace de Jannon & ux	Nerine	no value
November	22	1820	Stephen Denton Power of Attorney	John Pool	10 shillings
April	18	1820	Andrew White	James Gillespie	10 shillings
August	5	1820	Mary Field Stevenson	Mary Ann Lynch	10 shillings
January	24	1820	Samuel Dare	William Bell	no value
August	5	1820	William Bonaby	Cassander al Susannah, Williams Bonaby	10 shillings
May	12	1821	James Smith	William Selby	no value
November	11	1820	Ann Barton & others	Louisa Phillips Bayley	10 shillings
April	3	1821	John Williams	Mary	10 shillings
June	2	1821	Elizabeth Reid	Jennett James	10 shillings
January	20	1820	Robert Alexander	Jonathan Worrall	10 shillings
February	3	1821	Judith Waters	Eleanor Tingling Hammonds	£33
April	27	1821	James Johnston	Margaret Hay, John Hay	£200
April	11	1821	James Johnston	Sappho & 2 children, James Hay, William Hay	£260
January	22	1821	James Hunt	Jack al John Sewell	£110
January	27	1821	William Finlay & wife	Margaret Johnson	£80
March	30	1821	Robert Thomas Downer	Alexander, George, Jane, Sarah, Richard	£200
April	11	1821	Esther Da Costa	Cecelia Anderson	£32
March	28	1821	Executor of Lewis Mazel according to will	Edmond	no value
March	21	1821	Elizabeth Sarah Ann Taylor	Hannah Jones	£5
April	17	1821	William Frankson & al	Thomazina Moore	10 shillings
April	4	1821	Mary Lewis	Henry Bryan	10 shillings
February	15	1821	Andrew Arcedeckne Power of Attorney	Rebecca Huntington	£140
February	15	1821	Andrew Arcedeckne Power of Attorney	Catherine Sim & child, Jessie Grant	£260
January	10	1821	Charles Seymore Cockburn	John Burnside	£200
April	6	1821	Jean Baptiste Cadou	Julie	no value
November	11	1821	Sarah McQuestin	Memory	10 shillings
July	15	1829	George Preston	William Hunt	10 shillings

1825

➡ The family of [General George DeWolf](#) and [Charlotte Patten DeWolf](#) fled by night to escape his creditors (they would be able to wait this out at their [Cuban](#) plantation “Noah’s Ark,” being tended hand and foot by black slaves). When the citizens of [Bristol](#), [Rhode Island](#) would discover they had fled, their mansion Linden Place would be stormed and they would carry off its contents as partial recovery of the General’s debts.



In this year the brig *Venus*, owned by the firm of Brown & Ives of [Providence](#), was making regular runs along Long Island Sound. We know of a Captain John T. Childs of [Warren](#) who was engaged in such business. Therefore it is a reasonable hypothesis, that this would be the “sloop” skippered by “Captain Childs” written about in late life by [William J. Brown](#) as on a voyage conveying cargo and passengers up Long Island Sound from New-York to [Providence](#), aboard which he had enlisted at the age of approximately 11, which had gotten caught in a storm and apparently came close to sinking:

I went coasting on board of the sloop *Venus*, commanded by Captain Childs, in whose family I had lived some years previous. He offered me ten dollars a month to go before the mast. I accepted the position and went to work. We numbered six in all: the captain, mate, cook, steward, and two foremastmen. His sloop was the largest in the line but the dullest sailer, unless she was under a stiff breeze. We came out of New York one day heavily laden with cotton, and one hundred carboys of vitriol on deck, bound for Providence, intending to stop at [Bristol](#) to land freight; there were thirty-three passengers on board. We started with a light wind which increased during the night, and became so powerful by ten in the morning, that it carried away our topsail, which we afterwards secured. The sea ran so high, and we shipped such heavy seas, that we lost the blocking from two casks, catching uncle Tom, the cook, between them. I did not see the danger he was in until the captain coming out called all hands to rescue him from the danger he was in; we did so, John and myself blocking and securing the casks. I was securing the main boom when the ship came about; she shipped another sea and



CUBA

CUBA

down went the forecandle and half a dozen casks of water. We were sent down to bail out the water; uncle Jack dipped it up, and I passed it over to John, and he threw it overboard. We had not been long at work when she shipped a second sea, and sent down more water; it seemed to be about a foot deep. Uncle Jack said "Hold on Bill, it is no use bailing, we must go up and shorten sail"; saying this he left me at the foot of the steps, went on deck, and said to the captain, "Hadn't we better shorten sail?" He said, "No, we will drive her through;" to which uncle Jack replied, "Well drive her through if we go to the bottom." I kept at my post at the foot of the steps, waiting for uncle Jack's return, when she shipped another sea, filling the scuttle. I felt for the steps, for I thought she was sinking; soon I heard the captain's voice. I jumped around trying to get up the steps, when the hatch came down over me. It was dark, and the water was nearly up to my arms. I was getting out of the water, but reaching the hatchway, could go no farther. I put the top of my head against the hatch, but could not move it; all was still on deck; not a step or a voice was heard. I was determined to come out, and stooping down, raised myself with all the power possible against the hatch; Captain Childs was sitting on the top of it to keep it down; a sea struck him in the back at the same time I was butting the hatch and knocked him completely off; he would have gone overboard, carried by the force of the wind, had he not fetched up the shrouds. When I came on deck a sad spectacle presented itself; her gunwales were even with the water, the men were trying to move around on deck and the water was up to their middle. Uncle Jack let go the jib and flying jib halyards, settled the peak, throttled the mainsails, lowered the sternsails, and she came up. It seemed by appearances that in one minute more she would have sunk, never to rise again. I took a hand-spike and knocked a board off the railing, letting the water off, and relieving the deck. I went aft to the pump, rigged it and went to pumping. The clattering of the pumps aroused the captain, and he said, "that's right, Bill, pump away." I kept watching the mate, thinking that if he got the boat which was hanging on the davits, I would grasp an oar and follow him. I asked a man who came on to work his passage to spell me at the pumps; he said he couldn't pump. There was a minister in board standing by, who said to him, "What kind of a man are you; here this boy is doing all he can to save the ship, which seems to be in danger of going to the bottom, and you refuse to help him." When the minister said that, I was frightened, for I was not fit to die, and if the vessel sunk, I saw no possible way of escaping hell. I began to pray within myself, for I never intended to go to hell, but I knew I must go there unless I repented; still I had confidence to believe that I must read the bible, and go according to its directing to be saved. I never thought of being taken by surprise before. I now felt that something must be done, and I promised if the Lord would spare my life, I would seek him in earnest and not suffer myself to be caught in such a state again. We soon got through the race and came to anchor; as I came out of the forecandle a sea struck me, and knocked my hat off; my shoes were in the chain box, and my jacket lay in the berth. Uncle Jack asked me to take something to drink, as I was wet and cold; I told him I would; he handed it to me and I took a tumbler full of rum, and drank it, not knowing its power. I took two biscuits and got into my berth, and knew no more until



CUBA

CUBA

ten o'clock the next morning. The sloop got under way, and they called for me, but I was nowhere to be found; they found my hat and shoes and came to the conclusion that I was washed overboard; no one could recollect when I was last seen; they knew I was pumping, and that was the last they knew about me. The sloop arrived in [Newport](#) at twelve o'clock that night. He entered his vessel in the morning and reported the rough time he had on the sound and the loss of one man; after breakfast they began discharging their freight, Uncle Jack had to work in the hold as they were one man short. I was awake by hearing the words "back down your tackle, hoist away." I could not imagine where I was. I lay some time thinking that we must be in Newport, for we had to stop there to leave freight. I got up, ate my breakfast, and went on deck; they had hoisted a barrel of flour up, and were just landing it, when I put my hand on John's shoulder; turning around he saw me, and jumped from me with a shriek; the man below asked, "What's the matter?" John said, "Here is Bill." They came out of the hold, to see if it was me. The captain hearing the sound came quickly into the sloop. They were all anxious to know where I had been. I told them I had struck my head against the hatchway, trying to get out of the scuttle, then got into my berth and knew no more until morning. They were all very glad that I was safe; saying, they thought they had looked everywhere, but never once thought about my berth. When we arrived in Providence, and discharged our cargo, we found our sheet iron damaged. We had five hundred bundles in the bottom of the sloop. I felt as if I had been a sailor long enough, and now desired to turn my attention to business of a different kind; so I left the vessel and entered school again.



[Mexico](#), while still subject to Spain in 1821, had granted land within the Mexican state of [Texas](#) to Moses Austin. His white settlers had brought with them their blacks, to the extent that in this year 1 out of every 5 residents in this benighted locale was [enslaved](#).

[Richard Henry Horne](#) went with Captain Thurlow Smith, R.N. as a midshipman on an expedition to [Mexico](#), was at the siege of Vera Cruz and the taking of San Juan Ulloa, was taken prisoner, came close to being executed, escaped, and enlisted as a midshipman in the Mexican navy to take part in their ongoing struggle with Spanish forces based in [Cuba](#). Leaving that conflict after being defrauded of prize-money, he cruised off the Floridas,<sup>45</sup> landed at New-York, went up the [Eric Canal](#), visited some native villages, visited [Niagara Falls](#) breaking two of his ribs, lost all his money at billiards, worked his way along the St. Lawrence River to Montréal and Québec, was shipwrecked in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, visited the cod-fisheries off Newfoundland, and finally was able to sail toward England on a lumber schooner.


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

45. During this period Florida was regarded as two places, one on the Atlantic coast and the other on the Caribbean coast.



CUBA

CUBA

 From 1825 into 1829, the presidency of [John Quincy Adams](#) (Republican).



Publication of NARRATIVE OF SOME REMARKABLE INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF SOLOMON BAYLEY, FORMERLY A SLAVE IN THE STATE OF DELAWARE, NORTH AMERICA, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Frederick Douglass reminisced in 1845 in his NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AN AMERICAN SLAVE. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, about a black child, himself, given the name Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey:



I never saw my mother, to know her as such, more than four or five times in my life; and each of these times was very short in duration, and at night. She was hired by a Mr. Stewart, who lived about twelve miles from my home. She made her journeys to see me in the night, travelling the whole distance on foot, after the performance of her day's work. She was a field hand, and a whipping is the penalty of not being in the field at sunrise, unless a slave has special permission from his or her master to the contrary – a permission which they seldom get, and one that gives to him the proud name of being a kind master. I do not recollect of every seeing my mother by the light of day. She was with me in the night. She would lie down with me, and get me to sleep, but long before I waked she was gone. Very little communication ever took place between us. Death soon ended what little we could have while she lived, and with it her hardships and suffering. She died when I was about seven years old, on one of my master's farms, near Lee's Mill. I was not allowed to be present during her illness, at her death, or burial. She was gone long before I knew any thing about it. Never having enjoyed, to any considerable extent, her soothing presence, her tender and watchful care, I received the tidings of her death with much the same emotions I should have probably felt at the death of a stranger.

He remembered of his mother's visit that she had called him "Valentine," that she had asked his Aunt Katy if she wouldn't treat him better — and that she had given him a ginger cake in the shape of a heart.

Mexico and Venezuela planned an expedition to [Cuba](#) in order to help the people of that island in their struggle for independence from Spain. But the United States, fearing an independent citizenry there would lead to the end of slavery, with repercussions on our Southern plantations, let it be known through Secretary of State Henry Clay that it would block any move to liberate the people of that island. This decision was based on the belief that in due time, under the operation of the law of political economy, this rich prize would fall ripe into the lap of her North American neighbor.

On a nearby page is a table from page 286 of Volume I of W.B. Stevenson's NARRATIVE OF TWENTY YEARS



RESIDENCE IN SOUTH AMERICA, which was published in 1825. Stevenson’s intent was to depict “the mixture of the different castes, under their common or distinguishing names,” but he issued a caveat along with this table, that although it might appear quite particular, in actuality it was a gross generalization from a much more complicated reality, and that therefore such a depiction of race mixture “must be considered as general, and not including particular cases.”<sup>46</sup> In addition, he stated, he had permuted some of the data in accordance with his own experience, which was that “a child receives more of the colour of the father than of the mother.”

Guess what, Henry Clay was appointed Secretary of State by the new president, [John Quincy Adams](#), to whom he had thrown his support when it became clear that he himself could not become President. –You don’t suppose this was some sort of arranged political deal, do you?

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



March: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Iris*, master unknown, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of Sao Tome carrying a cargo of 317 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at Matanzas, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

46. A 1987 lexicon lists 128 Spanish terms for different blends of the human races. As an interesting side comment, please note, the very few blanks in such a chart have to do all and only with blends involving not-entirely-white fathers and white mothers.



**The Mixture of the Different Castes, under their Common or Distinguishing Names**

FATHER.	MOTHER.	CHILDREN.	COLOUR.
European.....	European.....	Creole.....	White.
Creole.....	Creole.....	Creole.....	White.
White.....	Indian.....	Mestiso.....	$\frac{6}{8}$ White, $\frac{2}{8}$ Indian — Fair.
Indian.....	White.....	Mestiso.....	$\frac{4}{8}$ White, $\frac{4}{8}$ Indian.
White.....	Mestiso.....	Creole.....	White — often very Fair.
Mestiso.....	White.....	Creole.....	White — but rather Sallow.
Mestiso.....	Mestiso.....	Creole.....	Sallow — often light Hair.
White.....	Negro.....	Mulatto.....	$\frac{7}{8}$ White, $\frac{1}{8}$ Negro — often Fair. (Frederick Douglass, although his mother may have been part Native American)
Negro.....	White.....	Zambo.....	$\frac{4}{8}$ White, $\frac{4}{8}$ Negro — dark copper.
White.....	Mulatto.....	Quarteron....	$\frac{6}{8}$ White, $\frac{2}{8}$ Negro — Fair.
Mulatto.....	White.....	Mulatto.....	$\frac{5}{8}$ White, $\frac{3}{8}$ Negro — Tawny.
White.....	Quarteron....	Quinteron.....	$\frac{7}{8}$ White, $\frac{1}{8}$ Negro — very Fair.
Quarteron....	White.....	Quarteron....	$\frac{6}{8}$ White, $\frac{2}{8}$ Negro — Tawny.
White.....	Quinteron.....	Creole.....	White — light Eyes, fair Hair.
Negro.....	Indian.....	Chino.....	$\frac{4}{8}$ Negro, $\frac{4}{8}$ Indian.
Indian.....	Negro.....	Chino.....	$\frac{2}{8}$ Negro, $\frac{6}{8}$ Indian.
Negro.....	Mulatto.....	Zambo.....	$\frac{5}{8}$ Negro, $\frac{3}{8}$ White.
Mulatto.....	Negro.....	Zambo.....	$\frac{4}{8}$ Negro, $\frac{4}{8}$ White.
Negro.....	Zambo.....	Zambo.....	$\frac{15}{16}$ Negro, $\frac{1}{16}$ White — Dark.
Zambo.....	Negro.....	Zambo.....	$\frac{7}{8}$ Negro, $\frac{1}{8}$ White.
Negro.....	Chino.....	Zambo-chino	$\frac{15}{16}$ Negro, $\frac{1}{16}$ Indian.
Chino.....	Negro.....	Zambo-chino	$\frac{7}{8}$ Negro, $\frac{1}{8}$ Indian.
Negro.....	Negro.....	Negro.....	



➡ March: American and British forces cooperated in going ashore at Sagua La Grande, Cuba to catch some pirates.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



☰ ➡ July: A negrero flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the Atrevida, master Herrera, J.A., on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 380 enslaved Africans at a port of Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

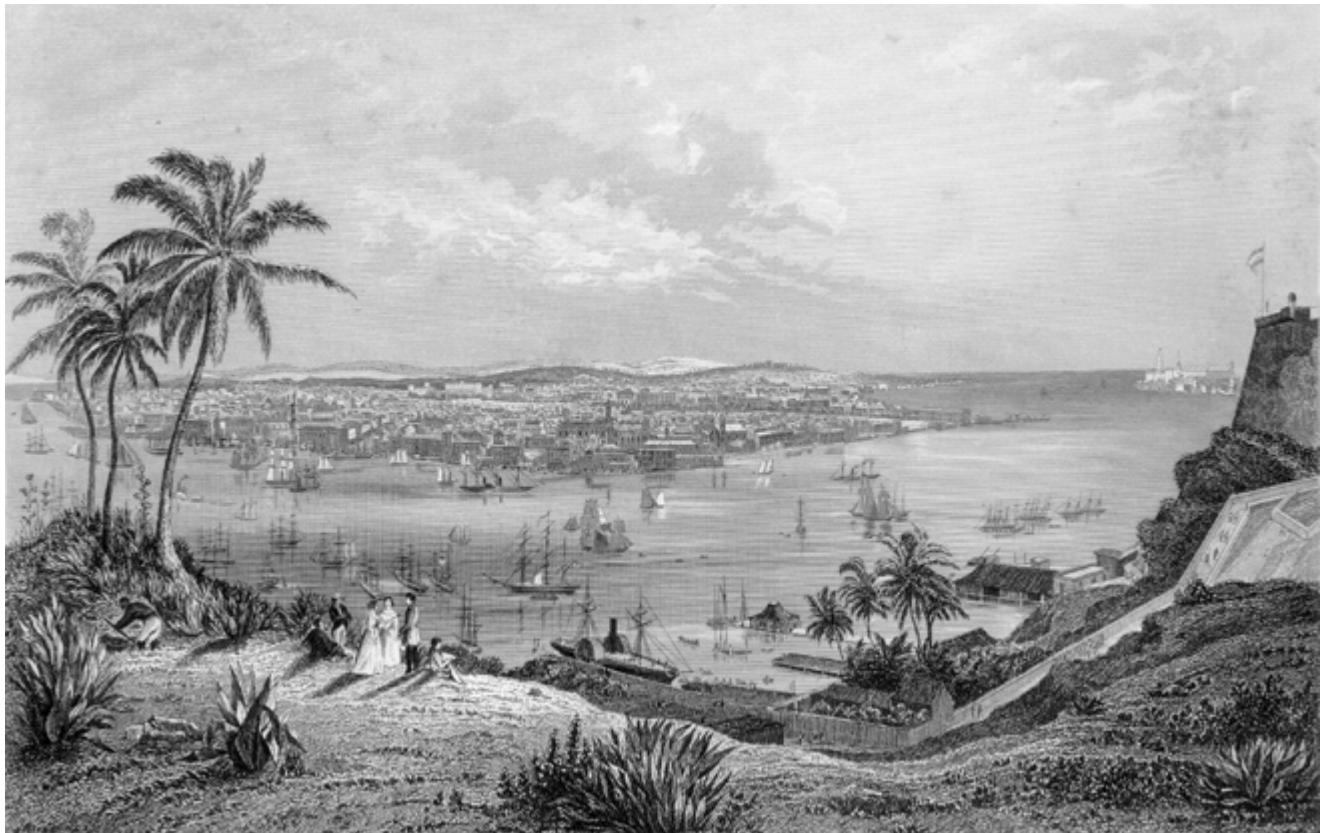
CUBA



CUBA



April: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Anfitrite*, master Mayor, C.D., on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at the port of [Havana](#).



CUBA

CUBA

The cargo of 255 relocated Africans must have been pleased to learn that they were going to live for the rest of their lives in such a peaceful, prosperous tropical paradise of leisure and gentility! (In the above engraving prepared in 1858, we can see what may be one of their descendants in the left foreground, whiling away his afternoon in the digging of a hole.)



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY





May: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Barbarita*, master Blanco, P., on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 190 [enslaved](#) Africans at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



June: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Dorotea*, master Gardullo, J., on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivering a cargo of 352 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



CUBA

CUBA



August: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Alerta*, master unknown, on 1 of its 4 known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 450 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Cabanas in Cuba.



CUBA

CUBA

September: By this point the “Egyptian Hall” in Piccadilly that had in 1821 inspired Edward William Lane to take up the study of Arabic had passed on to displays about other exotic climes (such as Mexico). Lane landed in Alexandria and soon went on to Cairo. He would remain in Egypt for some two and a half years, using his language skill and mingling with the locals. He dressed as a Turk since the Ottoman Empire was then dominant in the region, and took notes of everything he saw and heard. In Old Cairo, he lived near Bab al-Hadid and studied Arabic, among others, with Sheikh Muhammad ’Ayyad al-Tantawi (1810-1861), who would later be invited to teach at Saint Petersburg, Russia.

A negrero flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the Iris, master Echevarria, M.S., on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, came out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 350 enslaved Africans toward Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

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

November 28, Monday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) becomes engaged to his cousin Minna Mosson.

The last royalist opposition to Mexican independence ends when the garrison of San Juan de Ulua, Veracruz surrendered (they would be transported to [Cuba](#)).

December: Supreme Court Justice William Johnson and US District Court Judge Jeremiah Touche Cuyler, sitting as a circuit court of two in Savannah, were unable to decide which Africans in the cargo of the captured negrero [Antelope](#) were to be set at liberty and which were to remain property –hey, these are after all human beings so we cannot merely do an [eny-meeny-miny-moe](#)– once again stalling resolution of the case.

Four negreros flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Anfitrite*, master J. Seton, on the 2d of its 2 known Middle Passages, the *Conquistador*, master Juan Sandrino, and the *Anibal* and *Buenaventura*, masters unknown (these 3 on their only known Middle Passage), out of unknown areas of Africa with cargos respectively of 180, 525, 243, and 243 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

In Edgecomb County, [North Carolina](#), some folks had somehow fallen victim to wishful thinking, and had somehow come to the belief that the federal government of the United States of America was freeing them from their enslavement (local authorities would manage to persuade them that such was not the case).

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY  
RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE “LOOKED UPON FROM  
THE BIRD’S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY, ....” ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER,  
NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —  
BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.**

1826



At about this period, a hat woven locally of imported palm leaf imported was popular during the New England summer. Six hundred tons of palm leaf were being imported from [Cuba](#) per year. The weaving was being done in the homes of the weavers, primarily in the [straw towns](#) of Worcester County, at piecework rates, and the weavers were typically girls 14 years of age and upwards. The hats retailed for about \$0.<sup>25</sup> (of the best quality in the best stores, up to \$2.<sup>00</sup>).

I will insert her a recollection [Henry Thoreau](#) had, at the age of 34, of an incident of **roughly** this time frame in his life:



July 16, Wednesday, 1851: ... I remember how glad I was when I was kept from school a half a day to pick huckleberries on a neighboring hill all by myself to make a pudding for the family dinner. Ah, they got nothing but the pudding –but I got invaluable experience beside– A half a day of liberty like that –was like the promise of life eternal. It was emancipation in New England. Oh what a day was there my country-man. ...



2d edition of [Alexander von Humboldt](#)'s *ANSICHEN DER NATUR* book of essays.



In the last volume of his unfinished PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF TRAVELS TO THE EQUINOCTIAL REGIONS, [Humboldt](#) delivered himself of his radical political opinions in POLITICAL ESSAY ON THE ISLAND OF [CUBA](#). In the following year his patron, King Frederick William III, would on account of this explosive radicalism force Humboldt to return from Paris to Berlin.



CUBA



CUBA

April: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Iris*, master unknown, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 100 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



1827

➡ Because of the explosive radicalism of the POLITICAL ESSAY ON THE ISLAND OF CUBA of the previous year, [Alexander von Humboldt](#)'s patron, King Frederick William III, forced him to return from Paris to Berlin.



➡ The Cuban census showed a population of 704,000, of whom 311,000 were white, 286,000 black and slaves, and 106,000 black (or of mixed blood) and free. It indicated that there were 1,000 sugar mills, 30,090 ranches, 5,534 tobacco farms, and 2,067 coffee plantations.

CUBA

CUBA

February: A negrero flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Breves*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 400 [enslaved](#) Africans at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

CUBA

CUBA

December: A total of 37 Africans of the negrero *Antelope* were delivered into slavery. Two had died since the July ruling. The purchase price was between \$10,000 and \$11,500 and was paid by US Representative Richard Henry Wilde of Augusta.



A negrero flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Indagadora*, master unknown, on one of its six known Middle Passage voyages, was delivering an unknown number of enslaved Africans out of an unknown area of Africa to a port of Cuba.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Have you ever wondered what happened to people who got freed from slave ships? During this month the British warship HMS *Nimble* accidentally ran another slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Guerrero*, master unknown, on its only known Middle Passage with 561 enslaved Africans out of an unknown area of Africa, onto the Carysfort Reef off Key Largo in the Florida Keys. The warship hit the reef only minutes after the slaver did, but merely went aground and was unable to move, rather than wrecked. Of the people in chains in the hold of the negrero, 41 were killed in the impact.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



CUBA

CUBA

The other enslaved Africans of the cargo, and the 90-man Spanish crew, were rescued the next morning by some American “wreckers” who were moored at land about 6 miles away, and by a passing American fishing smack, but then the Spaniards rallied and hijacked 2 of the 3 American ships to [Cuba](#) (the British managed to prevent capture of one of the American ships), taking with them about 400 people from their cargo. The 121 black Africans remaining were taken to Key West, Florida, where they would be kept for about 3 months while the British and the Americans argued over the fee that was due for getting the HMS *Nimble* back off the reef. Alarmed by a rumor that the Cubans were going to attack to obtain the rest of their “property,” the Americans would then take these Africans for their own safety to north Florida. They would be forced to pay for their keep by laboring alongside the regular slaves of the Kingsley and Hernandez plantations.<sup>47</sup>

Freedom’s Journal published an article that included the following notice:

RUNAWAY SLAVE. - A trial has lately been had in New York State, in the case of a female slave belonging to a southern gentleman, and accompanying him and his family on a journey to [Niagara Falls](#). Having left her master she was apprehended, and, after a long and able argument before Judge [Moses?] Chapin, she has been given up to her master.

Most of the Spanish crew of the *Guerrero* got to Cuba by hijacking two vessels that came to the assistance of those aboard the wreck. However, per the following piece of correspondence from Waters Smith, US Marshal for the Eastern District of Florida headquartered in St. Augustine to Secretary of the Navy Samuel L. Southard dated July 16, 1828 (National Archives RG 45, M124, Roll 115, page 79), not all the Spanish crew had managed thus to make it to safety:

I understand that the Africans now in my custody, which were taken from the wreck of the Spanish Brig *Guerrero*, are under the control of the Department over which you preside. I beg leave respectfully to state this situation of one of these Africans named Lewis, and his son a lad of about twelve years of age. This man is the son of an African residing on that part of the coast resorted to by slave vessels; he speaks French and Spanish very well, and can make himself understood in English; he has been over to Havana in a slave vessel as Interpreter, and was hired in the same situation by the master of the Brig *Guerrero* at thirty dollars per month. This information is obtained from Lewis, and also from the captain of the slave brig: he took his son with him on board the Brig; they were not a part of the slave cargo. Lewis is desirous of going to Havana to receive the wages due him; from whence he states that he can get a passage to Africa. He applied to me at Key West for permission to go to Havana.

Lewis is a smart, intelligent negro, but void of principal, is dissatisfied at being retained here, and having great influence over the other Negroes, is constantly exciting [them] in a way that gives me much trouble: I have once been compelled to confine him in irons.

It would relieve me from considerable anxiety if I could be authorized to allow him to go to Havana either with or without his son, but I do not feel myself justified in doing so without permission from the Government.

Will you be pleased Sir, to favor me with instructions on this

47. You will find the whole story in Gaid Swanson’s *SLAVE SHIP GUERRERO*, 2005, available for purchase on the internet.



CUBA

CUBA

subject.

## NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



December 20, Thursday: The Spanish [negrero Guerrero](#) had 561 [slaves](#) aboard and was being chased by a British cruiser, when it grounded itself on the Carysfort Reef off Key Largo in the [Florida](#) Keys. Of the 520 chained slaves left alive after the impact on the reef, 121 would be rescued and offloaded at Key West and seized by the collector there, while 250 would be carried away by the Spanish and taken to [Cuba](#) (HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress, 1st session page 650; HOUSE REPORTS, 24th Congress, 1st session I, No. 268; 25th Congress, 2d session I, No. 4; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL AFFAIRS, III, No. 370, page 210; [Niles's Register](#), XXXIII. 373).

[INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE](#)

While the dust was settling, the 121 Africans who had been seized by the US government would be put to field labor alongside the slave work crews of the Kingsley and Hernandez plantations.

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

*5th day 20th of 12 M / Our Meeting was silent & solid & to me  
was a season of some favour for which I desire to be thankful*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



1828



January: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Emprendedor*, master unknown, on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at the port of Havana with an unknown number of [enslaved](#) persons. Another slaver under the same flag, the *Gallo*, master unknown, also on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 350 enslaved Africans, arrived at a port of Cuba — but I don't know whether the Cuban port was [Havana](#) and I don't know whether these slave ships were traveling together.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE





February 10, Sunday: A fire in Havana, [Cuba](#) destroyed 350 houses.



# CUBA

# CUBA

 May: Governor Brigadier-General Charles Dallas ordered that the munitions store of [St. Helena](#) be relocated outside of Jamestown, on Ladder Hill.

 A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Almirante*, master Castro, D., on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 650 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Banés, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

CUBA



CUBA



June: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag “Colores de Sangre y Oro” (as shown below), the *Indagadora*, master Hernandez, M., on one of its six known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

CUBA

CUBA



July: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Esperanca*, master E.P. Noreiga, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 270 [enslaved](#) Africans, arriving at the port of Havana, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



August: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Intrepido*, master T.P. y Miro, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 153 [enslaved](#) Africans, arriving at the port of [Havana](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



CUBA

CUBA

September: Governor Brigadier-General Charles Dallas proposed the building of an inclined plane, “Jacob’s Ladder,” on [St. Helena](#).

A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Fama de Cadiz*, master Igartua, M., on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

HDT

WHAT?

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CUBA

CUBA



November: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Gallo*, master Gonzalez, R., on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY





December: Five slavers or “negreros” flying the Spanish flag were arriving at the island of Cuba during this month: the *Ferme*, master J. Sandrino, on its one and only known Middle Passage with 492 pieces of cargo out of PoPo but arriving with only 485 as seven of these pieces of cargo had died in transit; the *Gallito*, master J. Ferrer, completing its first of two known Middle Passages; the *Indagadora*, master M.D. de Medina, on one of its six known Middle Passage voyages; the *Herculina*, master A. Cortina, completing its second of two known Middle Passages; and the *Cristina*, master F. de los Reyes, completing its first of two known Middle Passages.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

1829

The Reverend Abiel Abbot's posthumous LETTERS WRITTEN IN THE INTERIOR OF CUBA, BETWEEN THE MOUNTAINS OF ARCANA, TO THE EAST, AND CUSCO, TO THE WEST, IN THE MONTHS OF FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY, OF 1828 (Boston, 1829).<sup>48</sup>



January: A negrero flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the Clio, master D.F. Matemala, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived in Cuban waters.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE RACE SLAVERY



48. The Reverend Abbot had been a pastor in Haverhill and then Beverly, Massachusetts. He had gone to Cuba for his health but succumbed to the yellow fever on his way home.

CUBA

CUBA

February: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Golondrina*, master A.G. Caravagal, on its one and only known Middle Passage, having sailed out of Little Bassa with a cargo of 78 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at its destination port of Puerto Padre, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



May: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Amistad Habanera*, master M. Fernandez, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 300 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of [Havana](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

June 17, Wednesday: According to an almanac of the period, “Proclamation issued by the Captain General of [Cuba](#) to the Mexicans, informing them of an army about to be sent against them, and offering a general amnesty to all who submit and return to the paternal government of the king of Spain.”

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

June 22, Monday: Diamonds were discovered in the Ural Mountains.

According to an almanac of the period, “A Spanish slave-ship, with 335 slaves, captured off [Havana](#) by the British government schooner Pickle. The slave-ship lost ten men killed in the action, and the Pickle lost two.”

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS



July: Two [negreros](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Indagadora*, master J. Garcia, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its 6 known Middle Passage voyages, and, the *Constancia*, master F. Garcia, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its 4 known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



RACE SLAVERY

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



July 5, Sunday: According to an almanac of the period, “Spanish invading expedition against Mexico sails from [Havana](#). It consisted of one 74, two frigates, three corvettes, one brig, one schooner, and transports containing 4500 troops. The fleet commanded by Commodore Laborde, land forces by General Barradas.”

### CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

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

*1st day 5th of 7 M / Again poor Meeting Wm Almy was here in the Afternoon & labourd faithfully but in weakness. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August: The US arranged to transport the Africans of the wrecked Spanish [negrero](#) *Guerrero* to Liberia on the *Washington's Barge*, chartered by the US government from Richard Churchward of New York. A number of them had died in the wreck on the reef at Key West, many had been recaptured by the Spaniards and taken to slavery in [Cuba](#), and some had died on the Zephaniah Kingsley and Hernandez plantations of North Florida where they had been forced to work during the interim. More would die while in transport to Liberia and only 91 would eventually see African shores. The *Washington's Barge* would sail to Norfolk and then to Florida during August and September. There were problems on the voyage and the Africans would not arrive in Liberia until March 1830, in the *Heroine*, a vessel out of Barbados.



September: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Constancia*, master A. Ferrar, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, starting with a cargo of 438 [enslaved](#) Africans out of an unknown area of Africa but arrived at a port of [Cuba](#) with only 70 — as 368 had succumbed.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

September 12, Saturday: [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) arrived back in Warsaw from his two triumphant performances in Vienna.

*Gott segne den Konig*, a cantata by Gaspare Spontini to words of Herklotz, was performed for the initial time, in Halle.

According to an almanac of the period, “Surrender of the Spanish army under General Barradas at Tampico, Mexico, to the Mexican army under General Santa Anna; the Spaniards to transport themselves to [Havana](#), and pledge themselves not to serve against Mexico in future.”

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS



November: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Amistad Habanera*, master D. Urquijo, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



Another slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Gallito*, master F. Garcia, on its second of two known Middle Passages, with a cargo of 144 [enslaved](#) Africans out of Rio Pongo (do you have any idea where that may have been?) but arriving at [Havana](#) with only 136 as eight had died in transit.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

1830

Spain increased Cuban tax rates, imposing arbitrary rules for its own benefit and completely alienating the Creoles (native-born Cubans who at this point were generally of mixed ancestry) by denying them any voice in government.



April: A negrero flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the Andromaca, master J.L. Villavaso, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE RACE SLAVERY

June: When the schooner *St. Helena* used by the East India Company's government of *St. Helena* was captured by pirates, they eliminated the crew by tying pairs back to back and shoving them over the rail.

A *negrero* flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Emilia*, master F. Lescaya, on its one and only known Middle Passage, had started with a cargo of 210 enslaved Africans out of Kalabari but arrived during this month at Havana, *Cuba* with only 192 for 18 had died in transit.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

July 3, Saturday: French elections concluding on this day would result in a loss for pro-government forces.

A convict ship, the *Hercules*, set sail from England for New South Wales, Australia conveying a single convict sentenced to transportation for 14 years.

The Savannah, Georgia *The Georgian* carried an intriguing story about the Spanish *negrero* *Fenix*, which had been stopped by a US warship because it was robbing an American ship off *Cuba*:

The schooner *Swift* at Charleston from Key West, on the 25th ultimo off Key West, was boarded by a boat from the R.C. *Pulaski* [Capt.] Swiler, from Key West for Pensacola, with a piratical Guineaman under convoy, who reported that the above slaver had been taken a few days previous off the East end of *Cuba* while in the act of robbing an American brig (the *Kremlin* of Boston from Europe bound to *Havana*) by the U.S. schooner *Grampus* - She had, when taken, 83 slaves on board, of which 3 had died since their capture. The pirate was formerly the pilot boat built schooner *Trimmer*, of New York. The *Grampus* left Key West 24 ultimo for Pensacola - officers and crew all well.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE




Have you ever wondered what happened to people who got freed from [slave](#) ships? As this article reported, there were 82 or 83 Africans, 3 of whom died before the warship reached its home port, Key West. They were taken on to Pensacola, and then to New Orleans, where a federal judge ruled they were free persons of color — but of course he could not free them in Louisiana lest they be seized and sold. The matter would need to be taken to the US Supreme Court before these people could be safely released.

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

*7th day 3rd of 7th M 1830 / This Morning Our friend [Moses Brown](#) waited on Benjamin Chappell Stanton a young man from Ohio to see us, after sitting a while he found himself very unwell & returned home, leaving Benjamin in our Care. — his object in coming from Ohio is to Solicit subscriptions for Barclays Works which he proposes to publish entire. — he appears to be a solid well concerned young man & I do heartily wish him success. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



 November: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Asturiana*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
SLAVERY



## CUBA

## CUBA



December: During this month a convict ship, the *Earl of Liverpool*, set sail from England for New South Wales, Australia. Of the 157 convicts undergoing transportation, 31 had received life sentences and the average sentence was 9 years.



During this month a [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Destimida*, master R. Arribas, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil with a cargo of 50 [enslaved](#) Africans.<sup>49</sup> Another slaver, this one flying the Spanish flag, the *Amistad Habanera*, master J.R. Arrarte, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at a port on the coast of [Cuba](#).

[THE MIDDLE PASSAGE](#)

49. Since in this year Brazil prohibited the [slave-trade](#) under severe penalties, either this shipment was in defiance of the new law or the new law had not yet come into effect.

1831

January: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Almirante*, master J.B. Lavalla, out of an unknown area of Africa completing the second of its two known Middle Passages, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters with an unknown number of [enslaved](#) human beings as its cargo.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE





CUBA

CUBA



July 3, Sunday: [Edward Bliss Emerson](#), in the Caribbean for his health, was discovering the white folks there to be considerably different from those he'd rubbed elbows with back home: "Men do not strive here as in N E after the [perfect man](#). It is present [pastime](#) or gainful industry or chance which they follow as their stars."

[Waldo](#)'s bro was having an excellent opportunity to observe first hand and close up the iniquitous system of [race slavery](#) by which sweetness was being brought into the world. Now there seem to have been two sorts of white people in the world, namely the white folks who can view such an ongoing atrocity and be left with a vague feeling sorta like "Gee, I'm sure glad I'm not a slave, myself, and pass the [cane sugar](#), please" versus the white folks who were shattered by such information, who came to be filled with a determination that whatever else needed to be cured about this wicked world we live in, getting rid of this particular iniquity was way, way up at the top of the list. [Waldo](#)'s bro would turn out to be of the former sort of white folks rather than of the latter sort. He toured through the worst of it learning about it first hand and close up — and found it all kinda picturesque sorta.

([Henry Thoreau](#), on the other hand, would never had any of this first hand contact, but would come to be filled with such revulsion for the system by which sweetness was being brought into the world, that he would go way out on a limb trying to figure out how sweetness might be produced locally and in perfect innocence. His attempt to figure out how to process the sap from local *Betula lutea* (yellow birch) trees would result in

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1856 in the only recorded argument he had with his father [John Thoreau, Sr.](#))



March 21, 1856: Had a dispute with Father about the use of my making this sugar when I ... might have bought sugar cheaper at Holden's. He said it took me from my studies. I said I made it my study; I felt as if I had been to a university.

SWEETS  
WITHOUT  
SLAVERY



CUBA

CUBA

WEATHER THE 40 DEADLIEST ATLANTIC HURRICANES OF ALL HURRICANES WEATHER HURRICANES

November 1590	Gulf of Mexico	1,000 dead (34th deadliest)
1601	Veracruz, <a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead (38th deadliest)
1605	Offshore Nicaragua	1,300 dead (30th deadliest)
September 1622	Florida Straits	1,090 dead (33rd deadliest)
October 1644	<a href="#">Cuba</a> , Florida Straits	1,500 dead (28th deadliest)
August 1666	Guadeloupe, Martinique	2,000 dead (25th deadliest)
September 1694	Offshore Barbados	1,000 dead (35th deadliest)
July 1715	Florida Straits, Bahamas	1,000 dead (36th deadliest)
August 1767	Martinique	600 dead (26th deadliest)
October 1768	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,000 dead (37th deadliest)
September 1775	Newfoundland Banks	4,000 dead (8th deadliest)
September 1776	Guadeloupe	6,000 dead (7th deadliest)
October 1780	Barbados, St. Eustatius, Martinique	20,000-22,000 dead (deadliest)
October 1780	Eastern Gulf of Mexico	2,000 dead (22nd deadliest)
October 1780	Jamaica, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,115 dead (32nd deadliest)
1781	Offshore Florida	2,000 dead (20th deadliest)
September 1782	Central Atlantic offshore	3,000 dead (12th deadliest)
June 1791	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	3,000 dead (15th deadliest)
August 1813	Martinique	3,000 dead (13th deadliest)
<b>July 1825</b>	<b>Guadeloupe, Puerto Rico</b>	<b>1,300 dead (29th deadliest)</b>
<b>August 1831</b>	<b>Barbados</b>	<b>1,500 dead, 2,500 missing (16th deadliest)</b>
October 1870	<a href="#">Cuba</a>	1,000-2,000 dead (23rd deadliest)
August 1893	South Carolina, Georgia	2,000-2,500 dead (21st deadliest)
October 1893	Louisiana	1,800 dead, 2,000 missing (24th deadliest)
August 1899	Puerto Rico, Carolinas	3,063 dead, 3,433 missing (9th deadliest)
September 1900	Galveston,	8,000-12,000 dead (3rd deadliest)
August 1909	<a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead, 1,500 missing (27th deadliest)
September 1928	Martinique, Guadeloupe, Puerto Rico, Turks and Caicos, Florida	3,375 dead, 4,075 missing (10th deadliest)
September 1930	Dominican Republic	2,000-8,000 dead (5th deadliest)
September 1931	Belize	1,500 dead, 2,500 missing (17th deadliest)
November 1932	Cayman Islands, Jamaica, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	2,500 dead, 3,107 missing (11th deadliest)

# CUBA

# CUBA

June 1934	El Salvador, Honduras	2,000-3,006 dead (14th deadliest)
October 1935	Haiti, Jamaica, Honduras	1,000-2,168 dead (18th deadliest)
October 1954	Hazel, Grenada, Haiti, USA, Canada	1,000 dead (39th deadliest)
October 1963	Flora, Haiti, <a href="#">Cuba</a>	8,000 dead (6th deadliest)
September/ October 1966	Inez, Caribbean, <a href="#">Mexico</a>	1,000 dead (40th deadliest)
September 1974	Fifi, Honduras	8,000-10,000 dead (4th deadliest)
September 1979	David, Dominica, Dominican Republic, United States	2,063 dead, 2,068 missing (19th deadliest)
November 1994	Gordon, Costa Rica, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Florida	1,145 dead (31st deadliest)
October 1998	Mitch, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Belize	9,086 dead, 9190 missing (2nd deadliest)







September: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Catalana*, master J.A. de la Vega, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



RACE SLAVERY  
THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



October: Two [negreros](#) flying the Spanish flag arrived in [Cuban](#) waters with a now-unknown quantity of human cargo. They were the *Amistad Habanera*, master J. Garcia, that had sailed from an unknown area of Africa on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, and the *Andromaca*, master F. Logreiro, that had sailed from an unknown area of Africa and was completing the 2d of its two known Middle Passage voyages.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

November: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Indagadora*, master F. Rovorosa, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its six known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

December: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Diedade*, master J.P. Carneiro, on its first of two known Middle Passage voyages, bringing an unknown number of [enslaved](#) people out of an unknown area of Africa, cast anchor at its destination, a port of [Cuba](#).

The *Diedade* in particular may have been flying the Portuguese flag, but what concerned President Andrew Jackson in his message to the US Congress was that there were any number of such slaver vessels that were defending themselves against interception by flying at sea the “Stars and Bars” of the United States of America. They were sailing under false colors. Our flag, he suggested, was being “grossly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations.”

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The enhanced price of slaves throughout the American slave market, brought about by the new industrial development and the laws against the slave-trade, was the irresistible temptation that drew American capital and enterprise into that traffic. In the United States, in spite of the large interstate traffic, the average price of slaves rose from about \$325 in 1840, to \$360 in 1850, and to \$500 in 1860.<sup>50</sup> Brazil and Cuba offered similar inducements to smugglers, and the American flag was ready to protect such pirates. As a result, the American slave-trade finally came to be carried on principally by United States capital, in United States ships, officered by United States citizens, and under the United States

50. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, COTTON KINGDOM.





CUBA

CUBA

flag.

Executive reports repeatedly acknowledged this fact. In 1839 "a careful revision of these laws" is recommended by the President, in order that "the integrity and honor of our flag may be carefully preserved."<sup>51</sup> In June, 1841, the President declares: "There is reason to believe that the traffic is on the increase," and advocates "vigorous efforts."<sup>52</sup> His message in December of the same year acknowledges: "That the American flag is grossly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations is but too probable."<sup>53</sup> The special message of 1845 explains at length that "it would seem" that a regular policy of evading the laws is carried on: American vessels with the knowledge of the owners are chartered by notorious slave dealers in Brazil, aided by English capitalists, with this intent.<sup>54</sup> The message of 1849 "earnestly" invites the attention of Congress "to an amendment of our existing laws relating to the African slave-trade, with a view to the effectual suppression of that barbarous traffic. It is not to be denied," continues the message, "that this trade is still, in part, carried on by means of vessels built in the United States, and owned or navigated by some of our citizens."<sup>55</sup> Governor Buchanan of Liberia reported in 1839: "The chief obstacle to the success of the very active measures pursued by the British government for the suppression of the slave-trade on the coast, is the *American flag*. Never was the proud banner of freedom so extensively used by those pirates upon liberty and humanity, as at this season."<sup>56</sup> One well-known American slaver was boarded fifteen times and twice taken into port, but always escaped by means of her papers.<sup>57</sup> Even American officers report that the English are doing all they can, but that the American flag protects the trade.<sup>58</sup> The evidence which literally poured in from our consuls and ministers at Brazil adds to the story of the guilt of the United States.<sup>59</sup> It was proven that the participation of United States citizens in the trade was large and systematic. One of the most notorious slave merchants of Brazil said: "I am worried by the Americans, who insist upon my hiring their vessels for slave-trade."<sup>60</sup> Minister Proffit stated, in 1844, that the "slave-trade is almost entirely carried on under our flag, in American-built vessels."<sup>61</sup> So, too, in Cuba: the British commissioners affirm that American citizens were openly engaged in the traffic; vessels arrived undisguised at Havana from the United States, and cleared for Africa as slavers after an alleged sale.<sup>62</sup> The American consul, Trist, was proven to have consciously or unconsciously aided this trade by the issuance of blank clearance papers.<sup>63</sup>

51. HOUSE JOURNAL, 26th Congress, 1st session, page 118.

52. HOUSE JOURNAL, 27th Congress, 1st session, pages 31, 184.

53. HOUSE JOURNAL, 27th Congress, 2d session, pages 14, 15, 86, 113.

54. SENATE JOURNAL, 28th Congress, 2d session, pages 191, 227.

55. HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 31st Congress, 1st session, III. pt. I. No. 5, page 7.

56. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 152.

57. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, pages 152-3.

58. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 241.

59. Cf. e.g. HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 28th Congress, 2d session, IV. pt. I. No. 148; 29th Congress, 1st session, III. No. 43; HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 30th Congress, 2d session, VII. No. 61; SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 30th Congress, 1st session, IV. No. 28; 31st Congress, 2d session, II. No. 6; 33d Congress, 1st session, VIII. No. 47.

60. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 218.

61. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 221.

62. Palmerston to Stevenson: HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115, page 5. In 1836 five such slavers were known to have cleared; in 1837, eleven; in 1838, nineteen; and in 1839, twenty-three: HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115, pages 220-1.



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The presence of American capital in these enterprises, and the connivance of the authorities, were proven in many cases and known in scores. In 1837 the English government informed the United States that from the papers of a captured slaver it appeared that the notorious slave-trading firm, Blanco and Carballo of Havana, who owned the vessel, had correspondents in the United States: "at Baltimore, Messrs. Peter Harmony and Co., in New York, Robert Barry, Esq."<sup>64</sup> The slaver "Martha" of New York, captured by the "Perry," contained among her papers curious revelations of the guilt of persons in America who were little suspected.<sup>65</sup> The slaver "Prova," which was allowed to lie in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, and refit, was afterwards captured with two hundred and twenty-five slaves on board.<sup>66</sup> The real reason that prevented many belligerent Congressmen from pressing certain search claims against England lay in the fact that the unjustifiable detentions had unfortunately revealed so much American guilt that it was deemed wiser to let the matter end in talk. For instance, in 1850 Congress demanded information as to illegal searches, and President Fillmore's report showed the uncomfortable fact that, of the ten American ships wrongly detained by English men-of-war, nine were proven red-handed slavers.<sup>67</sup>

The consul at Havana reported, in 1836, that whole cargoes of slaves fresh from Africa were being daily shipped to Texas in American vessels, that 1,000 had been sent within a few months, that the rate was increasing, and that many of these slaves "can scarcely fail to find their way into the United States." Moreover, the consul acknowledged that ships frequently cleared for the United States in ballast, taking on a cargo at some secret point.<sup>68</sup> When with these facts we consider the law facilitating "recovery" of slaves from Texas,<sup>69</sup> the repeated refusals to regulate the Texan trade, and the shelving of a proposed congressional investigation into these matters,<sup>70</sup> conjecture becomes a practical certainty. It was estimated in 1838 that 15,000 Africans were annually taken to Texas, and "there are even grounds for suspicion that there are other places ... where slaves are introduced."<sup>71</sup> Between 1847 and 1853 the slave smuggler Drake had a slave depot in the Gulf, where sometimes as many as 1,600 Negroes were on hand, and the owners were continually importing and shipping. "The joint-stock company," writes this smuggler, "was a very extensive one, and connected with leading American and Spanish mercantile houses. Our island<sup>72</sup> was visited almost weekly, by agents from Cuba, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, and New Orleans.... The seasoned and instructed slaves were taken to Texas, or Florida,

63. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1839, Volume XLIX., SLAVE TRADE, class A, Further Series, pages 58-9; class B, Further Series, page 110; class D, Further Series, page 25. Trist pleaded ignorance of the law: Trist to Forsyth, HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115.

64. HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115.

65. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 290.

66. HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115, pages 121, 163-6.

67. SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 31st Congress, 1st session, XIV No. 66.

68. Trist to Forsyth: HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115. "The business of supplying the United States with Africans from this island is one that must necessarily exist," because "slaves are a hundred *per cent*, or more, higher in the United States than in Cuba," and this profit "is a temptation which it is not in human nature as modified by American institutions to withstand": HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115.

69. STATUTES AT LARGE, V. 674.

70. Cf. STATUTES AT LARGE, V., page 157, note 1.

71. Buxton, THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND ITS REMEDY, pages 44-5. Cf. 2D REPORT OF THE LONDON AFRICAN SOCIETY, page 22.

72. I.e., Bay Island in the Gulf of Mexico, near the coast of Honduras.



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overland, and to Cuba, in sailing-boats. As no squad contained more than half a dozen, no difficulty was found in posting them to the United States, without discovery, and generally without suspicion.... The Bay Island plantation sent ventures weekly to the Florida Keys. Slaves were taken into the great American swamps, and there kept till wanted for the market. Hundreds were sold as captured runaways from the Florida wilderness. We had agents in every slave State; and our coasters were built in Maine, and came out with lumber. I could tell curious stories ... of this business of smuggling Bozal negroes into the United States. It is growing more profitable every year, and if you should hang all the Yankee merchants engaged in it, hundreds would fill their places."<sup>73</sup> Inherent probability and concurrent testimony confirm the substantial truth of such confessions. For instance, one traveller discovers on a Southern plantation Negroes who can speak no English.<sup>74</sup> The careful reports of the Quakers "apprehend that many [slaves] are also introduced into the United States."<sup>75</sup> Governor Mathew of the Bahama Islands reports that "in more than one instance, Bahama vessels with coloured crews have been purposely wrecked on the coast of Florida, and the crews forcibly sold." This was brought to the notice of the United States authorities, but the district attorney of Florida could furnish no information.<sup>76</sup> Such was the state of the slave-trade in 1850, on the threshold of the critical decade which by a herculean effort was destined finally to suppress it.


73. REVELATIONS OF A SLAVE SMUGGLER, page 98.

74. Mr. H. Moulton in SLAVERY AS IT IS, page 140; cited in FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (Friends' ed. 1841), page 8.

75. In a memorial to Congress, 1840: HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 1st session, VI. No. 211.

76. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1845-6, pages 883, 968, 989-90. The governor wrote in reply: "The United States, if properly served by their law officers in the Floridas, will not experience any difficulty in obtaining the requisite knowledge of these illegal transactions, which, I have reason to believe, were the subject of common notoriety in the neighbourhood where they occurred, and of boast on the part of those concerned in them": BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1845-6, page 990.

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Meanwhile, in downtown [Boston](#), abolitionists were holding their 2nd meeting in the law offices of Samuel Eliot Sewall on State Street. How to persuade white people to oppose the enslavement of black people? –Were they going to be able to figure out how to get from here to a land of freedom and justice for all? This time, due to the winter weather, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May was unable to attend, but the group had picked up three concerned individuals who had not been present for the initial November 13th  meeting:

- The Reverend Abijah Blanchard
- Alonzo Lewis
- William Joseph Snelling



### STATE STREET, BOSTON



1832



March: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Catalana*, master J.A. de la Vega, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

At Bahia on the coast of Brazil [Charles Darwin](#) was horrified by what he was learning about the treatment of slaves, so Captain Robert FitzRoy out of his inherent *noblesse oblige* attempted to reassure his traveling companion by relating that one of these South American slavemasters had once inquired of his slaves, whether they desired [manumission](#) — and had discovered to his surprise that they did not. Darwin incautiously opined that to such an inquiry from such a source a slave could not afford to provide an honest response, whereupon FitzRoy experienced the 1st of his many detonations during this voyage. Informing his traveling companion that if he was going to have his word doubted they could no longer be together aboard the *Beagle*, he stormed away. Later that day he would cool down, and send a note requesting that his traveling companion “continue to live with him.”

RACE SLAVERY



April 19, Thursday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) arrived in London to aid in the production of *Robert le diable*.

[Edward Bliss Emerson](#), in the Caribbean for his health, glimpsed “3 negroes with fetters & a huge log on their shoulders attached to them to prevent their running away & to punish the repeated attempts to do so; — two others I saw in the stocks, sitting easily but with one foot made fast” (this young gentleman’s travel diary, now at Harvard University, doesn’t seem to me at all judgmental about the various atrocities he was observing during his sojourn — such [race-slavery](#) observations seem to have been being placed on the record as mere items of topical interest, similar to his dinner menu and the quality of local [cane sugar](#)).





June: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Aguila*, master J.F. Raig, on its one and only known Middle Passage, had started out with a cargo of 659 out of Loango but was delivering only 616 at the port of [Havana, Cuba](#), 43 having died in transit. Another Spanish slaver arriving there during this month had better luck. The *Indagadora*, master B. Alemany, on one of its six known Middle Passage voyages, had brought a cargo of 138 [enslaved](#) Africans out of Lagos and was able to vend 134, only four having died in transit.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE





July: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Hebe*, master Almeida, J. de, on its one and only known [Middle Passage](#), delivered a cargo of 401 [enslaved](#) Africans at the port of [Havana, Cuba](#).



According to a census the [slave](#) population on [St. Helena](#) was 645 and its value was being estimated at £28,062, assuming that slaves 55 or over were worth about £2.20 each more or less, that those aged between 50 and 55 were worth about £24.25 each more or less, that those between 45 and 50 were worth about £36.70 each more or less, and that the 500 slaves who were under 45 years of age were worth about £51.50 each more or less. If the East India Company desired to abolish slavery on the island, such estimates needed to be mandated as compensation rates to the slaves' owners. One-fifth of this population would be emancipated during this year, and one-fifth during each of the succeeding four years.

### ST. HELENA RECORDS

By the completion of this buy-out program the government would have purchased and [manumitted](#) a total of 614 individuals for a grand sum total expenditure of £28,062. 17s. Od.

1833



January: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Amistad Habanera*, master Fernandez, M., on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY



March: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Esperanca*, master Rodriguez, on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, bringing an unknown number of people out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
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➡ May: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Empresa*, master J.B. Pardo, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).



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➡ July: Two [negreros](#) flying the Portuguese flag arrived in [Cuban](#) waters after the [Middle Passage](#): the *Diedade*, master J.P. Carneiro, was completing the second of its two known trips, while the *Ligeiro*, master J.P. de Mettos, was completing one of its four known trips. The two vessels were bringing a now-unknown number of people out of a now-unknown area of Africa.<sup>77</sup>

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

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



September: By an Act of Parliament [St. Helena](#) Island and all other property of the East India Company was transferred to The Crown of England.

A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Alerta*, master A. Ferreira, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of [Havana, Cuba](#) with a cargo of 760 [enslaved](#) Africans.



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November: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria da Gloria*, master J.G. Cordonig, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Angola with a cargo of 433 [enslaved](#) Africans, arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Meanwhile another slaver flying that flag, the *Atrevida*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, was delivering a cargo of 400 enslaved Africans at Bahia, Brazil. A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Andaluz*, master F. Garcia, on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving during this month in [Cuban](#) waters.



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December: [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) and her sister [Mary Tyler Peabody](#) (Mann) traveled with the family of Richard Cleveland to [Cuba](#). Her letters home would be collected and circulated among friends (but not published) by her mother [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) under the title THE CUBA JOURNAL, 1833-1835.

1834

Miguel Tacón was appointed as Captain-General of Cuba.

January: Fifteen slave ships (negreros) captured by the Royal Navy were being held in James Bay.

During this month three Spanish negreros, the Carlota, master G. Loureiro, on its only known Middle Passage, the Francisca, master M. Martorell, on one of its five known Middle Passages, and the Belencita, master S. Alonzo, on one of its four known Middle Passages, were arriving in Cuban waters, loaded with an unknown number of new black slaves from unknown points along the African coastline.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



February: A negrero flying the Portuguese flag, the Fortuna, master F.P. Viana, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

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March: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Abencerrage*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving in [Cuban](#) waters.



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RACE SLAVERY

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April: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Gazeta*, master Escura, at the conclusion of its first of two known Middle Passages, brought an unknown number of [enslaved](#) human beings ashore at Matanzas, [Cuba](#).



➡ May: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Despique*, master J.M. Oliveira, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Angola with a cargo of 215 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of [Havana, Cuba](#).



➡ June: In [New-York](#), the Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Colour approved a resolution endorsing [Prudence Crandall](#)'s school (MINUTES OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES, HELD BY ADJOURNMENTS IN THE ASBURY CHURCH, NEW-YORK, FROM THE 2ND TO THE 12TH OF JUNE INCLUSIVE, 1834. New York: by order of the Convention).

[James Fenimore Cooper](#)'s A LETTER TO HIS COUNTRYMEN was published, urging Americans not to defer to foreign opinion. He revisited Cooperstown, [New York](#) after a 17-year absence.

☰ A Spanish [negrero](#), the *General Mausó*, master Capo, out of an unknown area of Africa on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination port, Matanzas, [Cuba](#). A Portuguese slaver, the *Duquesa de Braganca*, master J.J. de Barros, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its three known Middle Passages, was in this month delivering a cargo of 277 [enslaved](#) Africans at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

➡ August: Two Spanish slavers, the *Alerta*, master A. Musard, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known Middle Passages, and the *Francisca*, master A.S. Martin, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its five known Middle Passages, were arriving in [Cuban](#) waters. A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Fortuna de Africa*, master unknown, out of Angola on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at Montevideo, Uruguay.

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September: During this month a [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag and two [negreros](#) flying the Spanish flag arrived in the New World after the [Middle Passage](#). They were the *Josefa*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, sailing out of Luanda and arriving at Montevideo, Uruguay, the *Belencita*, master S. Alonzo, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa arriving at a port of [Cuba](#), and the *Galana Josefa*, master S. de Renia, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arriving at Trinidad.


[RACE SLAVERY](#)




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1835

 The [Reverend Timothy Flint](#) made good on his 1833 commitment to contribute “Sketches of the Literature of the United States” to the [London Athenaeum](#) (there would be a total of 11 articles from the issue of July 4th to the issue of November 9th). He traveled in [Cuba](#), in New England, and on the Great Lakes.

[Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) and her sister [Mary Tyler Peabody](#) (Mann) returned to Salem from [Cuba](#). Her letters home would be collected and circulated among friends (but not published) by her mother [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) under the title THE CUBA JOURNAL, 1833-1835.

 February: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Firmeza*, master A.J. Frias, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters. Two [negreros](#) flying the Spanish flag also were arriving, the *Carmen*, master J. Capdevila, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, and the *Gazeta*, master J. Andreacain, out of an unknown area of Africa on its second of two known Middle Passages, at Matanzas, Cuba. A Portuguese slaver out of Angola, the *Africana*, master unknown, on its only known Middle Passage, was arriving at Montevideo, Uruguay.

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➡ March: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Joven Africano*, master unknown, out of Angola on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Montevideo, Uruguay.

☰ A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *General Laborde*, master R. Trillo, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.



☰ Another slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Cacador*, master A. Eloriaga, out of an unknown area of Africa on its second of two known Middle Passages, also arrived in Cuban waters. Yet another slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Chubasco*, master G. Garcia, on its only known [Middle Passage](#), having started with a cargo of 275 [enslaved](#) Africans out of Rio Pongo, arrived at the port of [Havana](#) — but was able to offload only 253 into the [barracoon](#) there as 22 had died.

☰ The [negrero](#) *Enterprise*, carrying 78 American [slaves](#) from the [District of Columbia](#) to [Charleston](#), was compelled by rough weather to put into the port of Hamilton in the West Indies — where the local authorities set them free. Great Britain was able to refuse to pay for these, because, before they had been offloaded by the master of the vessel, slavery in the West Indies had been abolished (SENATE DOCUMENT, 24th Congress, 2d session II, No. 174; 25th Congress, 3d session, III, No. 216).

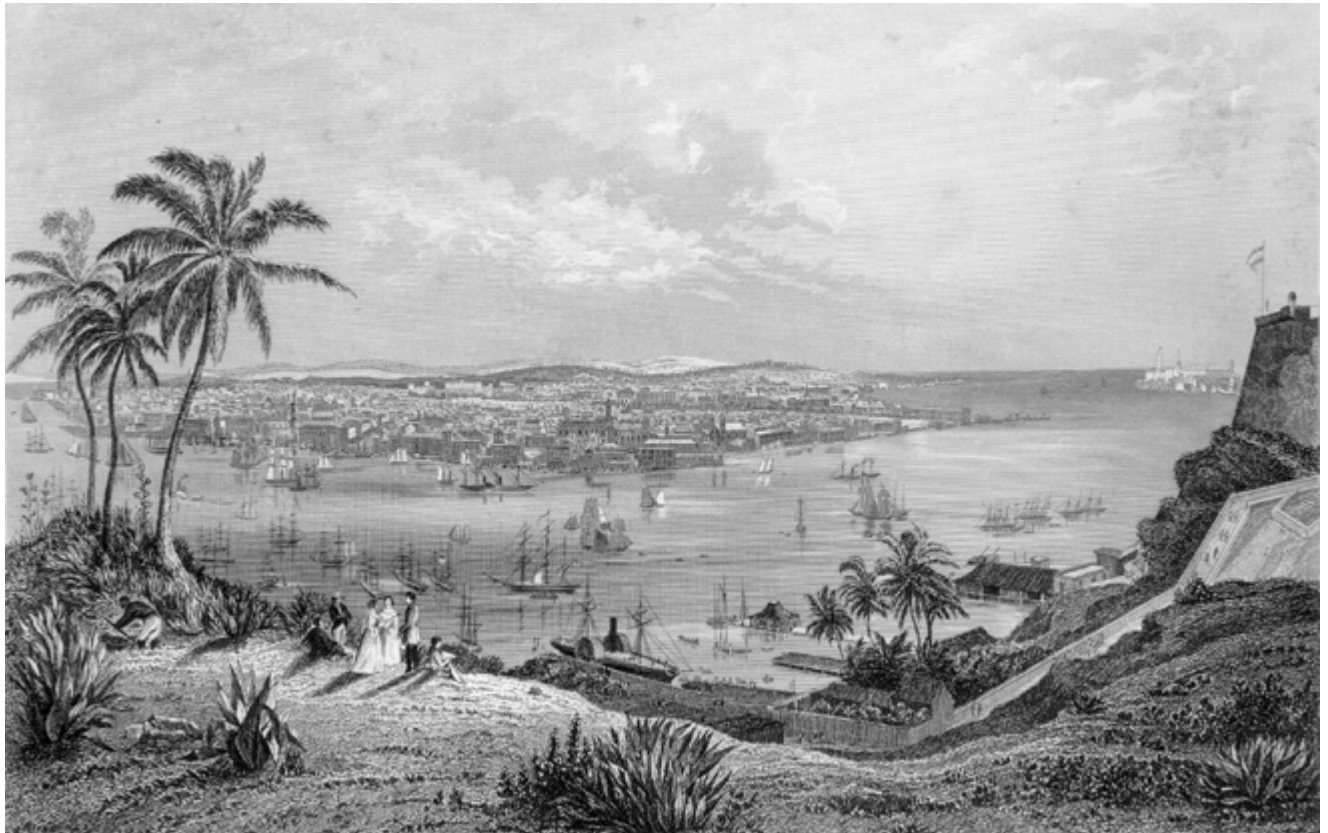
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April: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria Segundo*, on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, and a slaver flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Belencita*, master A. Musard, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.



RACE SLAVERY





May: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Bella Ines*, master J. Pugol, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Puerto Rico.



Another slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Francisca*, master E. Martin, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba. Yet another slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Isabel*, master F. Montero, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#). A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Augusto Cesar*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 221 [enslaved](#) Africans at Montevideo, Brazil. Another slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Hercules*, master M. Diaz, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



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June: Affairs were proceeding swimmingly in the British West Indies — not.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: On the next Monday morning, with very few exceptions, every negro on every plantation was in the field at his work. In some places, they waited to see their master, to know what bargain he would make; but, for the most part, throughout the islands, nothing painful occurred. In June, 1835, the ministers, Lord Aberdeen and Sir George Grey, declared to the Parliament, that the system worked well; that now for ten months, from 1st August, 1834, no injury or violence had been offered to any white, and only one black had been hurt in 800,000 negroes: and, contrary to many sinister predictions, that the new crop of island produce would not fall short of that of the last year. But the habit of oppression was not destroyed by a law and a day of jubilee. It soon appeared in all the islands, that the planters were disposed to use their old privileges, and overwork the apprentices; to take from them, under various pretences, their fourth part of their time; and to exert the same licentious despotism as before. The negroes complained to the magistrates, and to the governor. In the island of Jamaica, this ill blood continually grew worse. The governors, Lord Belmore, the Earl of Sligo, and afterwards Sir Lionel Smith, (a governor of their own class, who had been sent out to gratify the planters,) threw themselves on the side of the oppressed, and are at constant quarrel with the angry and bilious island legislature.

Sir Lionel Smith defended the poor negro girls, prey to the licentiousness of the planters; they shall not be whipped with tamarind rods, if they do not comply with their master's will; he defended the negro women; they should not be wade to dig the cane-holes, (which is the very hardest of the field-work;) he defended the Baptist preachers and the stipendiary magistrates, who are the negroes' friends, from the power of the planter. The power of the planters, however, to oppress, was greater than the power of the apprentice and of his guardians to withstand.

Lord Brougham and Mr. Buxton declared that the planter had not fulfilled his part in the contract, whilst the apprentices had fulfilled theirs; and demanded that the emancipation should be hastened, and the apprenticeship abolished.



A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Estella Cubana*, master Gonzalves, on its only known [Middle Passage](#), arrived at the port of Santiago de [Cuba](#) to off-load an unknown number of [enslaved](#) people.



➡ August: A Spanish [negrero](#), the *Feliz Vascongada*, master S.T. Olaquiver, and a Portuguese slaver, the *Fenix*, master J.A. Barbosa, each completing its only known [Middle Passage](#), arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.

RACE SLAVERY



➡ September: During this month one Portuguese [negrero](#) and three Spanish slavers were completing their middle passages from unknown points on the coast of Africa, entering [Cuban](#) waters: the Portuguese *Deligencia*, master L. Marques, on one of its four such voyages, the Spanish *Dos Hermanos*, master Morillo, on one of its two such voyages, the *Flor de la Mar*, master F. Romero, on its only known such voyage, and the Spanish *General Mina*, master A. Soto, on its only known such voyage.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

RACE SLAVERY





October: Three slavers or [negreros](#) of the Spanish flag that we otherwise have no record of sailed into the Caribbean this month: the *Aquila Vengadora*, master A. Equiqurran, bound for Trinidad, the *El Mismo*, master Perreira, bound for [Cuba](#), and the *Amalia*, master J.R. Manene, also bound for Cuba.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

This third vessel when it had sailed out of the mouth of the Congo River had had a cargo of 207 [enslaved](#) Africans, but it was arriving at the port of [Havana](#), something of a tropical paradise, with only 203 — because four people had died in transit.

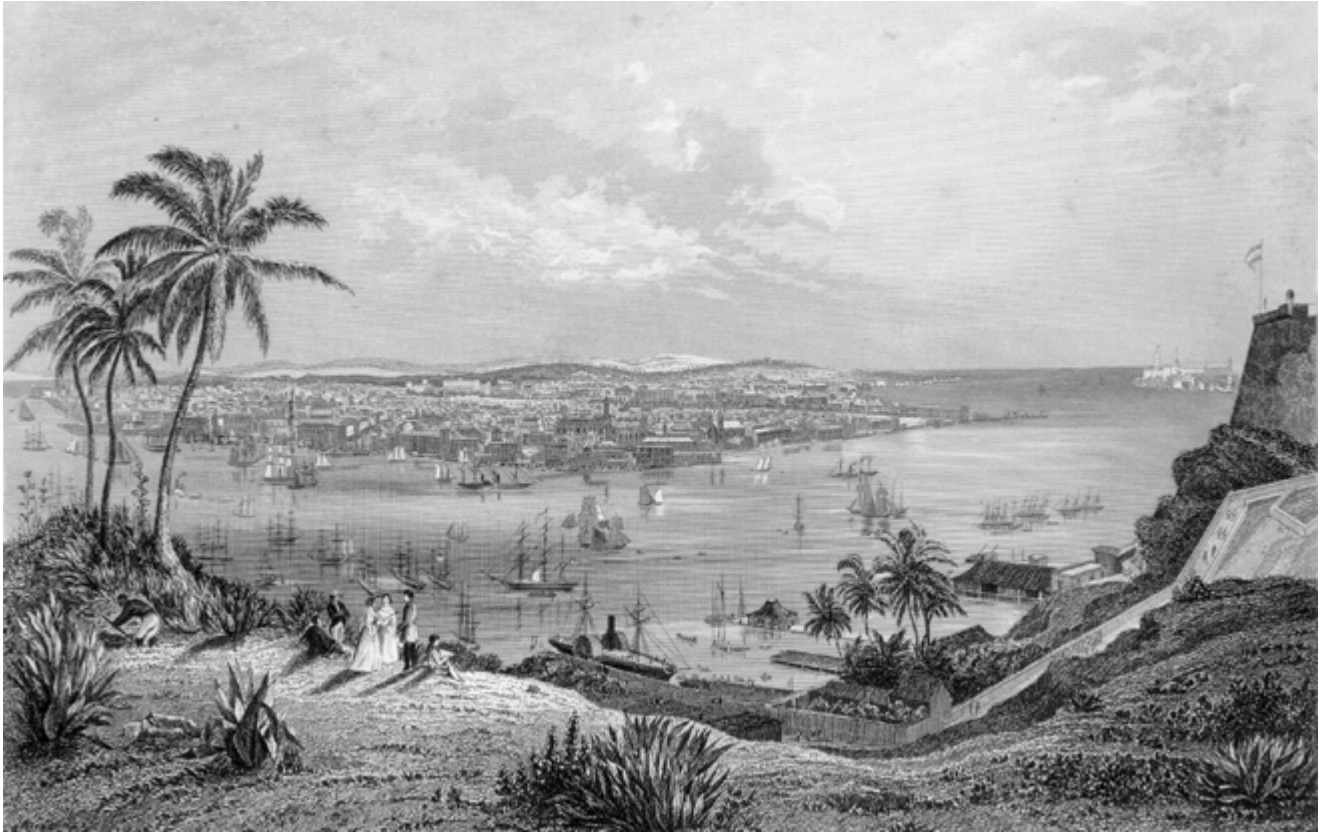
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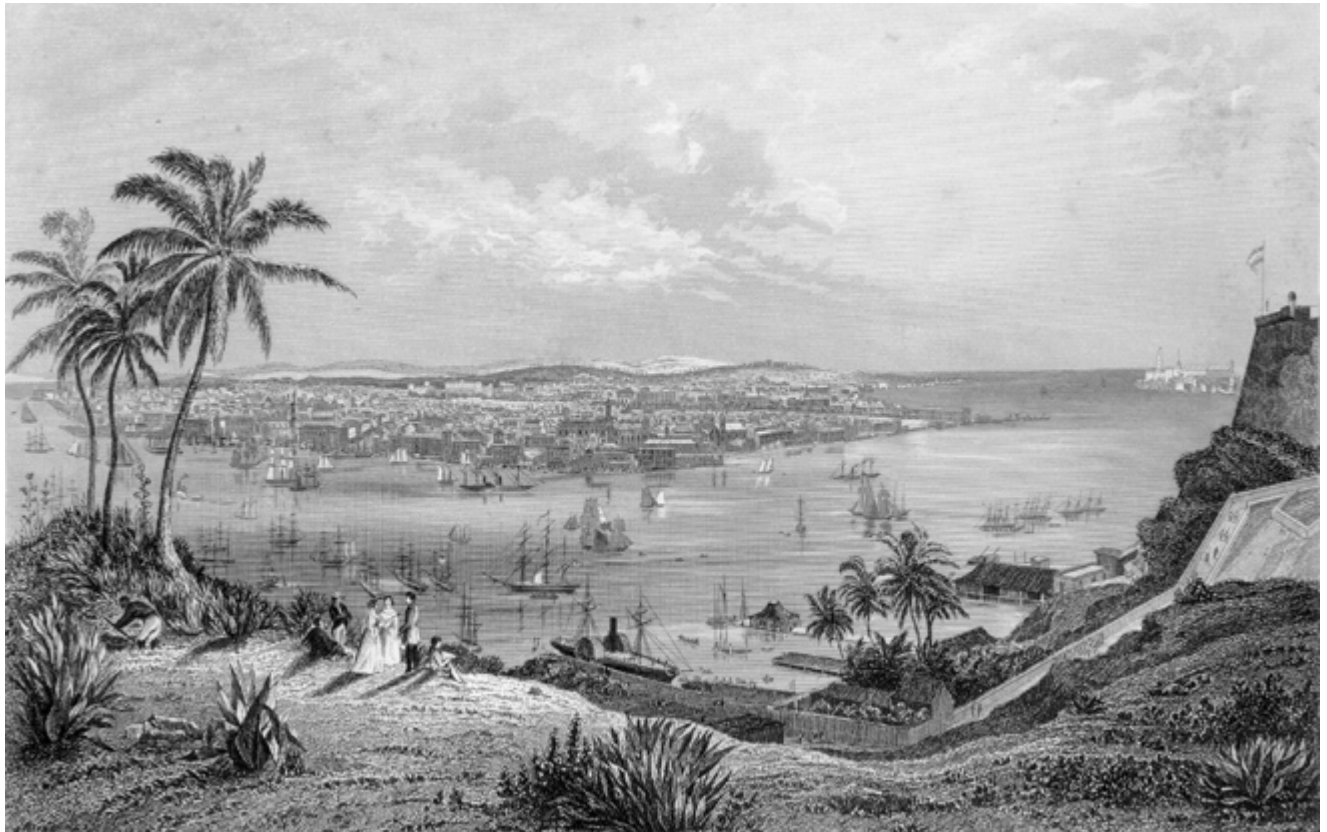
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December: A Portuguese slave ship, the *Josefina*, master Carrera, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known Middle Passage voyages, and six Spanish [negreros](#), arrived in [Cuban](#) waters. The *General Laborde*, master R. Trillo, was out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its three such voyages, headed for Trinidad de Cuba. The *Deseada*, master Bernardo, was out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages. The *Deseada*, master Bernardo, was on its first of two known Middle Passages. The *Catalana*, master R. Clavell, was on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages. The *Deseada*, master Bernardo, was on its first of two known Middle Passages. The *Diligencia*, masters A. Wallex and J. deJover, on its one and only known Middle Passage, starting with a cargo of 210 [enslaved](#) Africans out of Mayamba, would arrive at the port of [Havana](#) with only 120 as 90 persons had died in transit.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

1836

➡ William Wells Brown settled in Buffalo, New York and began speaking at local abolitionist gatherings, attending meetings of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, and boarding antislavery lecturers at his home. He would soon be venturing to [Cuba](#) and Haiti to investigate emigration possibilities.



Mexico and Venezuela plan an expedition to help liberate Cuba, but the US, fearing that an independent island would bring about an end to slavery (which would have repercussion in the Southern states) announces that it would block any move to liberate [Cuba](#).

An English visitor to Georgia, named Edwin Roberts, was placed in danger when local whites suspected that he was identical with the visitor Robinson of 1831, ➡ the one who had casually expressed an antislavery sentiment, returned to be again taken outside town and “scourged almost to death” like before. —Another name-nationality confusion. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois has attributed the notorious Southern penchant for violence to **hegemony**:



The white people of the South are essentially a fine kindly breed.... Perhaps their early and fatal mistake was that they refused long before the Civil War to allow the South differences of opinion.... Men act as they do in the South, they murder, they [lynch](#), they insult, because they listen to but one side of a question.





January: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Isabel Segunda*, master A. Marquez, out of an unknown area of Africa on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters. Another slaver, this one flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria Theresa*, master J. Pereira, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, also arrived in Cuban waters during this month.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

CUBA

CUBA



February: A **negrero** flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Isabel*, master Montero, F., on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of **Cuba**.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Alerta*, master Allende, J., on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Atenas*, master Castres, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Cuba.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Belencita*, master Prendez, M., on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Bella Ines*, master Pugol, J., on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Carmen*, master Gonzalez, on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Dido*, master Grandel, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Cuba.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Francisca*, master Mora, F.M., on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Dido*, master Grandel, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

RACE SLAVERY



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March: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Isabelita*, master F. Rebel, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

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April: Four slavers flying the Spanish flag entered Cuban waters during this month, completing their Middle Passages, bringing unknown numbers of enslaved people from unknown areas of the coast of Africa. We know that the *Empresa*, master Coloma, was completing one of three such voyages. In regard to the other three *negreros*, the *Atalaya*, master Sust, the *Casimiro*, master Fremur, and the *Clarita*, master Villar, at present we have no information as to any other such voyages.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

May: A *negrero* flying the Portuguese flag, the *Eliza*, master Santa Ana, out of an unknown area of Africa completing one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, entered Cuban waters bearing an unknown number of slaves.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

➡ June: All male inhabitants of [St. Helena](#) were enrolled in a “Volunteer” Corps.

☰ Three [negrero](#), two flying the Portuguese flag and one flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), entered [Cuban](#) waters during this month bearing cargos of fresh [slaves](#) from Africa: the *Escorpion*, master Carlos; the *Liberal*, master Ribeiro (on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages); the *Cristina*, master Estevez (on its 2nd of two known Middle Passages).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



August/September: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Galgo*, master unknown, sailing from the island of Principe with a cargo of 550 [enslaved](#) Africans on its one and only known [Middle Passage](#), arrived at the port of [Havana](#).



The *Emanuel*, *Dolores*, *Anaconda*, and *Viper*, [negreros](#) which had been built in the United States, cleared from [Cuba](#) on their way to the coast of Africa to pick up human cargo (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 4-6, 221).



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October: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Empresa*, master M. Caldos, on one of its three known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, starting with a cargo of 450 [enslaved](#) Africans out of the Congo River area, arrived at the port of [Havana](#) with only 434 as 16 had died in transit.



A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria Theresa*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, also arrived during this month at a port of [Cuba](#). During this month nine Portuguese slavers were arriving at the port of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: the *Maria Segundo*, master unknown, out of Angola on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, the *Luisa (Luiza)*, master unknown, out of Angola on its first of two known Middle Passages, the *Jupiter*, master unknown, out of Angola on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, the *Aguia*, master unknown, out of Angola on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, the *Carridade*, master unknown, out of Angola on its one and only known Middle Passage, the *Eugenia*, master unknown, out of Angola on its first of two known Middle Passages, the *Lealdade*, master unknown, out of Angola on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, the *Doze de Outubro*, master unknown, out of Benguela on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, and the *Epsinia*, master unknown, out of Benguela on its one and only known Middle Passage.





CUBA



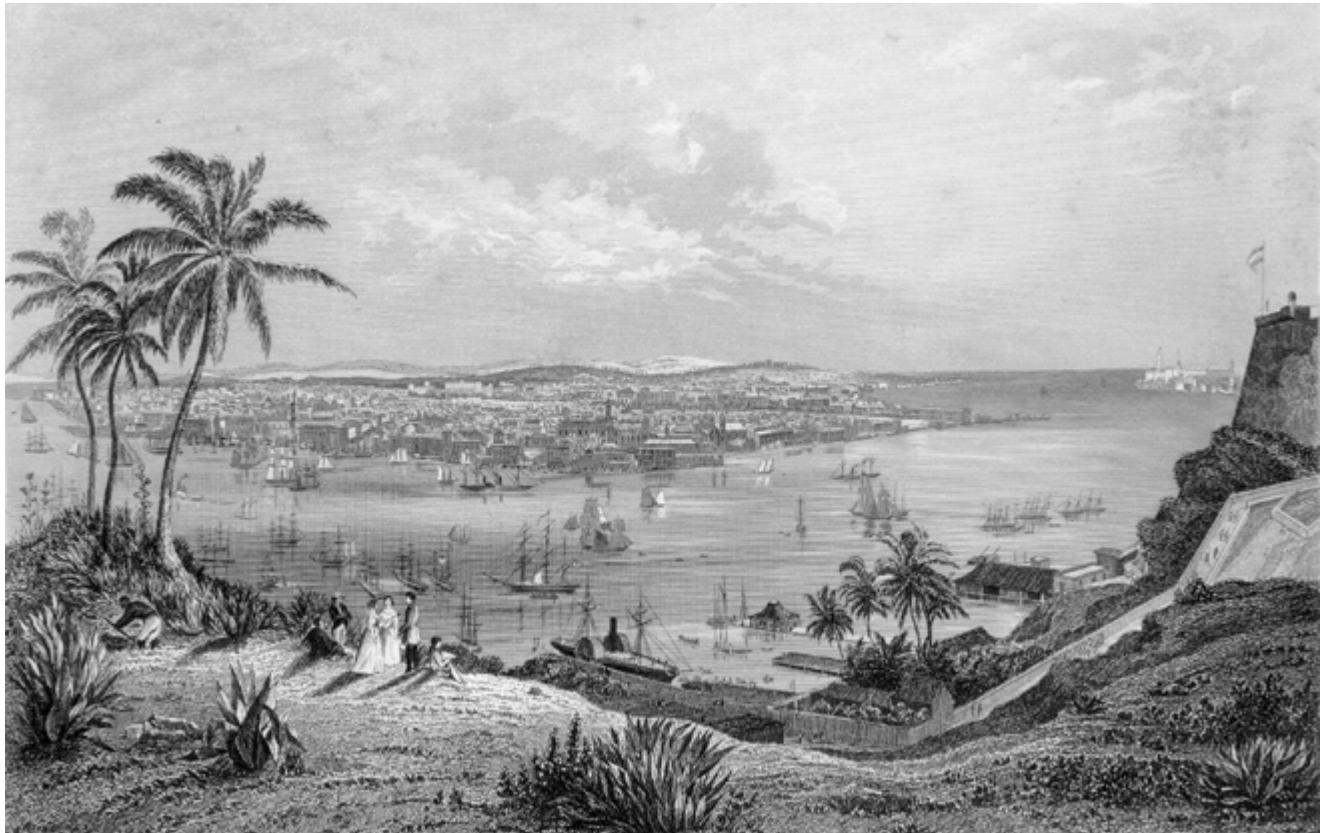
CUBA



November: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Minerva*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 317 [enslaved](#) Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived during this month at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Firmeza*, master A.F. de Vascoells, out of Ambriz on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Constitucao*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of [Havana, Cuba](#).



A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dona Joanna*, master unknown, out of Ambriz with a cargo of 283 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arriving at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aventura*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 428 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Campos, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aventureiro*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 397 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Taipu, Brazil.

CUBA

CUBA

I have two different accounts of a slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Brilhante*, master unknown, on one of its six or seven known Middle Passage voyages, starting with a cargo of 400 or 408 enslaved Africans out of Quelimane, according to one account delivering only 325 at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil as 75 had died in transit, but according to the other account arriving at the port of Campos, Brazil. Possibly this slavery vended its cargo successively in the two ports? Possibly the 75 that are alleged to have died in transit actually were vended at the first of the two ports?

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Especulacion*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, the island of Cuba.




A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Jacuby*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 284 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

CUBA



CUBA

 December: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria Segundo*, master Alburque, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, and two *negreros* flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Egerida*, master Dornenech, out of an unknown area of Africa on its one and only known Middle Passage, and the *Francisca*, master Tudela, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Flor do Rio*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 314 [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arriving at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil. A slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Generoso*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 340 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arriving at Campos, Brazil.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

1837

There was an uprising of slaves in Cuba. By Spanish royal order in this year, no free person of color, not even a seaman, might come ashore either in Cuba or in Puerto Rico, not ever, not for any reason. (Don't let there be any part of "no" that you don't understand — the enslaved persons of color of the Spanish colonies are to encounter no such exemplars.)

SERVILE INSURRECTION

The conspiracy of secrecy entered into by the founding fathers, not to discuss the work done at the Constitutional Convention for fifty years, expired. It was revealed that the founding fathers had not intended, in employing vague phrases such as "We the People," that the protections would gradually be expanded until they included blacks, and Indians, and women.

Interest alone [by which was meant prosperity, was] the governing principle.

It was revealed, by the expiration of this oath of secrecy in regard to the machinations that had produced the federal Constitution, that the president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, Benjamin Franklin, had betrayed the American slave. During the course of the Constitutional Convention he had not so much as brought the topic up for discussion. The convention had simply capitulated to the American slaveholders — and the freedom of women of course never crossed anyone's mind. The only consideration given to the fact that some Americans were being held in bondage was to allow those who were chaining them to cast more weighty votes than non-slaveholders — in their behalf — in all the national elections!

"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could want such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



— Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY? 1976, page 141



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The Constitution of the United States of America was thus revealed to have been a “Covenant with Death and an Agreement with Hell,” to paraphrase ISAIAH 28:15 in the manner favored by abolitionists.<sup>78</sup>



What to do? —To replace the expired 50-year gag agreement on discussing the proceedings of the 1887 Constitutional Convention, Congress enacted a new gag rule that would effectively suppress any and all congressional debate on anything and everything having to do with the national slavery issue.

As the result of a Connecticut trial, *Jackson v. Bullock*, any [slave](#) brought into Connecticut from a slave state of the federal union would be considered to be immediately free. This followed the 1836 Massachusetts case of *Commonwealth v. Aves* which in turn followed the 1772 British case, *Somerset v. Stewart*. [New York](#) and Pennsylvania overrode the Somerset decision by statutory enactments, according to which Pennsylvania granted 9 months transit until 1847 and New York granted 9 months transit until 1841.

In this year the Reverend Horace Bushnell was warning America to protect its Anglo-Saxon blood from the

78. In a sense, the correct answer to the standard classroom question “What caused the Civil War?” would be “Uh, Ben Franklin?”

*Son of so-and-so and so-and-so, this  
so-and-so helped us to gain our independence,  
instructed us in economy,  
and drew down lightning from the clouds.*

Repeat after me, class: “*Nobody ever does just one thing.*”



immigrant tide.

RACISM



IRISH IBERIAN



ANGLO-TEUTONIC



NEGRO

The Reverend Hosea Easton, a black abolitionist, warned sensibly that doing away with human [slavery](#) in itself would not correct America's wrong, for after that it would still be necessary for the US's whites to overcome their color prejudice which made dusky skin "a mark of degradation."

One might suppose that the [La Amistad](#) slaves would, under such an arrangement, have been free the moment they set foot on Connecticut soil, but no, they had been brought there not from a [slave](#) state of our federal union but across the [Middle Passage](#) from Africa by way of [Cuba](#), and perhaps they weren't really slaves in not having been legally enslaved, and therefore there were two significant considerations bearing upon whether this Connecticut law having to do with slaves brought into Connecticut from a slave state of the federal union could be made to stick in court.



During this year 11 American negreros would clear from the port of [Havana](#) on their way to the coast of Africa to pick up slave cargo (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, page 221). In particular the negrero *Washington*, named of course in honor of our founding father, was enabled by the American consul at [Havana](#), himself (what are buddies for?), to proceed to the coast of Africa to pick up slave cargo (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 488-90, 715 ff; HOUSE DOCUMENT, 27th Congress, 1st session, No. 34, pages 18-21).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

**YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION. WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE "SCIENCE FICTION," MERELY TO "HISTORY FICTION":**



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**IT'S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**

CUBA

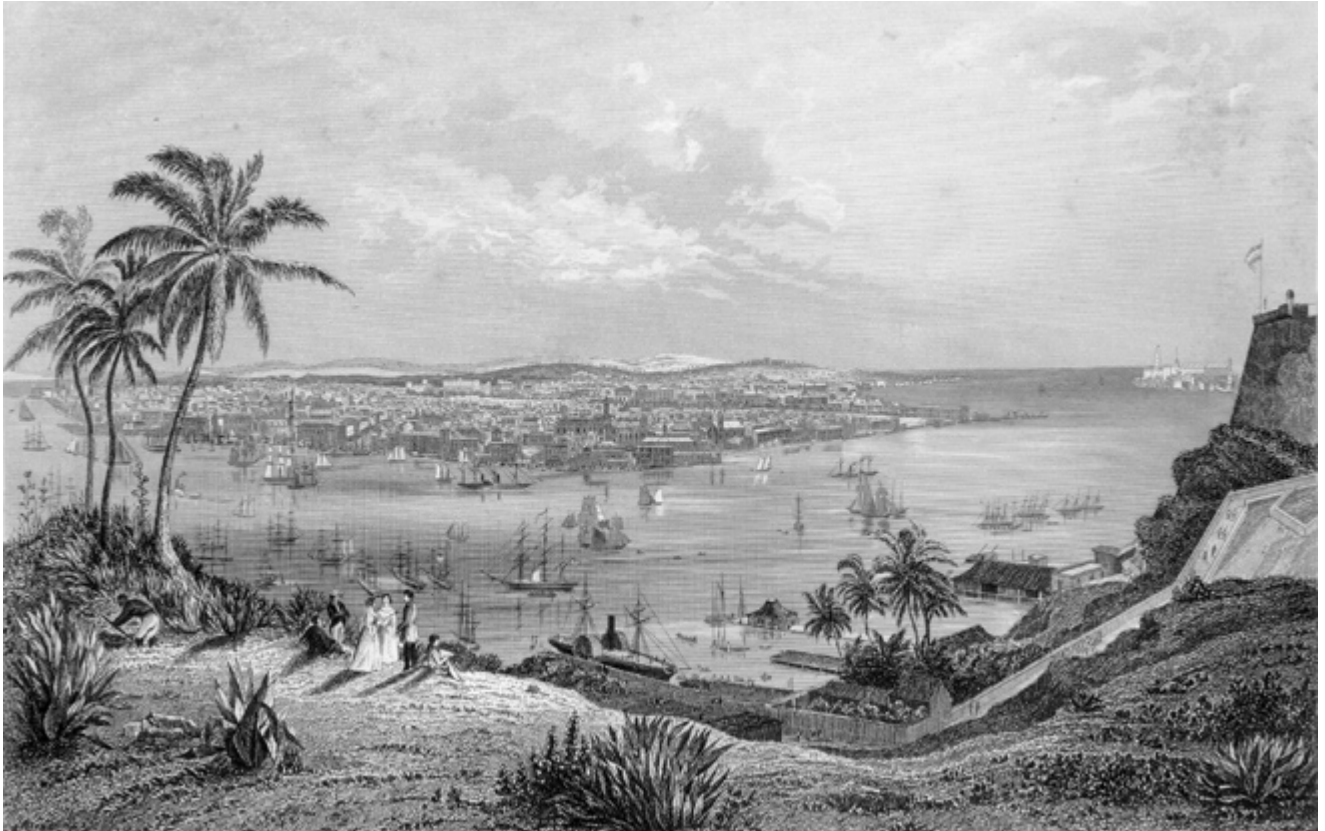
CUBA

January: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dido*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 400 enslaved Africans, arriving at a port of [Cuba](#).  
A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Duquesa de Braganca*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, [Cuba](#).



Another slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *General Laborde*, master unknown, on one of its 3 known Middle

Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at the port of [Havana](#):



**THE MIDDLE PASSAGE**

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Adamster*, master unknown, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, starting with an enormous cargo of 800 enslaved Africans out of Quelimane but delivering only 496 at Santos as 304 had died during transit.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Margaret*, master Ayons, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Carlota*, master unknown, on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 200 enslaved Africans, arrived at the port of Belize.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Cavalho Maria*, master Perez, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Deligencia*, master unknown, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola with a cargo of 475 enslaved Africans, arrived at the port of Maceio, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Eliza*, master unknown, on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola with a cargo of 337 enslaved Africans, arriving at the port of Parati, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Jacinto*, master Trillo, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Josefina*, master Pinto, on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

I have two accounts of a slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Leao*, master unknown, on one of its two or three known Middle Passage voyages, one account having it as having sailed from Angola with a cargo of 614 enslaved Africans, arriving in this month at the Brazilian port of Campos, but the other account having it as having sailed instead from Quelimane with a cargo instead of 572 enslaved Africans, arriving instead during this month at the Brazilian port of Ilha Marambaia.<sup>79</sup>





February: John Caldwell Calhoun delivered before the US Senate an address labeled “Slavery a Positive Good.”



**READ MY LIPS.**



- A negrero flying the Portuguese flag, the *Luisa (Luiza)*, master Diaz, out of an unknown area of Africa on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ligera*, master J. Gualberto, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its eight known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Jehovah*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 520 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Taipu, Brazil.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Henriqueta*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 263 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Boca Negra*, master Cuamano, on its first of two known Middle

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

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



Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 400 enslaved Africans, arriving at Juraga, Cuba. A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Aguila Vengadora*, master Zavala, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.



A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dulcinea*, master Garay, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Flor do Quillemane*, master unknown, started at Quelimane with a cargo of 697 [enslaved](#) Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage but arrived at Campos, Brazil only after 163 had died.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Mercurio*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 512 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Ilha dos Palmas, Brazil.

**THE MIDDLE PASSAGE**



April: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Felicidade*, master Perreira, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the US flag, the *Forest*, master Tripp, out of an unknown area of Africa on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, a port in Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Carolina*, master unknown, out to Quelimane on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages with a cargo of 976 enslaved Africans, arrived at the port of Ubatuba, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Camoës*, master Silva, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Constante*, master unknown, out of Luanda on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, with a cargo of 694 enslaved Africans, arrived at Campos, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Boca Negra*, master Cardozo, out of an unknown area of Africa on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Asseiceira*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 417 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Marica, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Duas Irmãs*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 520

enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Campos, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Doze de Outubro*, master unknown, out of Benguela with a cargo of 513 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Parati, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dos Hermanos*, master Carvalho, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Eliza*, master Santa Ana, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Lealdade*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 321 [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil.


A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ligeiro*, master unknown, out of Benguela with a cargo of 411 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Mangaratiba, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Liberal*, master Freytat, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

*“A few days since a slave ship, that had been fitted out in shares by the planters, here arrived with 292 Africans on board, in a perfect state of nudity & nature. She had been absent nearly a year, when an ordinary voyage to the coast & back is five or six months. Fears were entertained that she was captured, for the English have taken and destroyed over forty vessels this year.... At present slaves are so valuable there is little animal suffering and few or no deaths. Here they are landed on plantations and divided into lots, & the shareholders then divide them, & they are offered for sale like any other animals.”*

— An Observer in Guayama, Puerto Rico

 April 25, Tuesday: The King of Spain decreed that no delegates from [Cuba](#) might serve in the Cortes.

Lowell Mason sailed from New York Harbor for a 6-month tour of Europe.

 June: Five [negreros](#)  flying the Portuguese flag were arriving in the New World. The *Experiencia*, master unknown, out of Benguela with a cargo of 487 [enslaved](#) Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, was arriving at Campos, Brazil. The *Antonio*, master G. Giscarfe, which had sailed out of the Congo River with a cargo of 183 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving at Nassau in the Bahamas. The *Diligente*, master Acosta, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, the *Maria Theresa*, master Mayo, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, and the *Hercules*, master Ferreira, on its second of two known Middle Passages, had brought slaves from unknown locations on the African coast and were arriving at one or another port of the island of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

July: A **negrero** flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ligera*, master M. Antonio, on one of its eight known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 420 **enslaved** Africans, arriving at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Josefina*, master unknown, on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola with a cargo of 420 enslaved Africans, arriving at Campos, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Harmonia*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 614 enslaved Africans, arriving at the port of Paranagua, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aleide*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Pernambuco, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Antenor*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Angola with a cargo of 638 enslaved Africans, arrived at the port of Camarioca, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Flor de' Loanda*, master unknown, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola with a cargo of 427 enslaved Africans, arriving at Campos, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Feliz*, master unknown, on its first of two known Middle Passages, Principe with a cargo of 304 enslaved Africans, arriving at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



August: A **negrero** flying the Portuguese flag, the *Eugenia*, master unknown, on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of Angola with a cargo of 377 **enslaved** Africans, arrived at the port of Ilha Itamaraca, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Destimida*, master unknown, on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

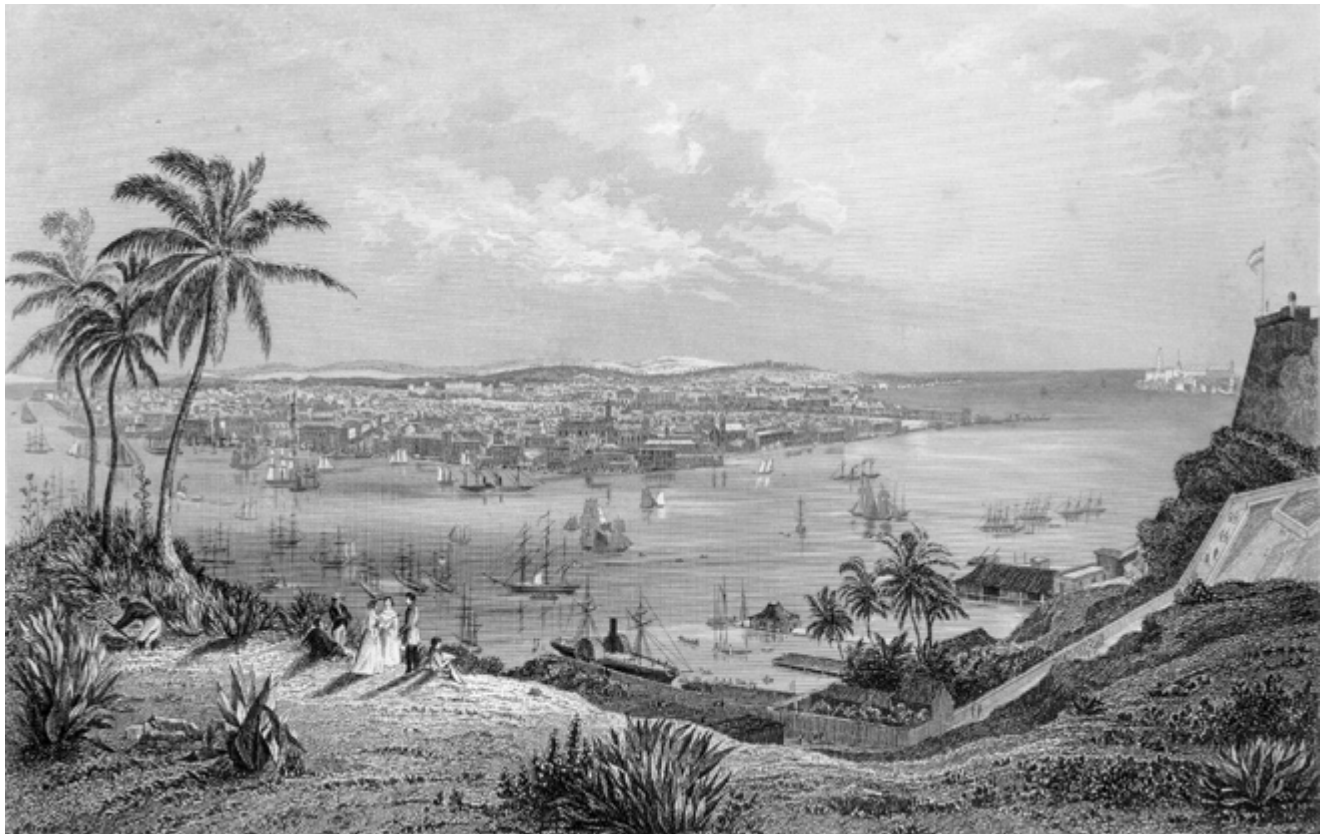
CUBA

CUBA



September: A *negrero* flying the Portuguese flag, the *Margarita*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 334 *enslaved* Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving at Mangaratiba, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Felix*, master J. Victorio, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Firmeza*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 317 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at Campos, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Andorinha*, master unknown, out of Benguela with a cargo of 300 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Alto Moirao, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ingemane*, master unknown, completing its only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 82 enslaved Africans at the port of Havana.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE





## CUBA



## CUBA



October: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ligera*, master unknown, on one of its eight known Middle Passage voyages, Principe, arrived at a port of Cuba. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Jacutry*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 314 [enslaved](#) Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arriving at Mangaratiba, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Francisca*, master unknown, sailing from Luanda on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at a port of Cuba. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Flor do Rio*, master unknown, that had sailed out of the Congo River with a cargo of 314 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Florinda de Africa*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 327 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, was arriving at the port of Paranagua, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aperceira*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 437 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving at the port of Paranagua, Brazil.

**THE MIDDLE PASSAGE**

Ordered to the Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis, Dr. John Emerson left his slaves Dred Scott and Harriet Robinson Scott behind at Fort Snelling. At St. Louis, however, he would receive further orders forwarding him on to a Fort Jessup — which would turn out to be a fort down in the piney woods of western Louisiana.







November: All ten of the slave ships we presently know of, that were delivering African slaves to American ports during this month, were flying the Portuguese flag. The [negrero](#) *Diligente*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 312 [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at a port in Brazil. The *Antonio*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 517 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving at the port of Taipu, Brazil. The *Angerona*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 336 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, was arriving at the port of Armacao, Brazil. The *Arcania*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 477 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, was arriving at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil. The *Brilhante*, master unknown, out of Ambriz with a cargo of 479 enslaved Africans on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at a port in Brazil. The *Dom Manoel de Portugal*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 476 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, was arriving at a port in Brazil. The *Dois de Fevereiro*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 538 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil. The *Maria Theresa*, master Malo, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at a port of Cuba. The *Dos Hermanos* and the *Manuelita*, masters unknown, out of unknown areas of Africa on the second of two known Middle Passages and on the only known Middle Passage respectively, were arriving in Cuban waters.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



December: The [Reverend Johann Ludwig Krapf](#) arrived at Massowa in Africa. He would accompany the Meridazmach, Sahle Selassie, on a military campaign in southern Shewa and find that his pietist background in Germany had not prepared him to appreciate Ethiopian Christianity, especially its emphasis on saints, liturgy, and traditional reliance upon Ge'ez, a language no longer available to the general population.

All nine of the slave ships that we know were entering American waters during this month were flying the Portuguese flag. The *Constitucion* and the *Carlota*, masters unknown, out of unknown areas of Africa on one or the other of their two known Middle Passages, were arriving in Cuban waters. The *Maria Segundo*, master J. Garcia, out of Angola with a cargo of 573 [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its numerous known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at Campos, Brazil (possibly this [negrero](#) stopped off first at a port on the coast of Cuba). The *Liberal*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 348 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil. The *Lusitania*, master unknown, out of Mocambique with a cargo of 800 enslaved Africans on one or the other of its two known Middle Passages, was arriving at Campos, Brazil. The *Josefina*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 300 enslaved Africans on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of Alto Moirao, Brazil. The *Henriqueta*, master unknown, out of Cape Lopez with a cargo of 319 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, was arriving at Campos, Brazil. The *Esperanca*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 382 enslaved Africans on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at a port in Brazil. The *Dois D'Abril*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 283 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of Copacabana, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE





CUBA

CUBA

1838

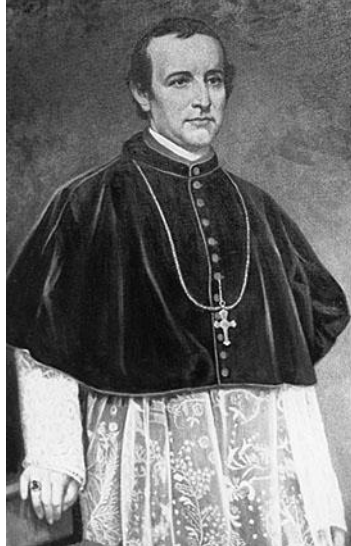
 Much of Ansonborough in [Charleston, South Carolina](#) was destroyed in a fire.

The Holy See issued a statement condemning the [international slave trade](#), but most of the [Catholic](#) bishops in America interpreted this as of course not applying to [slavery](#) itself.<sup>80</sup>

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

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

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




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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 January: The sailing ship *Pennsylvania*, a fast packet boat, arrived at [New-York](#), having accomplished the voyage from Liverpool in 15 days.



There were eleven [negreros](#) flying the Portuguese flag finding their way into American destination ports during this month, and herding their coffles of cargo into local [barracoons](#). The *Maria Segundo*, master Alburquerque, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba. The *Felicidade*, master Verriell, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at a port of Cuba. The *Josefina*, master Neives, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at a port of Cuba. The *Magdalena*, master Artiage, out of Principe with a cargo of 219 [enslaved](#) Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, was arriving at Juraga, Cuba. The *Joven Luisa*, master Monso, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 291 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving at Juraga, Cuba. The *Dois Amigos*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 712 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of

Baia Sepetiba, Brazil.

The *Generoso*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 800 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving at the port of Baia Sepetiba, Brazil. The *Doze de Outubro*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 322 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of Copacabana, Brazil. The *Inocente*, master unknown, on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of Angola with a cargo of 419 enslaved Africans, was arriving at the port of Taipu, Brazil. The *Fortuna de Africa*, master unknown, out of Mocambique with a cargo of 712 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of Camarioca, Brazil. The *Jupiter*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 373 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



February: A **negrero** flying the US flag, name unknown, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 250 **enslaved** Africans at a port in Brazil. Another slaver, this one flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Con la Boca*, master Ferreira, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, St. Thomas.



This month five Portuguese slavers were arriving in the New World. The *Esperanca*, master Saldanha, on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, brought a cargo of 420 enslaved Africans from Principe, arriving at Juraga, Cuba. The *Agua*, master unknown, out of Angola on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Campos, Brazil. The *Leao*, master unknown, out of Benguela on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, brought a cargo of 600 enslaved Africans, arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The *Maria Carolta*, master unknown, on its first of two known Middle Passages, brought a cargo of 829 enslaved Africans from Angola, arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The *Carolina*, master unknown, out of Quelimane on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, brought an enormous cargo of 1,050 enslaved Africans, arriving at Campos, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



## CUBA

## CUBA



March: Seven Portuguese slaveships found their way to American ports during this month. The *Adamster*, master unknown, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 445 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Sao Sebastion. The *Amalia*, master Flores, out of an unknown area of Africa with an unknown number of enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba. The *Dulcinea*, master Deyes, out of an unknown area of Africa with an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba, but maybe not the same port. The *Aventureiro*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 550 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, the *Constante*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 597 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, and the [negrero](#) *Jehovah*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 433 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, all three arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil, bringing a total of 1,580 new slaves to that locality. The *General Cabreira*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 337 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Baia Sepetiba, Brazil.



[THE MIDDLE PASSAGE](#)





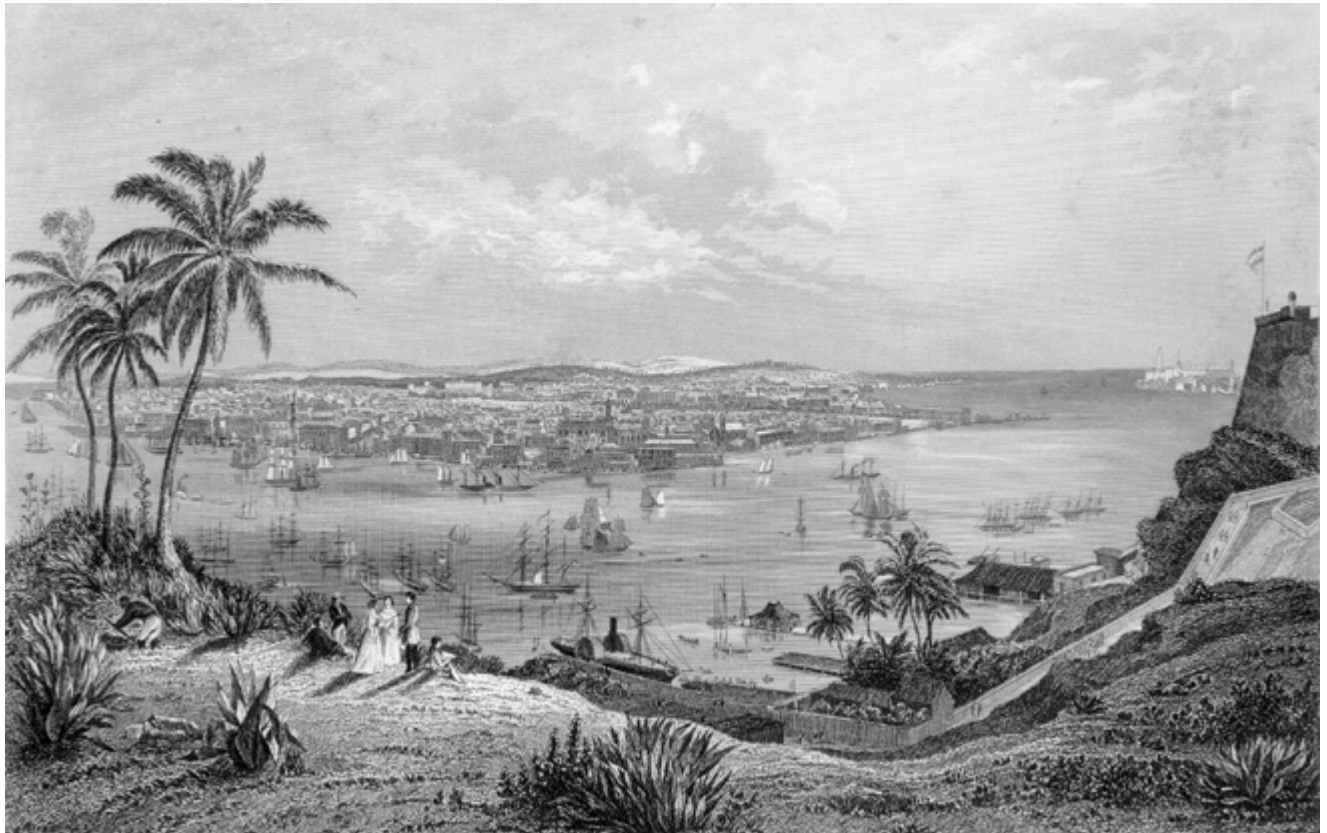
April: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Feliz Triunvirante*, master Sarazabel, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of an unknown number of [enslaved](#) Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, [Cuba](#).



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

A Portuguese slaver, the *Mercantile*, master Ferreira, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba. A Portuguese slaver, the *Dois Amigos*, master Careira, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on one of its three known such voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Diligente*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 480 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of

Havana, Cuba.



A Spanish [negrero](#), the *General Espartero*, master Bano, out of Principe with a cargo of 455 enslaved Africans Juraga on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Flor de' Loanda*, master M.A.T. Barboza, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 289 enslaved Africans on one of its five known such voyages, arrived at the port of Marica, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Duas Irmãs*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 328 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Macae, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Marques de Pombal*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 97 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Ilha Paqueta, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Camoës*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 575 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Nassau, Bahamas.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



May: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Carolina*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 280 [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port in Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Brilhante*, master A.J. Costa, out of Luanda with a cargo of 250 enslaved Africans on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Bom Viaxe*, master Proensa, out of an unknown area of Africa with an unknown number of enslaved Africans as cargo, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#). A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Constancia*, master Plat, out of an unknown area of Africa with an unknown number of enslaved Africans as cargo, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



June: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Aguila Vengadora*, master Garronda, starting with 560 [enslaved](#) Africans from Madagascar on its second of two known Middle Passages, dropped anchor at a port of [Cuba](#) with only 200 to off-load because 360 had died during that long transit.



Another slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Emprendedor*, master Beyga, bringing a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans out of Gallinas on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Trinidad. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Felix*, master unknown, bringing a cargo of 321 enslaved Africans out of Principe on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Baia Botafogo, Brazil. A Portuguese slaver, the *Fortuna*, master Barbosa, bringing a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans out of Sao Tome on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba. A Portuguese slaver, the *Felicidade*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 322 enslaved Africans on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil. A Portuguese slaver, the *Eliza*, master Galindo, bringing a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans out of an unknown area on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba. A Portuguese slaver, the *Especuladora*, master unknown, sailing from Benguela with a cargo of 309 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil. A Portuguese slaver, the *Esperanca*, master unknown, out of Cabinda with a cargo of 400 enslaved Africans on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Andorinha*, master unknown, out of Benguela with a cargo of 297 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Taipu, Brazil. A Portuguese slaver, the *Josefina*, master Duarte, bringing a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans out of Sao Tome on one of twelve-count-'em-twelve known such voyages, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.



CUBA

CUBA

A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Jove*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 432 [enslaved](#) Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Campos, Brazil.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Ligera*, master Losa Barti, bringing a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans out of Principe on one of its eight known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

A Portuguese slaver, the *Ligera*, master M. Antonio, bringing a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans out of Rio Pongo on one of its eight known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Cintra*, master unknown, having sailed from Mocambique with a cargo of 756 enslaved Africans on its only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



July: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Irene*, master Ageo, sailing from the island of Madagascar with a cargo of an unknown number of [enslaved](#) Africans on its only known Middle Passage, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Angerona*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 334 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Copacabana, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Commodore*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 385 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Taipu, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Brilhante*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 407 enslaved Africans on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Macae, Brazil.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

CUBA

CUBA



August: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *General Espartero*, master Barreiro, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 502 [enslaved](#) Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#). A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Escorpion*, master Garlos, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 273 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Juraga, Cuba. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria Segundo*, master Pegada, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dois de Fevereiro*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 324 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Macae, Brazil.







## CUBA

## CUBA



September: A Portuguese [negrero](#), the *Dois D'Abril*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 477 [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Sao Sebastiao, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Montana*, master Griana, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 213 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Bellona*, master unknown, Congo River with a cargo of 374 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Campos, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ala*, master unknown, delivered a cargo of 200 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Arcania*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 500 enslaved Africans on its second of two known such voyages, arrived at Ilha Grande, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Asseiceira*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 400 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Catuamo, Brazil.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Josefina*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 345 enslaved Africans on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known such voyages, arrived at Rio de Janeiro.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Inocente*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 317 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Jupiter*, master unknown, out of Cabinda with a cargo of 436 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Armacao, Brazil.

A Portuguese slaver, the *General Cabreira*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 150 enslaved Africans on one of its five known such voyages, arrived at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Gabriel*, master Giraud, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 340 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Lavandeira*, master San Martin, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

[THE MIDDLE PASSAGE](#)



October: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ganges*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 721 [enslaved](#) Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Firmeza*, master unknown, out of the Congo River with a cargo of 475 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Alto Moira, Brazil.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Maria Segundo*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 417 enslaved Africans on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known such voyages, arrived at the port of Baia Sepetiba, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria Virginia*, master unknown, out of Sao Tome with a cargo of 394 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Constancia*, master Rodriguez, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 213 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Almedia*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Rio, Brazil.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Amalia*, master Alves, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Trinidad.

[THE MIDDLE PASSAGE](#)

CUBA

CUBA

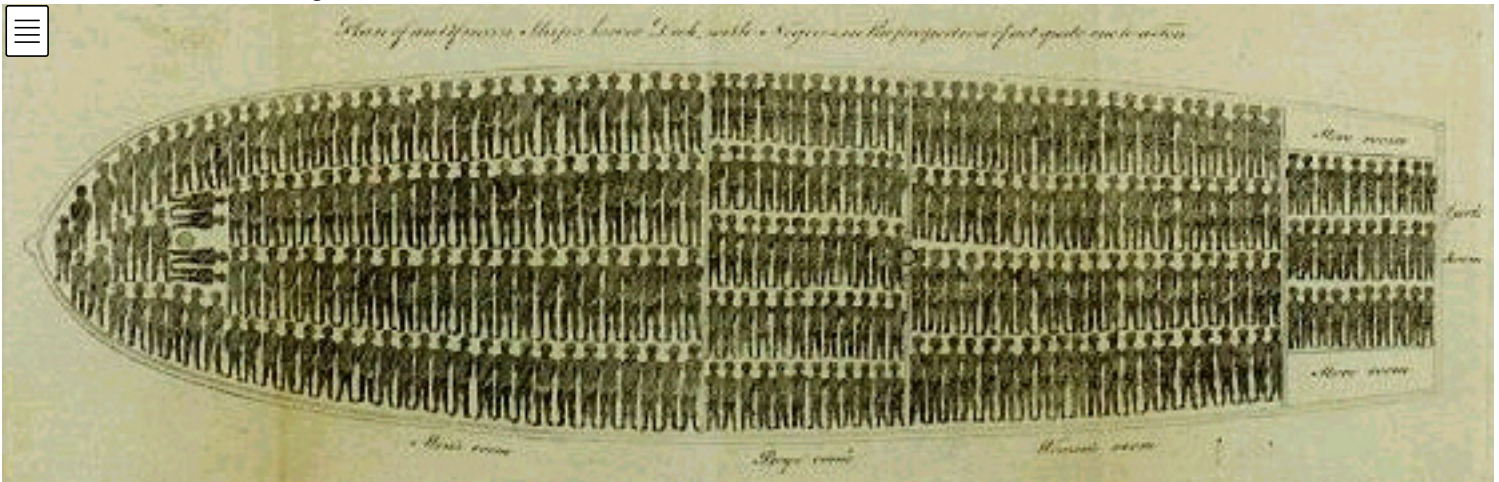
October 29, Monday: [Waldo Emerson](#) drove [Jones Very](#) as far as Waltham. Very was on a pilgrimage to Cambridge, to attempt to persuade the officials of the [Harvard Divinity School](#) to take him back. (Would this be this the miracle the Reverend John Brazer had asked Very to produce as a sign? No, the age of miracles is past.) Watching him off, Emerson thought “He is gone into the multitude as solitary as Jesus.” At [Harvard](#), Very sought out various officials, who politely heard him out. With no objection from anyone, he would stay in Cambridge for over a week, but of course there was never any consideration of allowing him to return to his status there. During the course of the week they were even able to obtain from him, to save all appearances, the submission of a written resignation — for it turned out that the tiny sardines of job and salary and position and status and career and prestige didn’t make all that much difference to Very, who had decided that he was the designated fisher of men.

Isaac C. Sheldon begins publishing [Cuba](#), [New-York](#)’s journal promoting [Cuba](#) (this would be published for several years).

November: With no old age pensions available on [St. Helena](#), friendly societies were founded to provide sickness, death, and old age care. In this month, for instance, the Mechanics and Friendly Benefit Society was instituted, and it would be followed in 1847 by the St. Helena Poor Society, in 1871 by the Foresters, the in 1878 by the St. Helena Church Provident Society.

ST. HELENA THE HISTORIC

The Queen of Spain, recognizing that there existed a loophole in the law against the [international slave trade](#) because, once the cargo of a slave ship had successfully been sneaked ashore, that cargo was legally slaves, issued a royal decree. She urged the Captain General of [Cuba](#) to impose the strictest controls upon this continuing recruitment of slaves.



(Her royal ukase would of course be ignored.)

LA AMISTAD

- ☰
 A [negrero](#) flying the US flag, the *Escorpion*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 250 [enslaved](#) Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage voyage, arrived at Nassau, Bahamas.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Generoso Feliz*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 725 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil.
- A Portuguese slaver, the *Cerca*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its only known such voyage, dropped anchor at Matanzas, Cuba.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Chiva*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 140 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage voyage, arrived at a port of Cuba.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Andorinha*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 293



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enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Baia Botafogo, Brazil.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Minerva*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 304 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil.  
 The Portuguese slaver *Maria Segundo*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 216 enslaved Africans on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Esperanca*, master unknown, out of Cabinda with a cargo of 600 enslaved Africans on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Rio de Janeiro.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Flor de' Loanda*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 377 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Lealdade*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 357 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

**FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.**



December: A [negreiro](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ligeiro*, master unknown, out of Benguela with a cargo of 209 [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Fortuna*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 602 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Campos, Brazil.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Flor do Rio*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 413 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Armacao, Brazil.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Enpiqueta*, master Garcia, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 130 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Juraga, [Cuba](#).  
 The Portuguese slaver *Esperanca*, master Saldanha, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 430 enslaved Africans on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known such voyages, arrived at the port of Juraga, Cuba.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dois Irmaos*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 573 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Diligente*, master E.R. da Silva, out of Benguela with a cargo of 302 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil.  
 A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Brilhante*, master Garcia, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 240 enslaved Africans on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Juraga, Cuba.

**THE MIDDLE PASSAGE**



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Friend [Thomas Clarkson](#)'s THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, BY THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT:

#### THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY

That foreign states continue shamefully to carry it on, is no less certain. There are yearly transported to [Cuba](#) and Brazil, above 100,000 unhappy beings, by the two weakest nations in Europe, and these two most entirely subject to the influence and even direct control of England. The inevitable consequence is, that more misery is now inflicted on Africa by the criminals, gently called Slave-traders, of these two guilty nations, than if there were no treaties for the abolition of the traffic. The number required is always carried over, and hence, as many perish by a miserable death in escaping from the cruisers, as reach their destination. The recitals of horror which have been made to Parliament and the country on this dreadful subject, are enough to curdle the blood in the veins and heart of any one endued with the common feelings of humanity. The whole system of prevention, or rather of capture, after the crime has been committed, seems framed with a view to exasperate the evils of the infernal traffic, to scourge Africa with more intolerable torments, and to make human blood be spilt like water. Our cruisers are excited to an active discharge of their duty by the benefit of sharing in the price fetched when the captured ship is condemned and sold; but this is a small sum, indeed, compared with the rich reward of head-money held out, being so much for every [slave](#) taken on board. It is thus made the direct interest of these cruisers, that the vessels should have their human cargoes on board, rather than be prevented from shipping them. True, this vile policy may prove less mischievous where no treaty exists, giving a right to seize when there are no slaves in the vessel, because here a slave ship is suffered to pass, how clear soever her destination might be; yet, even here, the inducement to send in boats, and seize as soon as a slave or two may be on board, is removed, and the cruiser is told, "only let all these wretched beings be torn from their country, and safely lodged in the vessel's hold, and your reward is great and sure." Then, whenever there is an outfit clause, that is a power to seize vessels fitted for the traffic, this mischievous plan tends directly to make the cruiser let the slaver make ready and put to sea, or it has no tendency or meaning at all. Accordingly, the course is for the cruiser to stand out to sea, and not allow herself to be seen in the offing -the crime is consummated -the slaves are stowed away -the pirate-captain weighs anchor -the pirate-vessel freighted with victims, and manned by criminals fares forth -the cruiser, the British cruiser, gives chace -and then begin those scenes of horror, surpassing all that the poet ever conceived, whose theme was the torments of the damned and the wickedness of the fiends. Casks are filled with the slave, and in these they are stowed away; or to lighten the vessel, they are flung overboard by the score; sometimes they are flung overboard in casks, that the chasing ship may be detained by endeavours to pick them up; the dying and the dead strew the



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deck; women giving birth to the fruit of the womb, amidst the corpses of their husbands and their children; and other, yet worse and nameless atrocities, fill up the terrible picture, of impotent justice and triumphant guilt. But the guilt is not all Spanish and Portuguese. The English Government can enforce its demands on the puny cabinets of Madrid and Lisbon, scarce conscious of a substantive existence, in all that concerns our petty interests: wherever justice and mercy to mankind demand our interference, there our voice sinks within us, and no sound is uttered. That any treaty without an outfit clause should be suffered to exist between powers so situated, is an outrage upon all justice, all reason, all common sense. But one thing is certain, that unless we are to go further, we have gone too far, and must in mercy to hapless Africa retrace our steps. Unless we really put the traffic down with a strong hand, and instantly, we must instantly repeal the treaties that pretended to abolish it, for these exacerbate the evil a hundred fold, and are ineffectual to any one purpose but putting money into the pockets of our men of war. The fact is as unquestionable, as it is appalling, that all our anxious endeavours to extinguish the Foreign Slave Trade, have ended in making it incomparably worse than it was before we pretended to put it down; that owing to our efforts, there are thrice the number of slaves yearly torn from Africa; and that wholly because of our efforts, two thirds of these are murdered on the high seas and in the holds of the pirate vessels.

### VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES



During this year a total of 23 American [negreros](#) would clear from the harbor of [Havana](#) on their way, presumably, to the coast of Africa, presumably to there load human cargoes (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 190-1, 221).

During this year a total of 5 American [negreros](#) would arrive at the port of [Havana](#) from the coast of Africa, proudly flying the American stars-and-bars (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, page 192).

The [negrero](#) *Morris Cooper*, a vessel from Philadelphia, landed 485 Negroes in [Cuba](#) ([Niles's Register](#), LVII. 192).

The [negrero](#) *Edwin and George Crooks* was boarded by British cruisers (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 12-4, 61-4).

The [negreros](#) *Eagle*, *Clara*, and *Wyoming*, with American and Spanish flags and papers and crews made up of Americans, were captured by British naval cruisers and brought into the harbor of [New-York](#). The United States government declined to interfere in the cases of the *Eagle* and the *Clara*, and these vessels were taken on to Jamaica. The *Wyoming*, however, was forfeited by the British to the United States (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 92-104, 109, 112, 118-9, 180-4; [Niles's Register](#), LVI. 256; LVII. 128, 208).

The [negrero](#) *Florida* was protected from British cruisers by the fact that it was able to show them American papers (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 113-5).

The part-Spanish [negrero](#) *Rebecca* was condemned at Sierra Leone (HOUSE REPORTS, 27th Congress, 3d







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session, III, No. 283, pages 649-54, 675-84).

The [negreros](#) *Asp*, *Laura*, and *Mary Ann Cassard*, although they were foreign, were for protection sailing under the American flag (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 126-7, 209-18; HOUSE REPORTS, 27th Congress, 3d session, III, No. 283, page 688 ff).

The [negrero](#) *Two Friends*, of New Orleans, was equipped to sail under Spanish and Portuguese flags as well as under the American flag (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 120, 160-2, 305).

The [negrero](#) *Euphrates*, of [Baltimore](#), although it was sailing under American papers, was seized by cruisers of the British navy as Spanish property. Prior to its seizure this vessel had been boarded fifteen times (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 41-4; A.H. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, pages 152-6).

The American [negrero](#) *Ontario*, for purposes of carrying a cargo of [slaves](#), was temporarily “sold” to the Spanish (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 45-50).

The nationality of the [negrero](#) *Mary*, although it had originated in Philadelphia was disputed (HOUSE REPORTS, 27th Congress, 3d session, III, No. 283, pages 736-8; SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress, 1st session VIII, No. 377, pages 19, 24-5).

The American *negreros* *Douglas* and *Iago* were boarded by British cruisers — the United States would demand indemnity for this interference with our rights (HOUSE REPORTS, 27th Congress, 3d session, III, No. 283, pages 542-65, 731-55; SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress, 1st session VIII, No. 377, pages 39-45, 107-12, 116-24, 160-1, 181-2).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

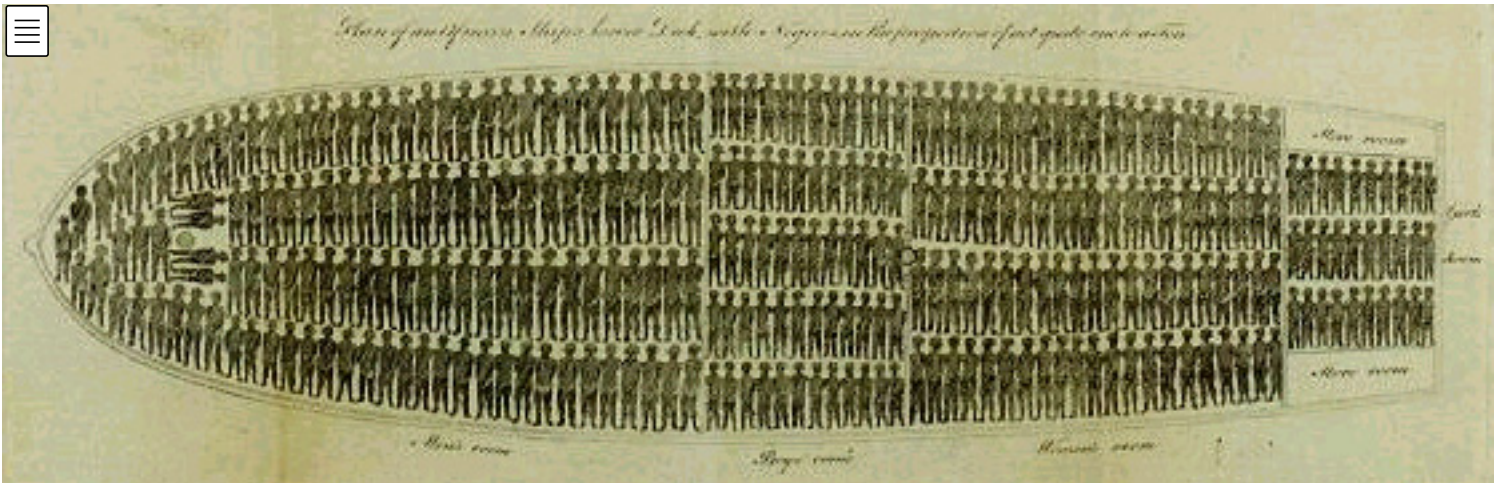
A mutiny was led by *Joseph Cinqué*,<sup>81</sup> with the mutineers captured but, after trial in Connecticut, helped to return to Africa.



81. His African name was Sengbe Pieh. Try pronouncing it in Spanish instead of French: it sounds like *sinke* or thereabouts. According to J.W. Barber's *A HISTORY OF THE AMISTAD CAPTIVES* (New Haven: E.L. and J.W. Barber, 1840) "Sing-gbe" was pronounced "Cin-gue," I assume intending "Singuay," and was "generally spelt Cinquez." This contemporary book offered silhouette profiles of him, and of Grabeau and others, together with brief biographical accounts. The 1840 publication date and New Haven location may give this some authenticity. Yale professors, especially the linguist Josiah Willard Gibbs, learned something of the Mende language and had much conversation with Cinqué.



What happened was as follows: 53 African natives had been kidnapped from an area now known as Sierra Leone, transported to [Havana](#), [Cuba](#) aboard the slave ship *Tecora*,<sup>82</sup> and illegally sold into the Spanish slave trade.



They had been sold at auction under the standard pretext, which nobody believed, that they were native-born [Cuban](#) slaves, to two “Spanish gentlemen.” These Spaniards were transporting the Africans and other cargo to another part of Cuba on board their schooner [La Amistad](#) when the Africans killed the captain<sup>83</sup> and the cook and frightening the others of the crew overboard.

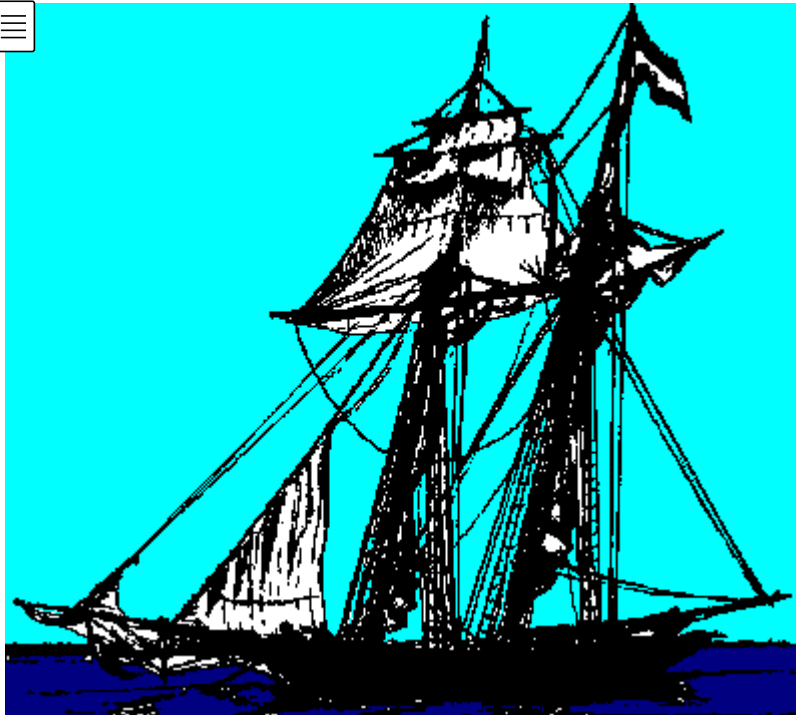
82. The tall ship *Pilgrim* now docked among the pleasure craft of opulent Dana Point CA and owned by the Orange County Marine Institute was recently be refitted for an undisclosed fee for a starring role in this Stephen Spielberg film *AMISTAD*, which also featured such human actors as Anthony Hopkins and Morgan Freeman. In this film it bore the name *Tecora* and represented not the [La Amistad](#) but the slaver which had previously brought its cargo of 53 kidnap victims from Africa to [Cuba](#).

83. Captain Ramón Ferrer of the [La Amistad](#), killed during the rebellion of the captives, was the owner not merely of this little coastal schooner but also two or three seagoing vessels engaged in contraband transatlantic traffic, such as the steamship *Vapor Principeño*.

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The Spaniards, ordered to sail the vessel to Africa, by day sailed eastward and by night surreptitiously sailed westward, hoping to land back in Cuba or the southern United States and redeem their substantial investment. After 63 days at sea, however, the *La Amistad* was sighted in a dilapidated condition off Long Island by the US Navy and taken as a prize. The ship was towed to New London because in Connecticut [slavery](#) was still legal, and a lengthy court struggle began.



Early documents from the National Archives of the Northeast Region contain testimony and depositions relating to the first sightings of the *La Amistad* off of Long Island. Navy Lieutenant R.W. Meade testified on August 29, 1839, that “said schooner was manned by forty-five negroes some of whom had landed near said [Montauk] Point.... Also on board two Spanish Gentlemen who represented and were part owners of the cargo and of the Negroes on board who were slaves belonging to said Spanish Gentlemen....” The report enumerated the “large and valuable cargo” which the schooner was carrying at the time: “25 bags of beans, 25 boxes of raisons, 10 doz. morocco skins, 5 doz. calf skins, 11 boxes of crockery and glass, 30 pieces of muslin, 1 doz. shawls, gloves, fans, shirts ... and also 54 slaves to wit 51 male slaves and 3 young female slaves who are worth \$25,000 and while on said voyage from Havana to Principe the said slaves rose upon the captain and crew of said schooner and killed and murdered the captain and one of said crew and two more of said crew escaped and got away from said schooner....”





Abolitionists seized upon the case as a vehicle to publicly display the cruelties of [slavery](#) and the slave trade. The freedom of the Africans became entangled in the conflicting claims of the Spaniards who had brought the “human cargo” and the American officials who had salvaged the ship. The case captured national and international attention as it made its way through the lower courts to the US Supreme Court, where the cause of the prisoners was argued by former President [John Quincy Adams](#). On March 9, 1841 the Supremes would rule that all of the Africans were legally free — that they had never been slaves because the African slave trade was illegal, and that they should be released and allowed to return to Africa. The Court also affirmed that “it was the ultimate right of all human beings in extreme cases to resist oppression, and to apply force against ruinous injustice.”<sup>84</sup>

Three years after they were kidnapped, in January 1842, the 35 surviving Africans would finally return to their homeland where, allegedly, they would establish the mission colony “which formed the basis for the eventual independence of Sierra Leone from Great Britain.” The black artists Hale Woodruff and Jacob Lawrence helped keep the [La Amistad](#) legacy alive during the 1930s and 1940s. The Amistad Research Center at Tulane University <[arc.tulane.edu](http://arc.tulane.edu)> is a repository of some important primary and secondary documents. See also:

- Eugene D. Genovese. FROM REBELLION TO REVOLUTION. Vintage Books, 1981
- Howard Jones. MUTINY ON THE *AMISTAD*. Oxford UP, 1987
- William Loren Katz. BREAKING THE CHAINS. Atheneum, 1990
- Donald M. Jacobs. COURAGE AND CONSCIENCE. Indiana UP, 1993
- Charles M. Christian. BLACK SAGA. Houghton Mifflin, 1995
- Kennell Jackson. AMERICA IS ME. Harper Perennial, 1996
- David Pesci. *AMISTAD: A NOVEL*. Marlowe & Co., 1997
- James Oliver & Lois E. Horton. IN HOPE OF LIBERTY. Oxford UP, 1997
- John W. Blassingame. SLAVE TESTIMONY. Louisiana State UP, 1977
- Maggie Montesinos Sale. THE SLUMBERING VOLCANO. Duke UP, 1997
- Alexs Pate. *AMISTAD A NOVEL: THE OFFICIAL TIE-IN TO THE MAJOR MOTION PICTURE DIRECTED BY STEVEN SPIELBERG*. Dreamworks/Signet, 1997

84. Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: [[La Amistad](#) Case.] HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26 Cong. 1 sess. IV. No. 185 (correspondence); 27 Cong. 3 sess. V. No. 191 (correspondence); 28 Cong. 1 sess. IV No. 83; HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 32 Cong. 2 sess. III. No. 20; HOUSE REPORTS, 26 Cong. 2 sess. No. 51 (case of altered Ms.); 28 Cong. 1 sess. II. No. 426 (Report of Committee); 29 Cong. 1 sess. IV. No. 753 (Report of Committee); SENATE DOCUMENT, 26 Cong. 2 sess. IV. No. 179 (correspondence); SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31 Cong. 2 sess. III. No. 29 (correspondence); 32 Cong. 2 sess. III. No. 19; SENATE REPORTS, 31 Cong. 2 sess. No. 301 (Report of Committee); 32 Cong. 1 sess. I. No. 158 (Report of Committee); 35 Cong. 1 sess. I. No. 36 (Report of Committee).





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Secretary of State John Forsyth pointed out<sup>85</sup> that however unjust the slave trade may be considered by some to be, it was most definitely not contrary to the law of nations, and therefore most definitely not any of our beeswax:

- ...It is true, by the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, the slave trade is prohibited to the subjects of each; but the parties to this treaty or agreement are the proper judges of any infraction of it, and they have created special tribunals to decide questions arising under the treaty; nor does it belong to any other nation to adjudicate upon it, or to enforce it.... In the case of the *Antelope*, (10 Wheaton, page 66), this subject was fully examined, and the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States establishes the following points:
  1. That, however unjust and unnatural the slave trade may be, it is not contrary to the law of nations.
  2. That having been sanctioned by the usage and consent of almost all civilized nations, it could not be pronounced illegal, except so far as each nation may have made it so by its own acts or laws; and these could only operate upon itself, its own subjects or citizens; and, of course, the trade would remain lawful to those whose Government had not forbidden it.
  3. That the right of bringing in and adjudicating upon the case of a vessel charged with being engaged in the slave trade, even where the vessel belongs to a nation which has prohibited the trade, cannot exist. The courts of no country execute the penal laws of another....
- In the case now before me, the vessel is a Spanish vessel, belonging exclusively to Spaniards, navigated by Spaniards, and sailing under Spanish papers and flag, from one Spanish port to another. It therefore follows, unquestionably, that any offence committed on board is cognizable before the Spanish tribunals, and not elsewhere.
- These two points being disposed of — 1st. That the Government of the United States is to consider these Negroes as the property of the individuals in whose behalf the Spanish minister has put up a claim; 2d. That the United States cannot proceed against them criminally; — the only remaining inquiry is, what is to be done with the vessel and cargo? the Negroes being part of the latter.
- ...The claimants of these Negroes have violated none of our laws.... They have not come within our territories with the view or intention of violating the laws of the United States.... They have not introduced these Negroes into the United States for the purpose of sale, or holding them in servitude within the United States.... It therefore appears to me that this subject must be disposed of upon the principles of international law and the existing treaties between Spain and the United States....
- These Negroes are charged with an infraction of the Spanish laws; therefore, it is proper that they should be surrendered to the public functionaries of that Government, that if the laws of Spain have been violated, they may not escape punishment....
- These Negroes deny that they are slaves; if they should be delivered to the claimants, no opportunity may be afforded for the assertion of their right to freedom. For these reasons, it seems to me that a delivery to the Spanish minister is the only safe course for this Government to pursue.

85. "Africans Taken in the Amistad." –US 26th Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Document #185. NY: Blair & Rives, 1840, pages 57-62

January: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Amalia*, master Miquete, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, starting with a cargo of 710 [enslaved](#) Africans out of Mocambique, delivered only 510 at a port of [Cuba](#) during this month — as 200 had died in transit.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Brilhante*, master Sanchez, on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 233 enslaved Africans, arrived at the port of Santiago de Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Curiga*, master J.A. Pereira, out Angola with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Pernambuco, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dichosa*, master Seltos, on its one and only known Middle Passage, sailing out of Luanda with a cargo of 220 enslaved Africans, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Felicidade*, master unknown, on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 250 enslaved Africans, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Duquesa de Braganca*, master Caelet, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of Sao Tome with a cargo of 840 enslaved Africans, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Josefina*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 227 enslaved Africans on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Livramento*, master J.A. Branco, out of Angola with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Pernambuco.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Julia*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, sailing out of Ouidah with a cargo of 273 enslaved Africans, arrived at the port of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

February: William Whipper commented that “The national prejudice [antimelanism] has so complexionally separated the interests of the people of this nation that when those of opposite complexions meet each other, it is for the most part under a mask, like courtiers, so that it is next to impossible, generally speaking, to divine their real meaning and intent.” Whipper, himself black and an abolitionist, was speaking here not of the generality of this nation’s citizenry but of his fellow black and white **abolitionists**.



A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Isabel*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 779 [enslaved](#) Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Paranagua, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Lavandeira*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 229 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ligera*, master Souza, out of Onim with a cargo of an unknown number enslaved Africans on one of its eight known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Felicidade*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 447 enslaved Africans on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Duque de Victoria*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 427 enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Eliza*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo



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of 116 enslaved Africans on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.  
A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria Carolta*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 612 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil.  
A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Esperanca*, master unknown, out of Mocambique with a cargo of 730 enslaved Africans on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known such voyages, arrived at Ilha Grande, Brazil.  
A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aventureiro*, master unknown, out of Mocambique with a cargo of 683 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Macae, Brazil.  
A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dom Manoel de Portugal*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 714 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Campos, Brazil.  
A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria Rita*, master J.P. Silva, out of Ambriz with a cargo of an unknown number enslaved Africans on its first of two known such Passages, arrived at Pernambuco, Brazil.  
A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Mercantile*, master unknown, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 296 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



March: The final group of the [Cherokee Nation](#), headed by John Ross, reached Oklahoma. More than 3,000 Cherokee had died on this “Trail of Tears,” 1,600 of them while in the concentration camps at the point of origin and about the same number en route. In the Oklahoma Territory during 1839, some 800 more would die.



TRAIL OF TEARS

The white Americans had succeeded in disposing of a bunch of nonwhite people they considered to be **useless**. –Now, for the nonwhite people whom the white Americans considered to be **useful**, well, what a surprise, during this month affairs had been being transacted quite a bit differently:



A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Constitucion*, master J. Rodriguez, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 213 [enslaved](#) Africans on its 2nd of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of Cuba. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dois de Fevereiro*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 414 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port in Brazil. I have two different accounts of a slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dois Irmaos*, master unknown, on one of its three or four known Middle Passage voyages, having sailed out of according to one account Cabinda with a cargo of 580 enslaved Africans, arrived during this month at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil, and, according to the other account, having sailed out of Angola with a cargo of 195, arrived during this month at Rio De Janeiro. Could this vessel have stopped off first at Ilha Grande and then gone on to Rio De Janeiro to dispose of the remainder of its human cargo? A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Liberal*, master A. Sanchez, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 257 enslaved Africans on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Libertad*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage,



arrived at its destination, Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Bom Jesus*, master unknown, delivering a cargo of 300 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Mangratiba, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Augerona*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 298 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Rio, Brazil.

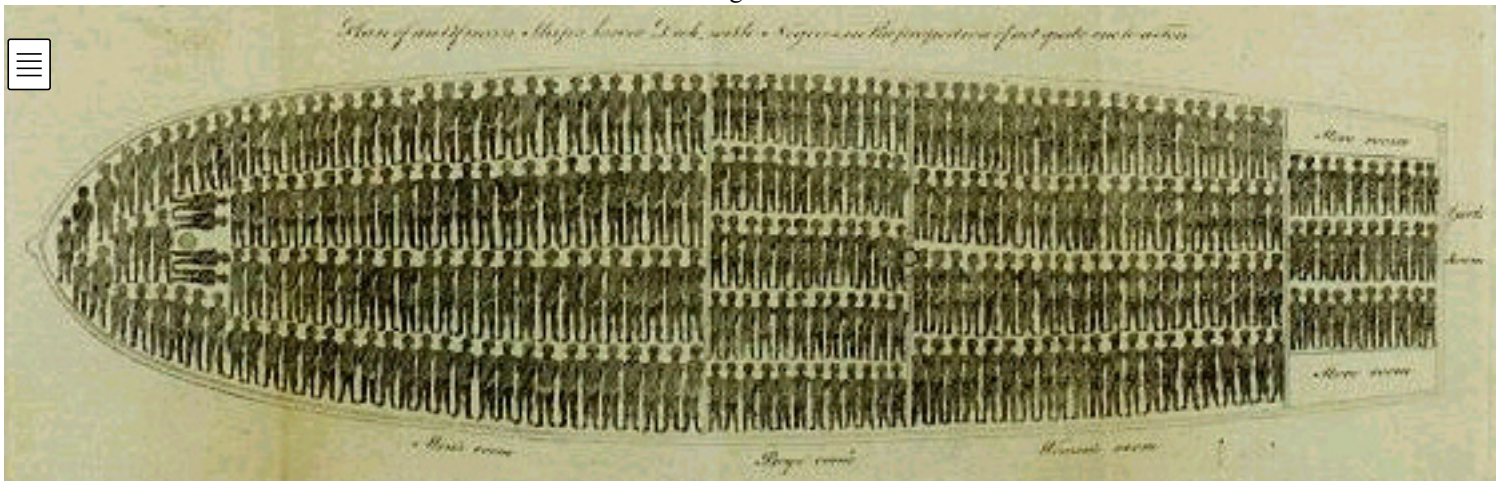
A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Carolina*, master unknown, had started out of Quelimane on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages with a cargo of 744 enslaved Africans but during this month was delivering only 698 at the port of Paranagua, Brazil — as 46 had died in transit.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Doze de Outubro*, master unknown, out of Angola with a cargo of 403 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil.

A Portuguese slaver, the *Josefina*, master A. Joze, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 235 enslaved Africans on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known such Passages, arrived in Cuban waters.

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April: Early in the month, on the River Gallindas of the Sierra Leone coast of Africa, the Havana trading house of Don Pedro Martínez prepared human cargo for the *negrero* (slave ship) *Tecora*, and the long Middle Passage to Cuba. Among the captives in this shipment was Joseph Cinqué, age 25, 5 feet 8 inches, a Mende who had been a rice-grower. The passage of the *Tecora* across the Atlantic would require two months and more than one out of three would fail to survive the crossing.



LA AMISTAD

The following description of conditions aboard the *negrero* during the Middle Passage would be given by Gilabaru and, as passed on by James Covey for the benefit of reporters, would eventually be published in the New-York Journal of Commerce:

On board the vessel there was a large number of men, but the women and children were by far the most numerous. They were fastened together by couples by the wrists and legs and kept in that situation day and night. By day it was no better. The space between the decks was so small -according to their account not exceeding four feet- that they were obliged, if they attempted to stand, to keep a crouching posture. The decks, fore and aft, were crowded to overflowing. They suffered terribly. They had rice enough to eat but they had very little to drink. If they left any of the rice that was given to them uneaten, either from sickness or any other cause, they were whipped. It was a common thing for them to be forced to eat so much as to vomit. Many of the



men, women and children died on the passage.

Arriving during this month in the New World at the completion of their arduous middle passages were a known total of nine such slavers, all of Portuguese registry: the *Emilia*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Angola with a cargo of 650 [enslaved](#) Africans, was arriving at the port of Campos, Brazil; the *Ganges*, master J.R. Costa, on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 419 enslaved Africans, was arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; the *Jehovah*, master unknown, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola with a cargo of 504 enslaved Africans, was arriving at the port of Macae, Brazil; the *Josefina*, master unknown, on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known Middle Passage voyages, out of Benguela with a cargo of 294 enslaved Africans, was arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; the *Carolina*, master unknown, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 214 enslaved Africans, was arriving at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil; the *Congresso*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, sailing out of Benguela with a cargo of 314 enslaved Africans, was arriving at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil; the *Amizade Constante*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 400 enslaved Africans, was arriving at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil; the *Deligencia*, master unknown, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola with a cargo of 389 enslaved Africans, was arriving at a port in Brazil; and the *Leal*, master F.J. Ribeiro, on its one and only known Middle Passage, with a cargo of 364 enslaved Africans, was arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The devil was getting his due.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE


WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND



CUBA

CUBA


## YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF

 May: The Western Cherokee invited the new arrivals from the east to meet to establish a united [Cherokee Nation](#) government.

**TRAIL OF TEARS**

Meanwhile, the American system was bringing in fresh recruits:

A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Jupiter*, master unknown, out of Cabinda with a cargo of 390 [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its five known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Ligera*, master Sales, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 233 enslaved Africans on one of its eight known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#). A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Macximo*, master Silva, sailing out of Mocambique with a cargo of 360 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at a port of Cuba. A Portuguese slaver, the *Cospe-Fogo*, master A.S.D. Almedia, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its first of two known such voyages, arrived at Pernambuco. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Constancia*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 617 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Campos, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Bellona*, master unknown, out of the Congo River with a cargo of 357 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Bom Sucesso*, master C. J. Oliveira, out of Angola with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Pernambuco. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Adamster*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 574 enslaved Africans on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Baia Sepetiba. A Portuguese slaver, the *Doze de Janeiro*, master J.F. Dias, out of Angola with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Pernambuco, Brazil.

 June: A total of six slavers, all flying the Portuguese flag, have been registered as arriving in the New World during this month. We immediately note that the [negrero](#) *Tecora*, the ship that was carrying [Joseph Cinqué](#), is not on this official list of six arrivals. That is because the [Middle Passage](#) voyage which brought him was an under-the-table deal. How many such under-the-table deals were there? –How typical was that? – How woefully unreliable and incomplete are the statistics we are able now to accumulate?



We can know now about the *Josefina*, master A. Rodriguez, on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, out of Sao Tome with a cargo of 240 [enslaved](#) Africans, arriving at a port of [Cuba](#).

We can know now about the *Esperanca*, master unknown, on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, out of Cabinda with a cargo of 370 enslaved Africans, arriving at Campos, Brazil. We can know now about the *Amalia*, master unknown, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of Mocambique, arriving at the port of Cananeia, Brazil. We can know now about the *Astrea*, master Sabino, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Sao Tome with a cargo of 440 enslaved Africans, arriving at a port of Cuba. We can know now about the *Commodore*, master unknown, on its second of two known Middle

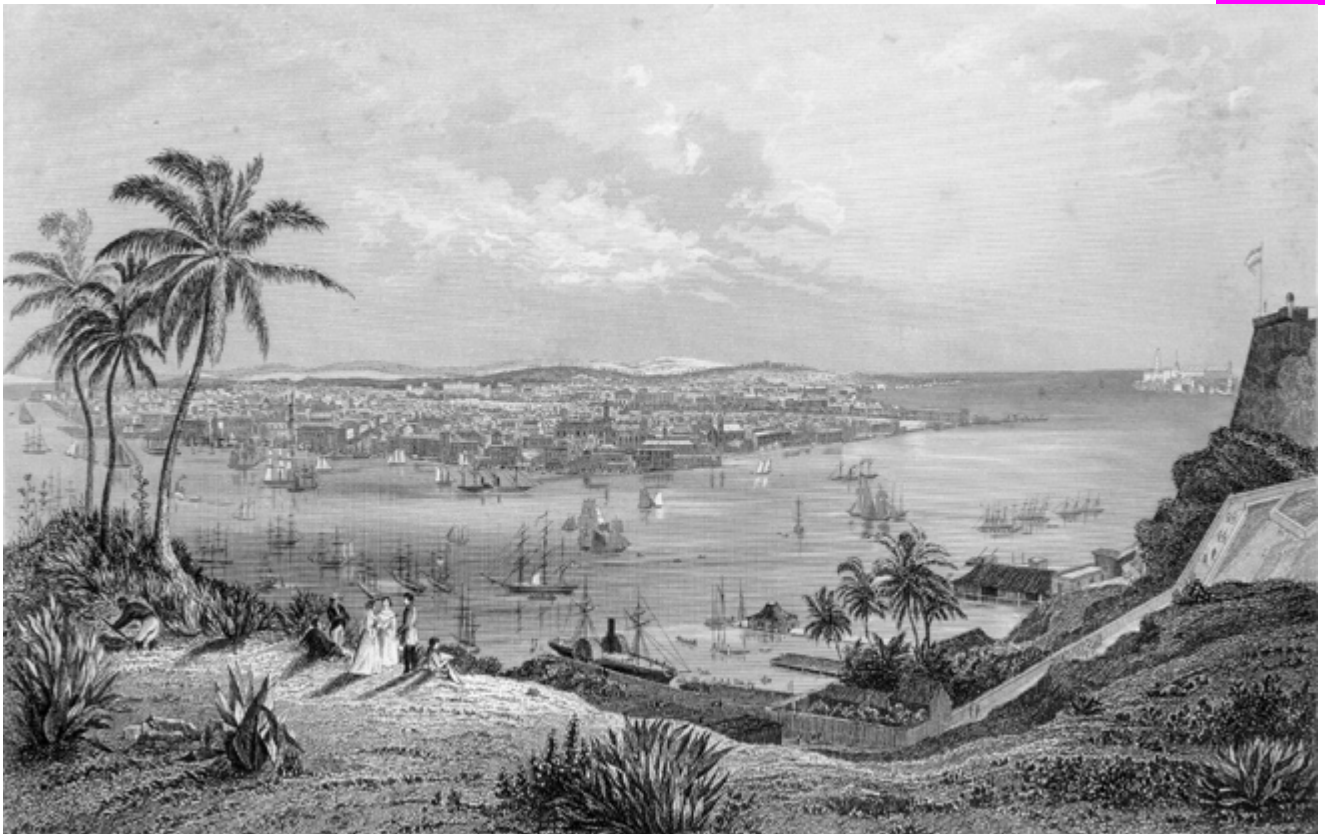
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## CUBA

## CUBA

Passages, out of Mocambique with a cargo of 700 enslaved Africans, arriving at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil. We can know now about the *Dois Amigos*, master J. da Silva, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of Sao Tome with a cargo of 413 enslaved Africans, arriving at a port of Cuba. About the balance we can at best only speculate.

His illegal transportation from Africa to Cuba having been completed by offloading of captives on a secluded beach at night, Cinque was at this point just another American slave. There was no longer any need to hide him from the law, as the law, which legitimated slavery while outlawing international trade in slaves, was now on the side of his “owners.” He was in one of two “barracoons” in Havana, Cuba, either in the one with a maximum capacity of 1,000 souls, or the one with a maximum capacity of 1,500 souls.

[LA AMISTAD](#)

**“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF.**

THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.

June 22, Saturday: There had been arguments over finances, and as of this day (or perhaps the following day) the Reverend Lemuel Capen resigned as the pastor for the Hawes Place Society of South Boston.

For the usual fee the Captain General of Cuba issued fraudulent transportation permits. In total Joseph Cinqué would have been in a slave barracoon of Havana for ten days.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE
LA AMISTAD
RACE SLAVERY



June 22, Saturday: That virtue we appreciate is as much ours as another's. We see so much only as we possess.

We see so much only as we possess.



June 22, Saturday: I have within the last few days come into contact with a pure uncompromising spirit, that is somewhere wandering in the atmosphere, but settles not positively anywhere. Some persons carry about them the air and conviction of virtue, though they themselves are unconscious of it — and are even backward to appreciate it in others. Such it is impossible not to love — still is their loveliness, as it were, independent of them, so that you seem not to lose it when they are absent, for when they are near it is like an invisible presence which attends you.

Late in June: Don José Ruiz and Don Pedro Montes purchased 49 adult males at \$450 each, including Joseph Cinqué, in the slave barracoons of Havana for transport to the plantations of Puerto Príncipe, on the northwest coast of the same island at about 2 days' sailing distance. They also purchased 3 little girls and a little boy.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE
LA AMISTAD
RACE SLAVERY

CUBA

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June 28, Friday: A Paris court fined [Nicolò Paganini](#) 20,000 francs plus interest and costs for the failure of his “Casino Paganini,” and threatened arrest for debt and imprisonment for ten years if he failed to fulfil the claims made against the project. He appealed and, losing the appeal, would be obliged to pay 50,000 francs rather than 20,000.



That evening Don José Ruiz and Don Pedro Montez took their coffle of purchased slaves from the [Havana barracoon](#) to their coastal vessel, [La Amistad](#).<sup>86</sup> By 8PM the vessel was loaded and at midnight it slipped out to sea, with the slaves in the hold with iron collars on their necks. (Those collars would shortly be removed from all but [Joseph Cinqué](#) — because he had been threatening to attempt an escape.)



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

86. This vessel had originated in a shipyard of [Baltimore](#) as the *Friendship*. I wonder whether, with such a name, it had been constructed by a Quaker shipbuilder. (Note that the US National Park Service, with the support of the Salem Partnership, is currently building a full size reproduction of a Salem merchant vessel that had been named *Friendship*, but this Salem merchant vessel was **not** the same as this *Friendship* of which we here speak, which had been constructed in a Baltimore shipyard and which eventually became the Spanish Cuban coastal vessel [La Amistad](#) of the Amistad mutiny. This Salem square-rigged, 342-ton three-master had been begun in 1796 in the Stage Point yard of Enos Briggs and was registered in 1797 by its owners Jerathmiel Peirce and Aaron Waite. It was 104 feet long and 27 feet wide and the depth of the hold was 13 feet, 9 inches, which is just **enormously** larger than the *La Amistad*. The Salem merchant vessel made at least 15 voyages to places such as China, Java, Sumatra, Madras, London, Hamburg, Archangel, and St. Petersburg before it was captured by the British during the [War of 1812](#). The *Friendship II* now being constructed is to be permanently berthed at Derby Wharf at the Salem Maritime National Historic Site.)



CUBA

CUBA

July: **Henry Bibb** was ready to try again to retrieve his wife and daughter from **slavery**. He took the steamboat across the river from Cincinnati into Kentucky and made his way to the place where his mother was enslaved. There, however, he made the mistake of placing trust in one of his mother's slave friends, and was betrayed when this slave was offered \$5 by the slavemaster. This time not only he, but also his wife and child, would be sold South in chains as incorrigibles.



MANIFEST of Negros, Mulattos, and persons of Color, taken on board the *Schooner Gustavus of Duxbury, Mass.* whereof *Solomon Basset* is Master, burthen  $79\frac{15}{15}$  tons, to be transported to the Port of *Savannah, Geo.* in the District of *Savannah* — for the purpose of being sold or disposed of as Slaves, or to be held to service or Labour.

NUMBER OF ENTRY.	NAMES.	SEX.		AGE.	HEIGHT.		Whether Negro, Mulatto, or person of Color.	Owner or Shipper's Name and Residence.
		MALE.	FEMALE.		FEET.	INCHES.		
1	Stephen	Man		21	5	5 3/4	dark complexion	Austin Woolfolk Senr of Augusta, Georgia owner, Shipper & Consignee
2	Samuel	"		31	5	6	do.	
3	Isaac	"		25	5	8	do.	
4	Frederick	"		22	5	11 1/4	dark	
5	Sam	"		20	6	00	black	
6	Samon	"		30	5	8	do.	
7	Robert	"		30	5	5 1/4	dark	
8	Susan	Woman		20	5	2 1/2	do.	
9	Harriet	do.		18	5	3	black	
10	Delilah	do.		20	5	3	yellow	
11	Benny	do.		19	5	2	do.	
12	Ann	do.		20	5	2	dark	
13	Eliza	do.		18	5	1 1/4	black	
14	Sarah	do.		36	5	0 1/2	dark	
15	Maria	do.		20	5	4 1/4	do.	
16	Seacler	do.		19	5	5 1/2	black	
17	Maria	girl		13	4	6 1/2	do.	
18	Ellen	do.		9	4	1 1/2	dark	
19	Emmetine	do.		16	3	4 1/2	black	
20	Martha	do.		9	4	1 1/2	do.	
21	Louisa	do.		14	3	1 1/4	dark	
22	Charles	child		2	2	2	yellow	
23	Marganda	child		2	2	2 1/4	dark	
24	John	infant		12 Mo.	2	1 3/4	yellow	
25	Polly	Woman		30	5	2 1/4	do.	
26	Isaac	infant		2 months			do.	

District of Baltimore, Port of Baltimore, the *6th* day of *October* 1821 of the persons named and particularly described in the above Manifest, and *Solomon Basset* Master of the *Schooner Gustavus* do solemnly, sincerely, and truly swear, each of us to the best of our knowledge and belief, that the above described Slaves have not been imported into the United States since the first day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight; and that under the Laws of the State of Maryland, they are held to Service or Labour, as Slaves and are not entitled to freedom under these Laws, at a certain time, and after a known period of service.—So Helping God.

Sworn to this *6* day of *October* 1821 before  
*J. W. C. [Signature]* COLLECTOR.  
*Austin Woolfolk Senr*  
*Jabon on [Signature]*

A ship manifest of black Americans being “sold south”

- A Portuguese **negrero**, the *Magdalena*, master Morillo, out of Sao Tome with a cargo of an unknown number of **enslaved** Africans on its second of two known Middle Passage voyages, arrived in Cuban waters.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Florinda de Africa*, master unknown, out of Benguela with a cargo of 324 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Paranagua, Brazil.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Fortuna*, master Barbosa, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 350 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.
- A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dois D'Abril*, master unknown, out of the Congo River with a cargo





## CUBA

## CUBA

of 339 enslaved Africans on one of its three known such Passages, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil. A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Caridad Cubana*, master S. Fabrequez, out of Bissau with a cargo of 174 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Havana, [Cuba](#).



In this general timeframe the [negreros](#) *Dolphin* (or *Constituição*), *Hound*, and *Mary Cushing* (or *Sete de Avril*), would be discovered to be protected in their activities by American as well as by Spanish flags and papers (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, No. 115, pages 28, 51-5, 109-10, 136, 234-8; HOUSE REPORTS, 27th Congress, 3d session, III, No. 283, pages 709-15).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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WHAT?

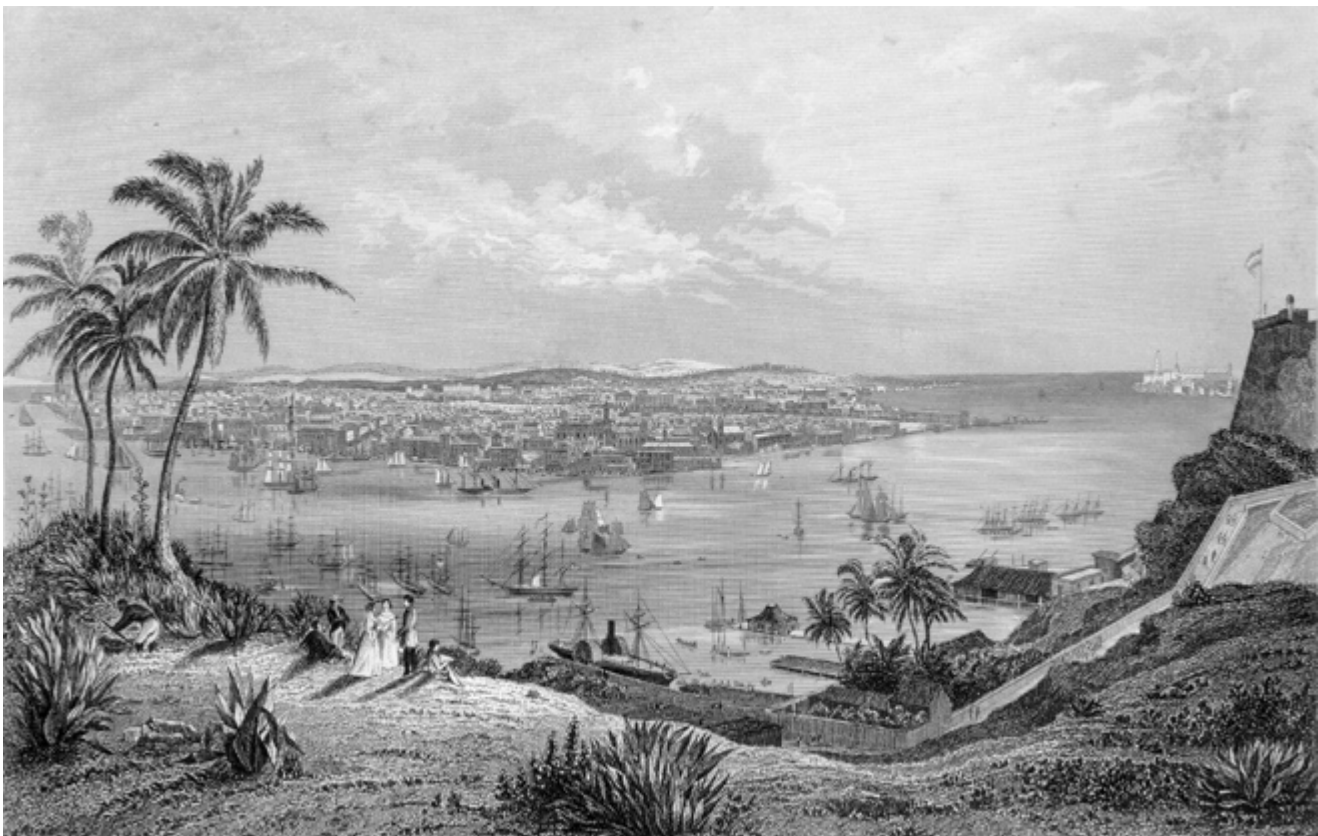
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THE MIDDLE PASSAGE





THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

➡ August: On [St. Helena](#), the Girls School at Plantation was closed, and a new school opened at Hutts Gate.



A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Amable Salome*, master A. Sanchez, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, [Cuba](#).

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Casualidad*, master Flores J., on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 489 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Guanimar, Cuba.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Felicidade*, master Freitas, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Sao Tome, arrived at a port of Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

➡ September: The [negrero](#) *My Boy*, of New Orleans, was seized by a British cruiser, and condemned at Sierra Leone ([Niles's Register](#), LVII. 353). Gotcha!

However, you can't win them all. During this month a [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Conceicao*, master J. Antonio, out of Sao Tome on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Bahia, Brazil.

And, a slaver flying the US flag, the *Octavia*, master Hicaling, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of [enslaved](#) Africans to Popo, [Cuba](#).


And, a Portuguese slaver, the *General Cabreira*, master unknown, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola with a cargo of 360 enslaved Africans, arrived at the port of Camarivea, Brazil.

And, a slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Formosa*, master Betman, out of an unknown point in Africa with a cargo of 330 enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

CUBA

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 September 6, Friday: Spain demanded that the United States release [La Amistad](#) and return its [slave](#) cargo to [Cuba](#).

The intrepid [Thoreau brothers](#) took the stage from [Concord, New Hampshire](#) to Plymouth, New Hampshire, then hiked through Thornton, Peeling, and Lincoln to Franconia below Mount Washington in the Presidential Range (Agiocochuck, elevation 6,288 feet).

TIMELINE OF A WEEK



[John](#) and [Henry](#) presumably both climbed and descended along the 1819 Crawford Path that begins at Crawford Notch and follows along the treeless ridge line, passing Mt. Eisenhower and Mt. Monroe and the Lake of the Clouds at about 5,000 feet to the summit of Mt. Washington. Thoreau's description of the actual climb, in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), would be succinct:





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**A WEEK:** Wandering on through notches which the streams had made, by the side and over the brows of hoar hills and mountains, across the stumpy, rocky, forested, and bepastured country, we at length crossed on prostrate trees over the Amonoosuck, and breathed the free air of Unappropriated Land. Thus, in fair days as well as foul, we had traced up the river to which our native stream is a tributary, until from Merrimack it became the Pemigewasset that leaped by our side, and when we had passed its fountain-head, the Wild Amonoosuck, whose puny channel was crossed at a stride, guiding us toward its distant source among the mountains, and at length, without its guidance, we were enabled to reach the summit of AGIOCOCHOOK.

“Sweet days, so cool, so calm, so bright,  
The bridal of the earth and sky,  
Sweet dews shall weep thy fall to-night,  
For thou must die.”

— HERBERT

When we returned to Hooksett, a week afterward, the melon man, in whose corn-barn we had hung our tent and buffaloes and other things to dry, was already picking his hops, with many women and children to help him. We bought one watermelon, the largest in his patch, to carry with us for ballast. It was Nathan's, which he might sell if he wished, having been conveyed to him in the green state, and owned daily by his eyes. After due consultation with "Father," the bargain was concluded, — we to buy it at a venture on the vine, green or ripe, our risk, and pay "what the gentlemen pleased." It proved to be ripe; for we had had honest experience in selecting this fruit.

RECTOR GEORGE HERBERT

Thoreau's text does not remain at this elevation. With the words "When we returned to Hookset..." he embarked the brothers upon their literary return voyage downriver. The full poem "Vertue" by [Rector George Herbert](#) in his 1633 THE TEMPLE had been as follows:

**Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,  
The bridall of the earth and skie:  
The dew shall weep thy fall to night;  
For thou must die.**

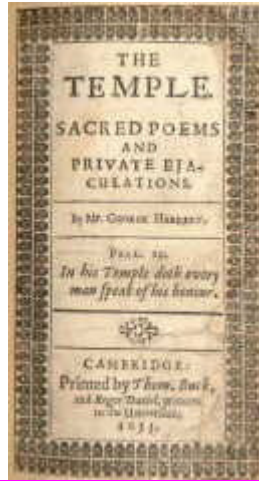
Sweet rose, whose hue angrie and brave  
Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye:  
Thy root is ever in its grave  
And thou must die.

Sweet spring, full of sweet dayes and roses,  
A box where sweets compacted lie;  
My musick shows ye have your closes,  
And all must die.

Onely a sweet and vertuous soul,  
Like season'd timber, never gives;  
But though the whole world turn to coal,

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

Then chiefly lives.



**THE TEMPLE**

We may note that our adventurous author has referred earlier, in the text of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), to the poem “The Elixir” among the literary remainders of [Herbert](#):

**A WEEK:** It required some rudeness to disturb with our boat the mirror-like surface of the water, in which every twig and blade of grass was so faithfully reflected; too faithfully indeed for art to imitate, for only Nature may exaggerate herself. The shallowest still water is unfathomable. Wherever the trees and skies are reflected, there is more than Atlantic depth, and no danger of fancy running aground. We notice that it required a separate intention of the eye, a more free and abstracted vision, to see the reflected trees and the sky, than to see the river bottom merely; and so are there manifold visions in the direction of every object, and even the most opaque reflect the heavens from their surface. Some men have their eyes naturally intended to the one and some to the other object.

“A man that looks on glass,  
On it may stay his eye,  
Or, if he pleaseth, through it pass,  
And the heavens espy.”

Two men in a skiff, whom we passed hereabouts, floating buoyantly amid the reflections of the trees, like a feather in mid-air, or a leaf which is wafted gently from its twig to the water without turning over, seemed still in their element, and to have very delicately availed themselves of the natural laws. Their floating there was a beautiful and successful experiment in natural philosophy, and it served to ennoble in our eyes the art of navigation; for as birds fly and fishes swim, so these men sailed. It reminded us how much fairer and nobler all the actions of man might be, and that our life in its whole economy might be as beautiful as the fairest works of art or nature.

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

RECTOR GEORGE HERBERT



CUBA

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Teach me, my God and King,  
In all things thee to see,  
And what I do in any thing,  
To do it as for thee:

Not rudely, as a beast,  
To runne into an action;  
But still to make thee prepossest,  
And give it his perfection.

**A man that looks on glasse,  
On it may stay his eye;  
Or if he pleaseth, through it passe,  
And then the heav'n espie.**

All may of thee partake:  
Nothing can be so mean,  
Which with his tincture (for thy sake)  
Will not grow bright and clean.

A servant with this clause  
Makes drudgerie divine:  
Who sweeps a room, as for thy laws,  
Makes that and th' action fine.

This is the famous stone  
That turneth all to gold:  
For that which God doth touch and own  
Cannot for lesse be told.

**THE TEMPLE**

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



September 15, Sunday: On September 18th the [New-York Morning Herald](#) would carry on page 2 a report of the events of this day, under the headline:

**The Captured Africans  
Correspondence of the Herald.  
EN ROUTE TO HARTFORD, SEPT. 15**

Mr. Bennett: The Abolitionists are of course greatly annoyed by your exposure of their hypocrisy; and are endeavoring to attract

Cuba

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



CUBA

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the sympathy and extract the money of the humane by accusing those who have desired to divest the main question of the perplexing difficulties thrown around it by Tappan & Co. of subserviency to the views of the slave holders. But such charges are too preposterous to receive a moment's consideration, and the effect of the indiscreet and foolish movements of the Abolitionists has been highly prejudicial to the Africans. I heard one of our most distinguished citizens remark yesterday, that his sympathies had at first been warmly enlisted in favor of the blacks--that he had been induced to believe, by the representations of the pseudo-philanthropists, that they were a set of hapless beings who had been torn from the enjoyments of social and domestic life and sold to hopeless misery, to feed the insatiate avarice of a blackhearted planter; and he should have rejoiced at their escape, even if they had reached our shores dyed to the elbows in the blood of their oppressors. He thought of Cinguez as he had been represented by Leavitt and his coadjutors, the heroic liberator of his enslaved brethren, who nobly preferred death to the degrading bondage of the white man; and was almost ready to wink at an infraction of our treaty with Spain, if necessary, to protect him from the consequences of his daring gallantry. But a look at the hero and his compatriots had wrought an instantaneous change in his sentiments. Instead of a chivalrous leader with the dignified and graceful bearing of Othello, imparting energy and confidence to his intelligent and devoted followers, he saw a sullen, dumpish looking negro, with a flat nose, thick lips, and all the other characteristics of his debased countrymen, without a single redeeming or striking trait, except the mere brute qualities of strength and activity, who had inspired terror among his companions by the indiscriminate and unsparing use of the lash. And instead of intelligent and comparatively civilized men, languishing in captivity and suffering under the restraints of the prison, he found them the veriest animals in existence, perfectly contented in confinement, without a ray of intelligence, and sensible only to the wants of the brute. No man, he said, more thoroughly appreciated the hideous horrors of the slave trade, or had conceived a more decided aversion to slavery in all its phases; but he was certain that the natives of Africa would be improved and elevated by transferring them to the genial climate of Carolina, and the mild restraints of an intelligent and humane planter. Still although the abstract idea of liberty was utterly incomprehensible to an African, and ridiculous as applied to him; and his physical condition was made better by the change, he has natural rights which it is enormous wickedness to invade. The previous impressions, as well as present views of this gentleman, are precisely coincident to my own, and the effect of my examination of the condition and character of the captured blacks was identically the same.

The conclusion that I arrive at, therefore, is, that the monstrous perversions of the fact of which the Abolitionists have been guilty, and their hypocritical and insidious appeals to the sympathies of the public, have operated to the serious disadvantage of the blacks, and will have a greater influence in precluding a fair trial, than all other causes combined. Antonio, who is detained as a witness against the murderers of the captain, was the cabin boy of the L'Amistad. His life was saved by the interposition of Manuel, one of the blacks, who



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CUBA

assisted in the murder of the captain. He is an active and rather sprightly boy, of fifteen, and had been with Captain Ferrer in the L'Amistad, upwards of three years. He says his master treated him kindly, and he occasionally expresses great indignation towards the blacks. He, however, tells different stories at different times, but this is perhaps owing to his confusion and want of memory. When told that the negroes would perhaps be sent to their own country, he laughed and said they would be caught and carried back to Havana again in less than six months. He is very comfortable and contented, but he says he likes Havana better, because the weather is warmer. Tomorrow I will write you from Hartford, and give you all the proceedings as they occur.

**LA AMISTAD**

**HISTORY'S NOT MADE OF WOULD. WHEN SOMEONE REVEALS, FOR INSTANCE, THAT A PARTICULAR INFANT WOULD INVENT THE SEWING MACHINE, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM. THE HISTORIAN IS SETTING CHRONOLOGY TO "SHUFFLE," WHICH IS NOT A PERMISSIBLE OPTION BECAUSE IN THE REAL WORLD SUCH SHUFFLE IS IMPOSSIBLE. THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT THE FUTURE HASN'T EVER HAPPENED, YET. THERE IS NO SUCH "BIRD'S EYE VIEW" AS THIS IN THE REAL WORLD, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD NO REAL BIRD HAS EVER GLIMPSED AN ACTUAL HISTORICAL SEQUENCE.**





## CUBA

## CUBA



October: The [negrero](#) *Catharine*, out of [Baltimore](#), was captured on the African coast by a British cruiser and brought by her to the harbor of [New-York](#) (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V No. 115, pages 191, 215, 239-44; [Niles's Register](#), LVII. 119, 159).

A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Felicidade*, master Lonsa, out of Lagos with a cargo of an unknown number of [enslaved](#) Africans on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Eliza*, master Vives, out of Rio Pongo with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on one of its seven known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

A Portuguese [negrero](#), the *Frutosa*, master J. Salgeyro, from an unknown point on the African coast on its only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 115 enslaved Africans at the port of Arcos de Canasi, [Cuba](#).

A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Dom Joao de Castro*, master V. de F. Serpa, from an unknown point on the African coast on its one and only known Middle Passage voyage, delivered a cargo of 450 enslaved Africans at the port of Ilha Marambaia, Brazil.

A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Montana*, master Viana, out of Luanda with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



November: A [negrero](#) flying the Stars and Stripes, the *Mary*, master Hutton, that had sailed out of Gallinas during October 1839 with a cargo of an unknown number of [enslaved](#) Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, during this month dropped anchor at a port of [Cuba](#).

A slaver flying the US flag, the *Deposit*, master C. Foster, that had sailed out of Angola during November 1839 with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, shuffled its cargo during this month into the [barracoon](#) at Rio, Brazil.



A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria*, master G. Affonco, out of Onim with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Bahia, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Amalia*, master Costa, sailing out of Mocambique during September 1839 with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Flor de'Loanda*, master L.J. Passos, out of Angola with a cargo of 370 enslaved Africans on one of its five known Middle Passages, arrived at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Felicidade*, master Medail, out of Lagos with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Mariana*, master J.G. da Cunha, out of Benguela with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Rio de Janeiro.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Generoso Feliz*, master unknown, out of Quelimane with a cargo of 384 enslaved Africans on its second of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Campos, Brazil.

A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Josefina*, master Carballo, sailing out of Sao Tome with a cargo of an unknown number of enslaved Africans during September 1839 on one of its twelve-count-'em-twelve known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



November 19, Tuesday: Franz Liszt gave the 1st of 6 recitals in Vienna, this one attended by the dowager empress. He premiered his transcription of Symphony no.6 by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) (he recitals would be very well received).

Representative [John Quincy Adams](#) wrote to the New-York [Journal of Commerce](#):

The Africans of the Amistad were cast upon our coast in



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a condition perhaps as calamitous as could befall human beings, not by their own will - not with any intention hostile or predatory on their part, not even by the act of God as in the case of shipwreck, but by their own ignorance of navigation and the deception of one of their oppressors whom they had overpowered, and whose life they had spared to enable them by his knowledge of navigation to reach their native land.

They were victims of the African slave trade, recently imported into the island of [Cuba](#), in gross violation of the laws of the Island and of Spain; and by acts which our own laws have made piracy - punishable with death. They had indicated their natural right to liberty, by conspiracy, insurrection, homicide and capture and they were accused by the two [Cuban](#) Spaniards embarked with them in the ship, of murder and piracy - and they were claimed by the same two [Cuban](#) Spaniards, accessories after the fact to the slave-trade piracy, by which they had been brought from Africa to [Cuba](#), as their property, because they had bought them from slave-trade pirates. They knew nothing of the Constitution, laws or language of the country upon which they were thus thrown, and accused as pirates and murderers, claimed as slaves of the very men who were their captives, they were deprived even of the faculty of speech in their own defense. This condition was sorely calamitous; it claimed from the humanity of a civilized nation compassion;- it claimed from brotherly love of a Christian land sympathy;- it claimed from a Republic professing reverence for the rights of man justice - and what have we done?

A naval officer of the United States seizes them, their ship and cargo, with themselves; tramples on the territorial jurisdiction of the state of New York, by seizing, disarming and sending on board their ship, without warrant of arrest, several of them whom he found on shore; releases their captives; admits the claim of the two captives to fifty masters as their slaves; and claims salvage for restoring them to servitude. They are then brought before a court of the United States, at once upon the charge of piracy and murder, upon a claim to them as slaves, and upon a claim against their pretended masters for salvage, by kidnapping them again into slavery. The Circuit Judge decides that the United States do not exercise the right of all other civilized nations to try piracies committed in foreign vessels; that he thereupon cannot try them for piracy or murder, but that the District Court may try whether they are slaves or not; as it is doubtful whether this trial will be held in Connecticut or New York, and it must take time to ascertain in which, they shall in the mean time be held as slaves to abide the issue.

Is this compassion? Is it sympathy? Is it justice? But here the case now stands.

[LA AMISTAD](#)



December: On [St. Helena](#), of the £31,645 2s 0d that the government had paid out in “[emancipation](#) loans” a total of £28,694 13s 1d, which is to say, 91% of the amount lent, remained still unpaid and was at this point taken off the books, forgiven.<sup>87</sup>

SWEETS  
WITHOUT  
SLAVERY

In the ongoing effort to eliminate human slavery from the world by exploring various ways in which white people might more readily do without slaves without in any way inconveniencing themselves, [David Lee Child](#) won a premium of \$100 from the Massachusetts Agricultural Society for his beet sweetener. The Sugar Beet Company again guaranteed his salary and expenses. [Lydia Maria Child](#)'s father Convers Francis agreed to move to [Northampton](#) and live with them and thus help with expenses.

A world that obtained its sweetness out of [sugar beets](#) grown by free farmers would not need to have slavers arriving every month or so from Africa, with new crops of black slaves to use up in the [sugar cane](#) fields. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Alexander*, master Hill, flying the Stars and Stripes on its one and only known Middle Passage, which vessel of US registry had sailed out of Principe during October 1839 and was at this point arriving in [Cuban](#) waters. There would be no need for the Portuguese [negreros](#) either, slave ships such as the *Maria Segundo*, master Figuera, on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, Mocambique with a cargo of 580 enslaved Africans, presently arriving at a port of Cuba. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Flor de' Loanda*, master J.J. Lopez, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of the Congo River with a cargo of 320 enslaved Africans and was presently arriving at the port of Macae, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Felicidade*, master J. de Almeida, on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of Angola and was presently arriving at a port of Cuba. **Well, this does go on and on, doesn't it?** In a world of economic justice there would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Idalia*, flying the Portuguese flag, under its master J. Romeiro, which had sailed out of Angola during September 1839 on its one and only known Middle Passage, and was at this point delivering its cargo of 244 enslaved Africans into the [barracoön](#) at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Ligeiro*, master unknown, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of Benguela with a cargo of 321 enslaved Africans, presently arriving at the port of Paranagua, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Animo Grande*, master F. Silveira, on its one and only known Middle Passage, which had sailed out of Quelimane during October 1839 with a cargo of 590 enslaved Africans and was presently arriving at Campos, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Aucorinha*, master J. F. Silveira, on its one and only known Middle Passage, which had sailed out of Angola during November 1839 with a cargo of 280 enslaved Africans, and was presently arriving at the port



87. You wouldn't suppose this would fall under the rubric **REPARATIONS**, would you?

of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *General Cabreira*, master J.P. de A. Kansia, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of Angola with a cargo of 127 enslaved Africans, and was presently arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Doze de Outubro*, master J.F. da Cruz, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of Angola during November 1839 with a cargo of 263 enslaved Africans, and was presently arriving at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Fortuna de Africa*, master J.A. Passagem, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of Quelimane, and was presently off-loading its cargo of 429 enslaved Africans into the barracoon at the port of Macae, Brazil. **A world of economic justice would be a sweet world indeed. Sometimes David and Maria dreamed of this. They were dedicating their lives in Northampton to make it be so.**

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



December 24, Tuesday: President Martin Van Buren addressed the federal Congress.

“It will be seen by the report of the Secretary of the navy respecting the disposition of our ships of war, that it has been deemed necessary to station a competent force on the coast of Africa, to prevent a fraudulent use of our flag by foreigners. “Recent experience has shown that the provisions in our existing laws which relate to the sale and transfer of American vessels while abroad, are extremely defective. Advantage has been taken of these defects to give to vessels wholly belonging to foreigners, and navigating the ocean, an apparent American ownership. This character has been so well simulated as to afford them comparative security in prosecuting the slave trade, a traffic emphatically denounced in our statutes, regarded with abhorrence by our citizens, and of which the effectual suppression is nowhere more sincerely desired than in the United



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States. These circumstances make it proper to recommend to your early attention a careful revision of these laws, so that ... the integrity and honor of our flag may be carefully preserved." HOUSE JOURNAL, 26th Congress, 1st session, pages 117-8.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The enhanced price of slaves throughout the American slave market, brought about by the new industrial development and the laws against the slave-trade, was the irresistible temptation that drew American capital and enterprise into that traffic. In the United States, in spite of the large interstate traffic, the average price of slaves rose from about \$325 in 1840, to \$360 in 1850, and to \$500 in 1860.<sup>88</sup> Brazil and Cuba offered similar inducements to smugglers, and the American flag was ready to protect such pirates. As a result, the American slave-trade finally came to be carried on principally by United States capital, in United States ships, officered by United States citizens, and under the United States flag.

Executive reports repeatedly acknowledged this fact. In 1839 "a careful revision of these laws" is recommended by the President, in order that "the integrity and honor of our flag may be carefully preserved."<sup>89</sup> In June, 1841, the President declares: "There is reason to believe that the traffic is on the increase," and advocates "vigorous efforts."<sup>90</sup> His message in December of the same year acknowledges: "That the American flag is grossly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations is but too probable."<sup>91</sup> The special message of 1845 explains at length that "it would seem" that a regular policy of evading the laws is carried on: American vessels with the knowledge of the owners are chartered by notorious slave dealers in Brazil, aided by English capitalists, with this intent.<sup>92</sup> The message of 1849 "earnestly" invites the attention of Congress "to an amendment of our existing laws relating to the African slave-trade, with a view to the effectual suppression of that barbarous traffic. It is not to be denied," continues the message, "that this trade is still, in part, carried on by means of vessels built in the United States, and owned or navigated by some of our citizens."<sup>93</sup> Governor Buchanan of Liberia reported in 1839: "The chief obstacle to the success of the very active measures pursued by the British government for the suppression of the slave-trade on the coast, is the *American flag*. Never was the proud banner of freedom so extensively used by those pirates upon liberty and humanity, as at this season."<sup>94</sup> One well-known American slaver was boarded fifteen times and twice taken into port, but always escaped by means of her papers.<sup>95</sup> Even American officers report that the English are doing all they can, but that the American flag protects the trade.<sup>96</sup> The evidence which literally poured in from our consuls and ministers at Brazil adds to the story of the guilt of the United States.<sup>97</sup> It was proven that the participation of United States citizens in the trade was large

88. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, COTTON KINGDOM.

89. HOUSE JOURNAL, 26th Congress, 1st session, page 118.

90. HOUSE JOURNAL, 27th Congress, 1st session, pages 31, 184.

91. HOUSE JOURNAL, 27th Congress, 2d session, pages 14, 15, 86, 113.

92. SENATE JOURNAL, 28th Congress, 2d session, pages 191, 227.

93. HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 31st Congress, 1st session, III. pt. I. No. 5, page 7.

94. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 152.

95. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, pages 152-3.

96. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 241.





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and systematic. One of the most notorious slave merchants of Brazil said: "I am worried by the Americans, who insist upon my hiring their vessels for slave-trade."<sup>98</sup> Minister Proffit stated, in 1844, that the "slave-trade is almost entirely carried on under our flag, in American-built vessels."<sup>99</sup> So, too, in [Cuba](#): the British commissioners affirm that American citizens were openly engaged in the traffic; vessels arrived undisguised at Havana from the United States, and cleared for Africa as slavers after an alleged sale.<sup>100</sup> The American consul, Trist, was proven to have consciously or unconsciously aided this trade by the issuance of blank clearance papers.<sup>101</sup>

The presence of American capital in these enterprises, and the connivance of the authorities, were proven in many cases and known in scores. In 1837 the English government informed the United States that from the papers of a captured slaver it appeared that the notorious slave-trading firm, Blanco and Carballo of Havana, who owned the vessel, had correspondents in the United States: "at Baltimore, Messrs. Peter Harmony and Co., in New York, Robert Barry, Esq."<sup>102</sup> The slaver "Martha" of New York, captured by the "Perry," contained among her papers curious revelations of the guilt of persons in America who were little suspected.<sup>103</sup> The slaver "Prova," which was allowed to lie in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, and refit, was afterwards captured with two hundred and twenty-five slaves on board.<sup>104</sup> The real reason that prevented many belligerent Congressmen from pressing certain search claims against England lay in the fact that the unjustifiable detentions had unfortunately revealed so much American guilt that it was deemed wiser to let the matter end in talk. For instance, in 1850 Congress demanded information as to illegal searches, and President Fillmore's report showed the uncomfortable fact that, of the ten American ships wrongly detained by English men-of-war, nine were proven red-handed slavers.<sup>105</sup>

The consul at Havana reported, in 1836, that whole cargoes of slaves fresh from Africa were being daily shipped to Texas in American vessels, that 1,000 had been sent within a few months, that the rate was increasing, and that many of these slaves "can scarcely fail to find their way into the United States." Moreover, the consul acknowledged that ships frequently cleared for the United States in ballast, taking on a cargo at some secret point.<sup>106</sup> When with these facts we consider the law facilitating "recovery" of slaves from Texas,<sup>107</sup> the repeated

97. Cf. e.g. HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 28th Congress, 2d session, IV. pt. I. No. 148; 29th Congress, 1st session, III. No. 43; HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 30th Congress, 2d session, VII. No. 61; SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 30th Congress, 1st session, IV. No. 28; 31st Congress, 2d session, II. No. 6; 33d Congress, 1st session, VIII. No. 47.

98. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 218.

99. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 221.

100. Palmerston to Stevenson: HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115, page 5. In 1836 five such slavers were known to have cleared; in 1837, eleven; in 1838, nineteen; and in 1839, twenty-three: HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115, pages 220-1.

101. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1839, Volume XLIX., SLAVE TRADE, class A, Further Series, pages 58-9; class B, Further Series, page 110; class D, Further Series, page 25. Trist pleaded ignorance of the law: Trist to Forsyth, HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115.

102. HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115.

103. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, page 290.

104. HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115, pages 121, 163-6.

105. SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 31st Congress, 1st session, XIV No. 66.

106. Trist to Forsyth: HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115. "The business of supplying the United States with Africans from this island is one that must necessarily exist," because "slaves are a hundred *per cent*, or more, higher in the United States than in Cuba," and this profit "is a temptation which it is not in human nature as modified by American institutions to withstand": HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 2d session, V. No. 115.



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refusals to regulate the Texan trade, and the shelving of a proposed congressional investigation into these matters,<sup>108</sup> conjecture becomes a practical certainty. It was estimated in 1838 that 15,000 Africans were annually taken to Texas, and "there are even grounds for suspicion that there are other places ... where slaves are introduced."<sup>109</sup> Between 1847 and 1853 the slave smuggler Drake had a slave depot in the Gulf, where sometimes as many as 1,600 Negroes were on hand, and the owners were continually importing and shipping. "The joint-stock company," writes this smuggler, "was a very extensive one, and connected with leading American and Spanish mercantile houses. Our island<sup>110</sup> was visited almost weekly, by agents from [Cuba](#), New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, and New Orleans.... The seasoned and instructed slaves were taken to Texas, or Florida, overland, and to [Cuba](#), in sailing-boats. As no squad contained more than half a dozen, no difficulty was found in posting them to the United States, without discovery, and generally without suspicion.... The Bay Island plantation sent ventures weekly to the Florida Keys. Slaves were taken into the great American swamps, and there kept till wanted for the market. Hundreds were sold as captured runaways from the Florida wilderness. We had agents in every slave State; and our coasters were built in Maine, and came out with lumber. I could tell curious stories ... of this business of smuggling Bozal negroes into the United States. It is growing more profitable every year, and if you should hang all the Yankee merchants engaged in it, hundreds would fill their places."<sup>111</sup> Inherent probability and concurrent testimony confirm the substantial truth of such confessions. For instance, one traveller discovers on a Southern plantation Negroes who can speak no English.<sup>112</sup> The careful reports of the Quakers "apprehend that many [slaves] are also introduced into the United States."<sup>113</sup> Governor Mathew of the Bahama Islands reports that "in more than one instance, Bahama vessels with coloured crews have been purposely wrecked on the coast of Florida, and the crews forcibly sold." This was brought to the notice of the United States authorities, but the district attorney of Florida could furnish no information.<sup>114</sup> Such was the state of the slave-trade in 1850, on the threshold of the critical decade which by a herculean effort was destined finally to suppress it.

107. STATUTES AT LARGE, V. 674.

108. Cf. STATUTES AT LARGE, V., page 157, note 1.

109. Buxton, THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND ITS REMEDY, pages 44-5. Cf. 2D REPORT OF THE LONDON AFRICAN SOCIETY, page 22.

110. I.e., Bay Island in the Gulf of Mexico, near the coast of Honduras.

111. REVELATIONS OF A SLAVE SMUGGLER, page 98.

112. Mr. H. Moulton in SLAVERY AS IT IS, page 140; cited in FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (Friends' ed. 1841), page 8.

113. In a memorial to Congress, 1840: HOUSE DOCUMENTS, 26th Congress, 1st session, VI. No. 211.

114. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1845-6, pages 883, 968, 989-90. The governor wrote in reply: "The United States, if properly served by their law officers in the Floridas, will not experience any difficulty in obtaining the requisite knowledge of these illegal transactions, which, I have reason to believe, were the subject of common notoriety in the neighbourhood where they occurred, and of boast on the part of those concerned in them?": BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1845-6, page 990.



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1840



January: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Duquesa de Braganca*, master Moreno, on one of its three known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, had sailed from Mocambique on the east coast of Africa during November 1839 with a cargo of 720 enslaved Africans, and finally in this month after such an especially long voyage was arriving at its destination, a port on the coast of [Cuba](#).<sup>115</sup>

Late in the month, President Martin Van Buren would decide to have the “erroneous principles” of *The U.S. v. The Libelants, etc., of the Schooner Amistad* appealed to the circuit court, which in effect would mean that the law in the case would be reconsidered by the US Supreme Court. Although Judge Andrew T. Judson’s decision would effectively rid America of the problem at hand by returning the blacks to Sierra Leone, this would constitute from our President’s point of view an unacceptable legal precedent: we could not tolerate establishing the idea that blacks might under any circumstances at all, as if they were white themselves, resort to violence in order to free themselves from unjust abuse, not merely abuse by other blacks but also abuse by whites.

The only safe legal principle would be that a black man may never under any circumstances object to being abused by a white man. On January 2nd the Richmond VA [Inquirer](#) had declared that the meaning of this case was that if white Americans ever became the victims of “black masters” they would owe to these black overlords their “compassion” and “sympathy.” Van Buren could not afford to seem to his Southern political supporters to be in favor of [servile insurrection](#). An appeal would delay the matter until after the presidential election, and thus would remove much of its political impact.<sup>116</sup>

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1839 Pope Gregory XVI. stigmatized the slave-trade “as utterly unworthy of the Christian name;” and at the same time, although proscribed by the laws of every civilized State, the trade was flourishing with pristine vigor. Great advantage was given the traffic by the fact that the United States, for two decades after the abortive attempt of 1824, refused to co-operate with the rest of the civilized world, and allowed her flag to shelter and protect the slave-trade. If a fully equipped slaver sailed from New York, Havana, Rio Janeiro, or Liverpool, she had only to hoist the stars and stripes in

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

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

116. This of course is surmise, since the President would omit to discuss the decision in his autobiography. In the event, it would seem that the Van Buren Democrats lost in this bid for re-election not because of the slavery controversy but because of the financial crisis beginning in 1837. It was the economy, stupid — when the economy is in free fall the incumbent ain’t gonna get re-elected.



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order to proceed unmolested on her piratical voyage; for there was seldom a United States cruiser to be met with, and there were, on the other hand, diplomats at Washington so jealous of the honor of the flag that they would prostitute it to crime rather than allow an English or a French cruiser in any way to interfere. Without doubt, the contention of the United States as to England's pretensions to a Right of Visit was technically correct. Nevertheless, it was clear that if the slave-trade was to be suppressed, each nation must either zealously keep her flag from fraudulent use, or, as a labor-saving device, depute to others this duty for limited places and under special circumstances. A failure of any one nation to do one of these two things meant that the efforts of all other nations were to be fruitless. The United States had invited the world to join her in denouncing the slave-trade as piracy; yet, when such a pirate was waylaid by an English vessel, the United States complained or demanded reparation. The only answer which this country for years returned to the long-continued exposures of American slave-traders and of the fraudulent use of the American flag, was a recital of cases where Great Britain had gone beyond her legal powers in her attempt to suppress the slave-trade.<sup>117</sup> In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Secretary of State Forsyth declared, in 1840, that the duty of the United States in the matter of the slave-trade "has been faithfully performed, and if the traffic still exists as a disgrace to humanity, it is to be imputed to nations with whom Her Majesty's Government has formed and maintained the most intimate connexions, and to whose Governments Great Britain has paid for the right of active intervention in order to its complete extirpation."<sup>118</sup> So zealous was Stevenson, our minister to England, in denying the Right of Search, that he boldly informed Palmerston, in 1841, "that there is no shadow of pretence for excusing, much less justifying, the exercise of any such right. That it is wholly immaterial, whether the vessels be equipped for, or actually engaged in slave traffic or not, and consequently the right to search or detain even slave vessels, must be confined to the ships or vessels of those nations with whom it may have treaties on the subject."<sup>119</sup> Palmerston courteously replied that he could not think that the United States seriously intended to make its flag a refuge for slave-traders;<sup>120</sup> and Aberdeen pertinently declared: "Now, it can scarcely be maintained by Mr. Stevenson that Great Britain should be bound to permit her own subjects, with British vessels and British capital, to carry on, before the eyes of British officers, this detestable traffic in human beings, which the law has declared to be piracy, merely because they had the audacity to commit an additional offence by fraudulently usurping the American flag."<sup>121</sup> Thus the dispute, even after the advent of Webster, went on for a time, involving itself in metaphysical subtleties, and apparently leading no nearer to an understanding.<sup>122</sup>

In 1838 a fourth conference of the powers for the consideration of the slave-trade took place at London. It was attended by

117. Cf. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, from 1836 to 1842.

118. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1839-40, page 940.

119. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 27th Congress 1st session, No. 34, pages 5-6.

120. SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress 1st session, VIII. No. 377, page 56.

121. SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress 1st session, VIII. No. 377, page 72.

122. SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress 1st session, VIII. No. 377, pages 133-40, etc.



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representatives of England, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. England laid the projet of a treaty before them, to which all but France assented. This so-called Quintuple Treaty, signed December 20, 1841, denounced the slave-trade as piracy, and declared that "the High Contracting Parties agree by common consent, that those of their ships of war which shall be provided with special warrants and orders ... may search every merchant-vessel belonging to any one of the High Contracting Parties which shall, on reasonable grounds, be suspected of being engaged in the traffic in slaves." All captured slavers were to be sent to their own countries for trial.<sup>123</sup>

While the ratification of this treaty was pending, the United States minister to France, [Lewis Cass](#), addressed an official note to Guizot at the French foreign office, protesting against the institution of an international Right of Search, and rather grandiloquently warning the powers against the use of force to accomplish their ends. This extraordinary epistle, issued on the minister's own responsibility, brought a reply denying that the creation of any "new principle of international law, whereby the vessels even of those powers which have not participated in the arrangement should be subjected to the right of search," was ever intended, and affirming that no such extraordinary interpretation could be deduced from the Convention. Moreover, M. Guizot hoped that the United States, by agreeing to this treaty, would "aid, by its most sincere endeavors, in the definitive abolition of the trade."<sup>124</sup> Cass's theatrical protest was, consciously or unconsciously, the manifesto of that growing class in the United States who wanted no further measures taken for the suppression of the slave-trade; toward that, as toward the institution of slavery, this party favored a policy of strict *laissez-faire*.

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*

123. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1841-2, page 269 ff.

124. SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress 1st session, VIII. No. 377, page 201.





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*ones, and desiring to be remembered to my Concord friends,  
I am truly your friend [&] Classmate,  
C. S. Wheeler.*

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Postmark: [CAMB]RIDGE

[J]AN

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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 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.

January 10, Friday: Under presidential order, the USS *Grampus* stood by to receive the *La Amistad* captives and transport them illegally to their deaths in [Cuba](#). Here is a letter from an unidentified writer that appeared in the New London *Gazette*, in regard to the *Grampus* showing up in New Haven harbor at the time of the trial:

Now, sir it appears to me to be of little consequence to know whether instructions came from Washington or whether the case was decided before trial and its decision transmitted thither - if either supposition be true (and the facts have a strong squinting that way) the people should know it. The stride which the President has made towards universal power in other branches of the government render it by no means improbable that he has at length assumed the duties of the Judiciary, and that the case was decided at Washington long before the trial, and the *Grampus* held in readiness to remove the Negroes the moment the court completes the forms of the trial.

I cannot hope, sir, that this view of the subject is a mistaken one; for if it be true, our Federal Courts have become the mere instruments of the President, and if this case was prejudged without hearing either of the testimony or argument, what security is left us for our property or liberties?

Until the movements of the *Grampus* are explained there will remain in the minds of many, even of those who are friends of the Administration, a painful suspicion of foul play.

Fortuitously, there was a clerical error in a document prepared by the US Department of State, in that the court in New Haven had been referred to as a circuit court when actually it was a district court! This clerical error would prove useful in preventing the administration of President Martin Van Buren from legally kidnapping the *Amistad* captives and hauling them off to [Cuba](#) to be tortured and killed.

January 13, Monday: Judge Andrew T. Judson ruled that President Martin Van Buren could transport the blacks of *La Amistad* — but to Africa rather than to [Cuba](#).



Cunning judge! –He knew how to give the administration what it did not want. Three cheers for judges as wise as that!



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March: The British initiated a Vice Admiralty Court on [St. Helena](#) to render disposition in cases involving ship's crews accused of engaging in slave trading along the west coast of Africa.



When the sailing papers of the [negrero](#) *Sarah Ann* of New Orleans, that had been captured by a naval patrol ship in the suppression of the international slave trade, were examined, they were found to be fraudulent (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, Number 115, pages 184-7).

Five [negreros](#) flying the Portuguese flag were arriving in New World waters during this month:

The *Jacinto*, master unknown, on one of its three known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 480 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Mariel, [Cuba](#).

The *Formiga*, master Goncabro, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at the port of Pernambuco, Brazil.

The *Feliz*, master unknown, on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 180 enslaved Africans, arrived at the port of Matanzas, [Cuba](#).

The *Feliz Animoso*, master F.S. Lima, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Angola, arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The *Duque de Victoria*, master A.J. Santos, on its second of two known Middle Passages, having sailed out of Angola during February 1840 with a cargo of 420 enslaved Africans, also arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: A somewhat more sincere and determined effort to enforce the slave-trade laws now followed; and yet it is a significant fact that not until Lincoln's administration did a slave-trader suffer death for violating the laws of the United States. The participation of Americans in the trade continued, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860. The development of a vast internal slave-trade, and the consequent rise in the South of vested interests strongly opposed to slave smuggling, led to a falling off in the illicit introduction of Negroes after 1825, until the fifties; nevertheless, smuggling never entirely ceased, and large numbers were thus added to the plantations of the Gulf States.

Monroe had various constitutional scruples as to the execution of the Act of 1819;<sup>125</sup> but, as Congress took no action, he at last put a fair interpretation on his powers, and appointed Samuel Bacon as an agent in Africa to form a settlement for recaptured Africans. Gradually the agency thus formed became merged with that of the Colonization Society on Cape Mesurado; and from this union Liberia was finally evolved.<sup>126</sup>

Meantime, during the years 1818 to 1820, the activity of the slave-traders was prodigious. General James Tallmadge declared in the House, February 15, 1819: "Our laws are already highly penal against their introduction, and yet, it is a well known fact, that about fourteen thousand slaves have been brought into

125. Attorney-General Wirt advised him, October, 1819, that no part of the appropriation could be used to purchase land in Africa or tools for the Negroes, or as salary for the agent: OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, I. 314-7. Monroe laid the case before Congress in a special message Dec. 20, 1819 (HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, page 57); but no action was taken there.

126. Cf. Kendall's Report, August, 1830: SENATE DOCUMENT, 21st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 211-8; also see below, Chapter X.



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our country this last year."<sup>127</sup> In the same year Middleton of South Carolina and Wright of Virginia estimated illicit introduction at 13,000 and 15,000 respectively.<sup>128</sup> Judge Story, in charging a jury, took occasion to say: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the slave-trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."<sup>129</sup> The following year, 1820, brought some significant statements from various members of Congress. Said Smith of South Carolina: "Pharaoh was, for his temerity, drowned in the Red Sea, in pursuing them [the Israelites] contrary to God's express will; but our Northern friends have not been afraid even of that, in their zeal to furnish the Southern States with Africans. They are better seamen than Pharaoh, and calculate by that means to elude the vigilance of Heaven; which they seem to disregard, if they can but elude the violated laws of their country."<sup>130</sup> As late as May he saw little hope of suppressing the traffic.<sup>131</sup> Sergeant of Pennsylvania declared: "It is notorious that, in spite of the utmost vigilance that can be employed, African negroes are clandestinely brought in and sold as slaves."<sup>132</sup> Plumer of New Hampshire stated that "of the unhappy beings, thus in violation of all laws transported to our shores, and thrown by force into the mass of our black population, scarcely one in a hundred is ever detected by the officers of the General Government, in a part of the country, where, if we are to believe the statement of Governor Rabun, 'an officer who would perform his duty, by attempting to enforce the law [against the slave trade] is, by many, considered as an officious meddler, and treated with derision and contempt;' ... I have been told by a gentleman, who has attended particularly to this subject, that ten thousand slaves were in one year smuggled into the United States; and that, even for the last year, we must count the number not by hundreds, but by thousands."<sup>133</sup> In 1821 a committee of Congress characterized prevailing methods as those "of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government."<sup>134</sup> Another committee, in 1822, after a careful examination of the subject, declare that they "find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the slave trade by the laws above mentioned, and the seizures under them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations." They then state the suspicious circumstance that, with the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic, "the trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations." They complain of the spasmodic

127. Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1819, page 18; published in Boston, 1849.

128. Jay, INQUIRY INTO AMERICAN COLONIZATION (1838), page 59, note.

129. Quoted in Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (ed. 1841), pages 7-8.

130. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 270-1.

131. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 698.

132. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1207.

133. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1433.

134. Referring particularly to the case of the slaver "Plattsburg." Cf. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 10.



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efforts of the executive. They say that the first United States cruiser arrived on the African coast in March, 1820, and remained a "few weeks;" that since then four others had in two years made five visits in all; but "since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is, under orders for that service."<sup>135</sup> The United States African agent, Ayres, reported in 1823: "I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas, and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruisers, their short stay and seldom appearance had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system to gain intelligence of any cruiser being on the coast."<sup>136</sup>

Even such spasmodic efforts bore abundant fruit, and indicated what vigorous measures might have accomplished. Between May, 1818, and November, 1821, nearly six hundred Africans were recaptured and eleven American slavers taken.<sup>137</sup> Such measures gradually changed the character of the trade, and opened the international phase of the question. American slavers cleared for foreign ports, there took a foreign flag and papers, and then sailed boldly past American cruisers, although their real character was often well known. More stringent clearance laws and consular instructions might have greatly reduced this practice; but nothing was ever done, and gradually the laws became in large measure powerless to deal with the bulk of the illicit trade. In 1820, September 16, a British officer, in his official report, declares that, in spite of United States laws, "American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are unquestionably engaged in the trade, though under other colours and in disguise."<sup>138</sup> The United States ship "Cyane" at one time reported ten captures within a few days, adding: "Although they are evidently owned by Americans, they are so completely covered by Spanish papers that it is impossible to condemn them."<sup>139</sup> The governor of Sierra Leone reported the rivers Nunez and Pongas full of renegade European and American slave-traders;<sup>140</sup> the trade was said to be carried on "to an extent that almost staggers belief."<sup>141</sup> Down to 1824 or 1825, reports from all quarters prove this activity in slave-trading.

The execution of the laws within the country exhibits grave

135. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 2. The President had in his message spoken in exhilarating tones of the success of the government in suppressing the trade. The House Committee appointed in pursuance of this passage made the above report. Their conclusions are confirmed by British reports: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, III. page 44. So, too, in 1823, Ashmun, the African agent, reports that thousands of slaves are being abducted.

136. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 24, 1823; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 31.  
137. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 5-6. The slavers were the "Ramirez," "Endymion," "Esperanza," "Plattsburg," "Science," "Alexander," "Eugene," "Mathilde," "Daphne," "Eliza," and "La Pensée." In these 573 Africans were taken. The naval officers were greatly handicapped by the size of the ships, etc. (cf. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), pages 33-41). They nevertheless acted with great zeal.

138. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, page 76. The names and description of a dozen or more American slavers are given: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 18-21.

139. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 15-20.

140. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 119, page 13.

141. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, Vol. XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 10-11.





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defects and even criminal negligence. Attorney-General Wirt finds it necessary to assure collectors, in 1819, that "it is against public policy to dispense with prosecutions for violation of the law to prohibit the Slave trade."<sup>142</sup> One district attorney writes: "It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders after the negroes have been landed in the state."<sup>143</sup> Again, it is asserted that "when vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruizers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the freedom to these captives which the laws of the United States have decreed for them."<sup>144</sup> In some cases, one man would smuggle in the Africans and hide them in the woods; then his partner would "rob" him, and so all trace be lost.<sup>145</sup> Perhaps 350 Africans were officially reported as brought in contrary to law from 1818 to 1820: the absurdity of this figure is apparent.<sup>146</sup> A circular letter to the marshals, in 1821, brought reports of only a few well-known cases, like that of the "General Ramirez;" the marshal of Louisiana had "no information."<sup>147</sup> There appears to be little positive evidence of a large illicit importation into the country for a decade after 1825. It is hardly possible, however, considering the activity in the trade, that slaves were not largely imported. Indeed, when we note how the laws were continually broken in other respects, absence of evidence of petty smuggling becomes presumptive evidence that collusive or tacit understanding of officers and citizens allowed the trade to some extent.<sup>148</sup> Finally, it must be noted that during all this time scarcely a man suffered for participating in the trade, beyond the loss of the Africans and, more rarely, of his ship. Red-handed slavers, caught in the act and convicted, were too often, like La Coste of South Carolina, the subjects of executive clemency.<sup>149</sup> In certain cases there were those who even had the effrontery to ask Congress to cancel their own laws. For instance, in 1819 a Venezuelan privateer, secretly fitted out and manned by Americans in Baltimore, succeeded in capturing several American, Portuguese, and Spanish slavers, and appropriating the slaves; being finally wrecked herself, she transferred her crew and slaves to one of her prizes, the "Antelope," which was eventually captured by a United States cruiser and the 280 Africans sent to Georgia. After much litigation, the United States Supreme Court ordered those captured from Spaniards to be surrendered, and the others to be returned to Africa. By some mysterious process, only 139 Africans now remained, 100 of whom were sent to Africa. The Spanish claimants of the remaining thirty-nine sold them to a certain Mr. Wilde, who gave bond to transport them out of the country. Finally, in December, 1827, there came an innocent petition to Congress to *cancel this bond*.<sup>150</sup> A bill to that effect passed and was approved, May 2, 1828,<sup>151</sup> and in consequence these Africans remained as slaves in Georgia.

142. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, V. 717.

143. R.W. Habersham to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1821; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 47.

144. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

145. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 43.

146. Cf. above, pages 126-7.

147. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

148. A few accounts of captures here and there would make the matter less suspicious; these, however, do not occur. How large this suspected illicit traffic was, it is of course impossible to say; there is no reason why it may not have reached many hundreds per year.



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On the whole, it is plain that, although in the period from 1807 to 1820 Congress laid down broad lines of legislation sufficient, save in some details, to suppress the African slave trade to America, yet the execution of these laws was criminally lax. Moreover, by the facility with which slavers could disguise their identity, it was possible for them to escape even a vigorous enforcement of our laws. This situation could properly be met only by energetic and sincere international co-operation....<sup>152</sup>

May: The struggle which had been playing itself out in the female antislavery society repeated itself in the American Anti-Slavery Society. The pragmatist wing laid plans to dissolve the society, and managed before the convention to give away its newspaper, the Emancipator, to keep it out of the hands of the Garrisonians who controlled the Liberator. Special travel arrangements were made to get the Garrisonians to New-York en masse. A special train and steamboat (the *Rhode Island*) reduced the round-trip fare to \$5.<sup>00</sup> and arrangements were made for lodgings by renting the entirety of St. John's Hall on Frankfort Street at \$0.<sup>50</sup> per day. Unfortunately, nobody had told the people at St. John's Hall that some of their guests weren't white, and so new accommodations had to be sought out on short notice with the New Englanders walking as a group on the New-York street and receiving an occasional rock. At the convention the next day, pandemonium broke out when a Garrisonian woman was nominated to serve on a committee: women were not members, the pragmatists protested, and therefor in the society's constitution, the word "person" meant "man." A voice vote being too close to judge, a standing vote was taken while a pragmatist minister urged that all women should vote against this woman. The Garrisonians won and the next day the pragmatists walked, taking the society's assets, membership lists, and furniture with them (some of the society's office furniture wound up in the home of a pragmatic minister). In some quarters, the split in the society was blamed on Abby Kelley's "effrontery in asserting the right of her sex to an equal place with men." The antislavery ministers formed a new organization,

**SEXISM** **FEMINISM**

with a constitution which not only explicitly prohibited females from voting or becoming officials, but also explicitly denied membership to anyone who assented in the principle of non-resistance to evil.

149. Cf. editorial in Niles's Register, XXII. 114. Cf. also the following instances of pardons: —  
PRESIDENT JEFFERSON: March 1, 1808, Phillip M. Topham, convicted for "carrying on an illegal slave-trade" (pardoned twice). PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9.  
PRESIDENT MADISON: July 29, 1809, fifteen vessels arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, with 666 white persons and 683 negroes. Every penalty incurred under the Act of 1807 was remitted. (Note: "Several other pardons of this nature were granted.") PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179.  
Nov. 8, 1809, John Hopkins and Lewis Le Roy, convicted for importing a slave. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 184-5.  
Feb. 12, 1810, William Sewall, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 194, 235, 240.  
May 5, 1812, William Babbit, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 248.  
PRESIDENT MONROE: June 11, 1822, Thomas Shields, convicted for bringing slaves into New Orleans. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 15.  
Aug. 24, 1822, J.F. Smith, sentenced to five years' imprisonment and \$3000 fine; served twenty-five months and was then pardoned. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 22.  
July 23, 1823, certain parties liable to penalties for introducing slaves into Alabama. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 63.  
Aug. 15, 1823, owners of schooner "Mary," convicted of importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 66.  
PRESIDENT J.Q. ADAMS: March 4, 1826, Robert Perry; his ship was forfeited for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 140.  
Jan. 17, 1827, Jesse Perry; forfeited ship, and was convicted for introducing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 158.  
Feb. 13, 1827, Zenas Winston; incurred penalties for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 161. The four following cases are similar to that of Winston: —  
Feb. 24, 1827, John Tucker and William Morbon. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 162.  
March 25, 1828, Joseph Badger. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 192.  
Feb. 19, 1829, L.R. Wallace. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 215.  
PRESIDENT JACKSON: Five cases. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 225, 270, 301, 393, 440.  
The above cases were taken from manuscript copies of the Washington records, made by Mr. W.C. Endicott, Jr., and kindly loaned me.  
150. See SENATE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 60, 66, 340, 341, 343, 348, 352, 355; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 59, 76, 123, 134, 156, 169, 173, 279, 634, 641, 646, 647, 688, 692.  
151. STATUTES AT LARGE, VI. 376.



During this month a [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Cospe-Fogo*, master A.Y. da Silva, completing the second of its two known Middle Passages, offloaded a cargo of 145 [enslaved](#) Africans out of Angola at the port of Pernambuco, Brazil. Meanwhile another slaver under the same flag, the *Aquila*, master unknown, on its first of two known Middle Passages, was off-loading a cargo of 620 people out of an unknown area of Africa into the slave [barracoon](#) of the port of [Havana](#) (the principle of resistance to evil didn't seem to be working all that effectively this month).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

**YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION.**

152. Among interesting minor proceedings in this period were two Senate bills to register slaves so as to prevent illegal importation. They were both dropped in the House; a House proposition to the same effect also came to nothing: SENATE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, pages 147, 152, 157, 165, 170, 188, 201, 203, 232, 237; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 63, 74, 77, 202, 207, 285, 291, 297; HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, page 332; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 303, 305, 316; 16th Congress 1st session, page 150. Another proposition was contained in the Meigs resolution presented to the House, Feb. 5, 1820, which proposed to devote the public lands to the suppression of the slave-trade. This was ruled out of order. It was presented again and laid on the table in 1821: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227; 16th Congress 2d session, page 238.




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**WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:  
IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**

June: The Vice-Admiralty Court of Her Majesty’s Government on [St. Helena](#) for the trial of ship’s crews accused of engaging in slave trading along the west coast of Africa heard its initial case. Large numbers of *negrero* ships would be captured and brought to the court during the following decade. The ships would be sold or broken up while their human cargoes were being fed, clothed, and retained at the Liberated African Depot in Ruperts Valley. Most of the blacks who recovered would be given free passage to the West Indies or British Guiana as indentured labourers, although some would elect to remain as servants or at various public works. This work of liberating slaves would bring needed money and employment to the impoverished island, but it would produce also the scourge of the “White Ant.” These termites would come ashore among the timbers of a slave ship from Brazil that was broken up and its recovered materials stored in Jamestown. Their appetite not only for timbers but also for furniture, books, and papers would prove so insatiable that over the following several decades the rebuilding of properties in the town would be a considerable expense.

### **GEOLOGY, FAUNA, FLORA ...**

 A *negrero* flying the Portuguese flag, the *Experiencia*, master M. Antonio, on its second of two known Middle Passages, Benguela with a cargo of 387 *enslaved* Africans, arrived at a port in Brazil.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag, the *Feliza*, master Sanchez, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Puerto Rico.

A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Constancia*, master Ponasco, on one of its four known



CUBA

CUBA

Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at Puerto Rico.

A slaver flying the US flag, the *Crawford*, master M. Brown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Gallinas, sailing during April 1840, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

A slaver flying the US flag, the *Caballero*, master Huffington, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Corisco, sailing during April 1840, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#).

A slaver flying the US flag, the *Hudson*, master Clift, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Cabinda, sailing during April 1840, arrived at a port of [Cuba](#) (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress, 2d session V, Number 115, pages 65-6).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



August: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Bellona*, master J.F. Souza, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola sailing during June 1840 with a cargo of 374 enslaved Africans, arriving at Campos, Brazil. Another slaver flying that flag, the *Graciosa Vengativa*, master J. Pereira, on one of its six known Middle Passage voyages, out of Sao Tome, arrived at Bahia, Brazil. A slaver flying the US flag, the *Theophilus Chasa*, master Coffin, on its one and only known Middle Passage, having sailed out of Gallinas during June 1840, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



CUBA

CUBA

September: [David Ruggles](#) helped organize a national convention of black men, meeting in New Haven, Connecticut, which assembly was being resisted by white abolitionists as racially “exclusive in character.” Meanwhile, his health had declined and he was becoming virtually blind. (Could this health impairment be attributed to the beating he had sustained in 1838 at the hands of proslavery whites?)



A [negrero](#) flying the US flag, the *Dido*, master Strand, on the second of its two known Middle Passage voyages, having sailed out of Principe during July 1840 with a cargo somewhat racially “exclusive in character,” arrived in [Cuban](#) waters. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Andorinha*, master unknown, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of Angola with an [enslaved](#) cargo of 650 souls (this cargo being somewhat racially “exclusive in character”), arrived at the port of Alto Moirao. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aguia*, master R.A. Lima, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of Sao Tome with a cargo somewhat racially “exclusive in character,” arrived at the port of Maranhao, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



November: A [negrero](#) flying the US flag, the *Pilgrim*, master J. Hayley, on the second of its two known Middle Passage voyages, sailing out of Cabinda during October 1840, arrived at Rio in Brazil. A [slave](#) ship flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aquila*, master unknown, on the second of its two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived in [Cuban](#) waters.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



CUBA

CUBA

1841

January 4, Monday: Kale of the [La Amistad](#), to [John Quincy Adams](#):<sup>153</sup>

*I want to write a letter to you because you love Mendi people, and you talk to the grand court. We want to tell you one thing. Jose Ruiz [one of the white survivors on the ship] say we born in [Havana](#), he tell lie. We stay in Havana 10 days and 10 nights. We stay no more. We all born in Mendi – we no understand the Spanish language. Mendi people been in America 17 moons. We talk American language a little, not very good. We write every day; we write plenty letters. We read most all time. We read all Matthew, and Mark, and Luke, and John, and plenty of little books. We love books very much. We want you to ask the Court what we have done wrong. What for Americans keep us in prison. Some people say Mendi people crazy, Mendi people dolt, because we no talk American language. American people no talk Mendi language. American people crazy dolts? They tell bad things about Mendi people and we no understand. Some men say Mendi people very happy because they laugh and have plenty to eat. Mr. Pendelton [the jailer] come and Mendi people all look sorry because they think about Mendiland and friends we no see now. Mr. Pendelton say we feel anger and white men afraid of us. Then we no look sorry again. That's why we laugh. But Mendi people feel bad. O, we can't tell how bad. Some people say, Mendi people no have souls. Why we feel bad, we no have no souls? We want to be free very much.*

*Dear friend Mr. Adams, you have children, you have friends, you love them, you feel very sorry if Mendi people come and take all to Africa. We feel bad for our friends, and our friends all feel bad for us. Americans not take us in ship. We were on shore and Americans tell us slave ship catch us. They say we make you free. If they make us free they tell truth, if they not make us free they tell lie. If America give us free we glad, if they no give us free we sorry – we sorry for Mendi people little, we sorry for America people great deal because God punish liars. We want you to tell court that Mendi people no want to go back to Havana, we no want to be killed. Dear friend, we want you to know how we feel. Mendi people think, think, think. Nobody know. Teacher, he know, we tell him some. Mendi people have got souls. We think we know God punish us if we tell lie. We never tell lie; we speak the truth, What for Mendi people afraid? Because they have got souls. Cook say he kill, he eat Mendi people –we afraid– we kill cook. Then captain kill one man with knife, and cut Mendi people plenty. We never kill captain if he no kill us. If Court ask who bring Mendi people to America, we bring ourselves. Ceci hold the rudder. All we want is make us free, not send us to Havana. Send us home. Give us Missionary. We tell Mendi people Americans spoke truth. We give them good tidings. We tell them there is one god. You must worship him. Make us free and we will bless you and all Mendi people will bless you, Dear friend Mr. Adams.*

153. "All we want is make us free." In Simon Baldwin. "The Captives of the Amistad." Reprinted in Papers of the New Haven-Colony Historical Society. Vol. IV. 1888. 354-55



## CUBA

## CUBA

March: During January, three slavers flying the Portuguese flag had arrived in [Cuban](#) waters, bearing cargos of black ancestors: the [negrero](#) *Montecu*, master unknown, completing its one and only known Middle Passage with a presently unknown number of [enslaved](#) ancestors; the *Jacinto*, master unknown, completing one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 377 enslaved ancestors; the *Estrella*, master unknown, completing its one and only known Middle Passage, with a cargo of 311 enslaved ancestors.

### THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



In this month a [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Corina*, master F. Galindez, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 190 [enslaved](#) Africans into the [barracoon](#) at Juraga, [Cuba](#). Another slaver, one flying the Portuguese flag, the *Graciosa Vengativa*, master J. Manuel, on one of its six known Middle Passage voyages, out of Principe with a cargo of 61 enslaved Africans, arrived at Bahia,



Brazil.



Late in the month, Antonio (the slave of the Spaniards aboard *La Amistad*, who as an undoubted slave whose ownership papers were in good order had been ordered returned to his white owners and to Cuba), consulted with Lewis Tappan in New Haven:

I advised him to leave & go where he pleased.

Antonio soon appeared at the Tappan home, and the businessman activist had already contacted the Underground Railroad's "Committee of Vigilance" on his behalf.<sup>154</sup>

Here is the list of people now believed to have been active in the [Underground Railroad](#) in the state of [New York](#), by county of residence:



154. The score for such businessman activists during this month was, it would seem, -250.



CUBA

CUBA

Albany County:  
Chaplin, General William L.  
Delavan, E.C.  
Goodwin  
Jackson, Dr. J.C.  
Mott, Abigail  
Mott, Lydia  
Myers, Stephen  
Williams

Allegany County:  
Case, Deacon

Cattaraugus County:  
Chapman, Captain  
Cooper, William  
Welles

Chautauqua County:  
Andrew  
Cranston  
Frink, Reverend  
Knowlton  
Little, John  
Pettit, Dr. J.  
Pettit, Eber M.

Chemung County:  
Jones, John W.  
Langdon, Jervis

Chenango County:  
Berry, Colonel

Eric County:  
Aldrich  
Barker, Gideon  
Haywood, Honorable William  
Johnson, Geo. W.  
Moore, Deacon Henry  
Williams

Genesee County:  
Brewster, Judge  
Comstock, Deacon  
Huffelen, E.  
McDonald, Daniel

Livingston County:  
Sleeper, Colonel Reuben

Madison County:  
Jarvis, Dr.  
Smith, Honorable Gerrit

Monroe County:  
Anthony, Asa  
Anthony, Daniel  
Anthony, Mary  
Avery, George A.  
Bishop, W.G.  
Bloss, William C.  
Boatwick, Nelson  
Carpenter  
Croffts, Mrs.  
Degarmo  
Dolley, Dr.  
Douglass, Frederick  
Doy, Dr. John  
Falls, William S.





CUBA

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Fish, Benjamin  
Fish, Mrs. Sarah  
Gibbs, Isaac  
Gilbert, Grove S.  
Hallowell, Mary  
Hallowell, William  
Humphry, George H.  
Husbands, J.D.  
James, Thomas  
Kedzie, John  
Marsh, Joseph  
Moore, Lindley Murray  
Morris, J.P.  
Porter, Samuel D.  
Post, Amy  
Post, Isaac  
Quinby, Henry  
Sampson, A.S.  
Sherman, Dr.  
Thayer, George  
Williams, Captain  
Williams, E.C.

New-York:

Briggs  
Downing, George T.  
Gibbs  
Hopper, Isaac T.  
Johnson, Oliver  
Pennington, Ray  
Reverend Charles B. ?  
Ruggles, David  
Smith, Dr. McCune

Niagara County:

Binmore, Thomas  
Childs, W.H.  
Richardson, M.C  
Spauling, Lyman

Oneida County:

Stewart, Alvan

Onondaga County:

Barbour  
Bates, Abaer  
Carson  
Lee, Reverend Luther  
Logoen, Reverend J.W.  
May, Reverend Samuel J.  
Minor, Reverend Ovid  
Wheaton, Charles

Oswego County:

Bragdon, George L.  
Fox, Edward  
French  
Jackson, James C.  
Salmon, George  
Salmon, William Lyman  
Stevens, Ard. H.  
Wing, Asa S.

Rensselaer County:

Hooper, John H.  
Shipherd, Reverend Fayette

Steuben County:

Balcom, Judge  
Thacher, Judge Otis

Ulster County:

Chase  
Colby, Colonel

Wyoming County:

Andrews, Josiah  
Breck, Allen Y.  
Chapin, Willard J.  
Frank, Dr. Augustus  
Galusha, Reverend Ellin  
Gates, Seth M.  
Lyman, R. W.  
McKay, F. C. D.  
Miller, Frank  
Poenix, Samuel F.  
Shepard, Colonel Charles O.  
Waldo, H.N.  
Young, Andrew W.

Late in the month: Antonio (the slave of the Spaniards aboard *La Amistad*, who as an undoubted slave whose ownership papers were in good order had been ordered returned to his white owners and to [Cuba](#)), having succeeded in making contact with the Underground Railroad, was, God bless him, by this date living and working in freedom in Montréal, [Canada](#).

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD



"The capacity to get free is nothing; the capacity to be free, that is the task."

— André Gide, *THE IMMORALIST*  
translation Richard Howard

NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, page 7



April 27. It is only by a sort of voluntary blindness, and omitting to see, that we know ourselves, as when we see stars with the side of the eye. The nearest approach to discovering what we are is in dreams. It is as hard to see one's self as to look backwards without turning round. And foolish are they that look in glasses with that intent.

The porters have a hard time, but not so hard as he that carries his own shoulders. That beats the Smyrna Turks. Some men's broad shoulders are load enough. Even a light frame can stand under a great burden, if it does not have to support itself. Virtue is buoyant and elastic; it stands without effort and does not feel gravity; but sin plods and shuffles. Newton needed not to wait for an apple to fall to discover the attraction of gravitation; it was implied in the fall of man.

May: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aguila*, master unknown, on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 450 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Cabanas, [Cuba](#).



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

July: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aurelia*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, sailing from Bissau with a cargo of 220 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Santiago de [Cuba](#).

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

# CUBA

# CUBA

September: Secretary of State [Daniel Webster](#) told the Spanish ambassador finally, that the US government was not intending to pay Spain reparations for the *La Amistad*. The Spanish government would, however, persist, perhaps on the basis of a fear that the case might provide license for slave rebellions on Caribbean islands. There would be “horrible consequences,” if Cuban [slaves](#) could murder slavemasters and flee to the USA. Also, what if England were to intervene and attempt to free all slaves in [Cuba](#) who had been brought there in defiance of international law since 1820? [John Quincy Adams](#) spoke with Secretary of State [Webster](#) and President John Tyler and got the impression that nothing would be done to repair the condition of the Africans of the *Amistad* unless there was some authorization by the US congress. Tyler proposed that the American Colonization Society might be willing to take care of the situation, a suggestion of course found abhorrent by the abolitionists.



October: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Deseada*, master unknown, on its second of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 210 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at Mageri, [Cuba](#).



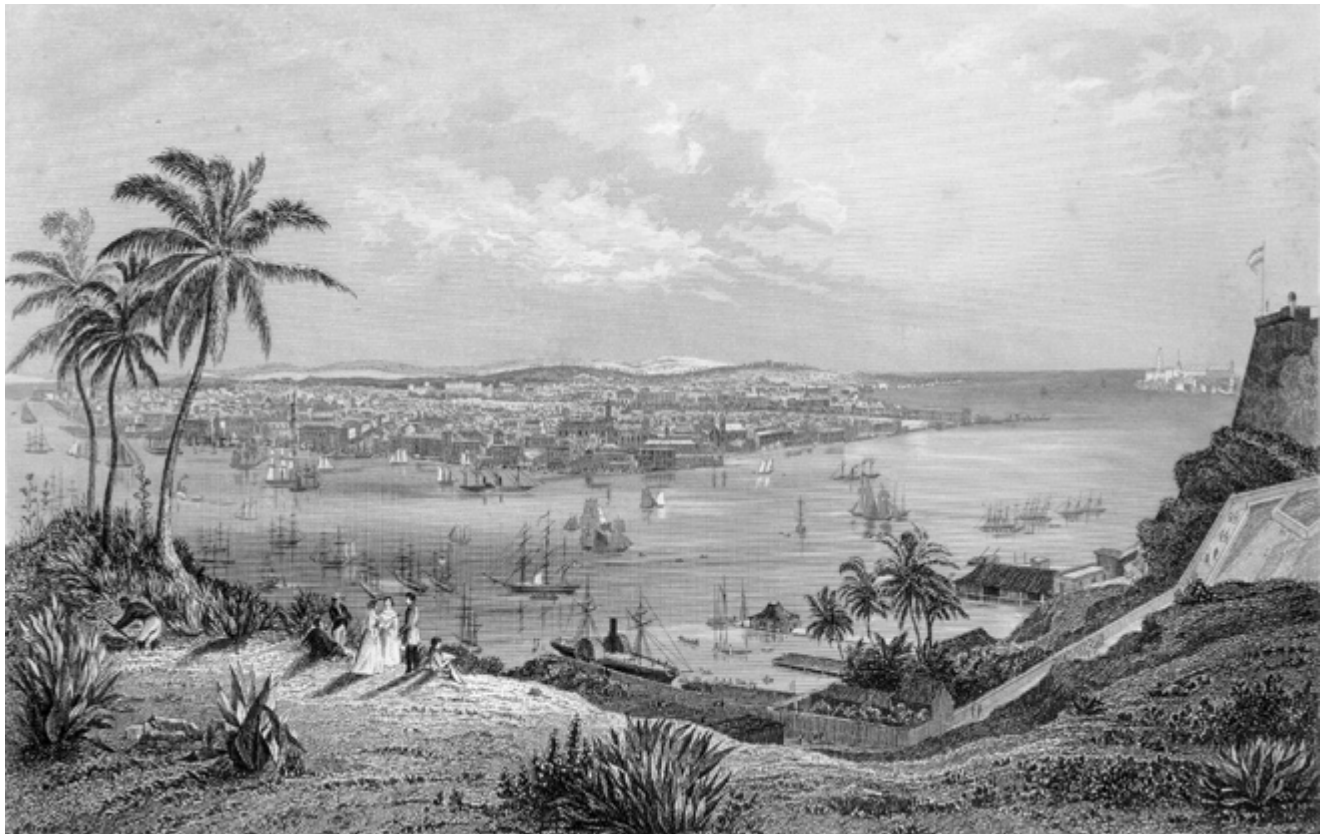
THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

1842

The official Cuban census report was that there were 1,037,624 inhabitants: 448,291 were white, 152,838 were free blacks, and 436,495 were black slaves. During this year the number of American ships visiting Havana doubled. The value of Cuban exports to the US was twice that of its exports to Spain.



March: A negrero flying the Portuguese flag, the *Aurelia Feliz*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 380 enslaved Africans at the port of Havana, Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



CUBA

CUBA

1845

June 14, Saturday: [Frederick Douglass](#) lectured in Georgetown, Massachusetts for the annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society.

[José Antonio de la Caridad Maceo y Grajales](#) was born in Majaguabo, San Luis, in the Oriente Province of [Cuba](#).



From the Alabama Beacon:

Ranaway, on the 15th of May, from me, a negro woman named Fanny. Said woman is twenty years old; is rather tall, can read and write, and so forge passes for herself. Carried away with her a pair of ear-rings, a Bible with a red cover, is very pious. She prays a great deal, and was, as supposed, contented and happy. She is as white as most white women, with straight light hair, and blue eyes, and can pass herself for a white woman. I will give five hundred dollars for her apprehension and delivery to me. She is very intelligent.

SLAVERY

JOHN BALCH.

Tuscaloosa, May, 29, 1845.





CUBA

CUBA

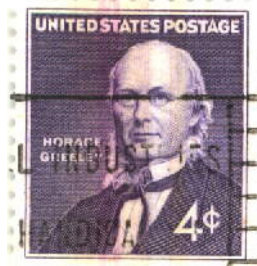
1846

The [Cuban](#) census for 1846 revealed a total population of 896,294.

August 16, Sunday: In the Paris Church of San Giovanni, Bologna, 10 months after the death of his wife Isabella Colbran, Gioachino Rossini got married with his mistress of 15 years Olympe Pélissier.

Generalissimo de Santa Anna arrived in Vera Cruz from [Havana](#) to take control of the [Mexican](#) forces.

[Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [Horace Greeley](#) in [New-York](#).



To: HDT  
From: Horace Greeley  
Date: 8/16/46

*New York, Aug. 16, 1846.  
My dear Thoreau,*

*Believe me when I say that I mean to do the errand you have asked of me[ ]and that soon. But I am not sanguine of success, and have hardly a hope that it will be immediate if ever. I hardly know a week that could publish your article all at once, words and "To be continued" are shunned like a pestilence. But I know you have written a good thing about Carlyle—too solidly good, I fear, to be profitable to yourself or attractive to publishers. Didst thou ever, O my friend! ponder on the significance and cogency of the assurance, "Ye cannot serve God and [Mammon]," as applicable to Literature—applicable, indeed, to all things whatsoever. God grant us grace to endeavor to serve Him rather than Mammon—that ought to suffice us. In my poor judgment, if any thing is calculated to make a scoundrel of an honest man, writing to sell is that very particular thing.  
Yours heartily,*



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

*Horace Greeley.*  
[Remind] *Ralph Waldo Emerson and wife of my  
existence and grateful remembrance.*

1847

US ocean mail service was begun between [New-York](#) and [Havana](#) and Aspinwell, New Grenada (today's Colon, Panama). The contract called for the 2,000-mile trip to be made 24 times a year.

51,887 tons of pond [ice](#) were shipped in this year out of [Boston](#) harbor bound for various coastal cities between Philadelphia and Galveston, Texas. In addition, 22,591 tons was shipped to foreign ports in [Cuba](#), the West Indies, South America, England, [Hong Kong](#), and Calcutta. Generally speaking, not much ice went to London, because Norway ice was so much cheaper, and, after 1831, almost no [Boston](#) ice was being delivered to [New-York](#) because its ice was brought down the Hudson River from Rockland Lake.

CHINA  
COOLNESS

January: Moses Beach and John O'Sullivan, United States citizens, met in [Havana](#) as advocates of the manifest destiny of our nation to rule the known universe, with members of a group of [Cubans](#) who were seeking annexation of their island by the United States of America, a group of wealthy men known as "Club de la Habana."





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1848**

June 9, Friday: President [James Knox Polk](#) offered Spain \$100,000,000 for the island of [Cuba](#).

August 15, Tuesday: Things get so frustrating! In Madrid, United States Minister Saunders was officially informed by Spain's minister of foreign affairs Pedro J. Pidal that Spain would decline to sell us the island of [Cuba](#).



CUBA

CUBA

1849

Whites in [Cuba](#) were enforcing segregation in public places as a means of emphasizing their powers of control. Yucatecan Indians were being imported from Mexico for slave labor. Attempts were being made to recruit white Spaniards to come from Spain and work alongside the black slaves. At the same time, [Chinese](#) contract workers, known as coolies, were being brought from South China in considerable numbers. Their eight-year labor contracts were not indentures, in that their masters were not obligated to teach them any trade or provide them with work tools at the completion of the contract. The contracts, interestingly, did not offer them return transportation to China — upon completion of work they would need to find their own way back around the globe.

September/October: The first [filibustering](#) expedition by Narciso López, invading [Cuba](#), ended after a couple of months in failure.





CUBA

CUBA

1850

SWEETS  
WITHOUT  
SLAVERY

The price of cane sugar had fallen by about 30% in the 1840s, and consumption of sugar was 40 times higher per capita than it had been in 1700, a century and a half before. Between 1832 and 1854, for instance, it was estimated that the consumption of [cane sugar](#) by Brits rose by 5 pounds per person/year, so that it was hovering at around 50 pounds per person/year. For instance, it had become conventional for ladies to grant to their servants from 3/4ths of a pound to a pound per week for their own use. By this year, however, approximately 15% of our US sugar consumption was beet sugar.

April 25, Thursday: THE TRADITIONAL HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES OF THE OJIBWAY NATION BY [G. COPWAY](#), OR, KAH-GE-GA-GAH-BOWH, CHIEF OF THE OJIBWAY NATION. ILLUSTRATED BY DARLY (Boston: Sanborn, Carter, Bazin & Co., 25 & 29 Cornhill.

Invitations to Indians to come and worship in the spring are made in the following form :—



The whole story would thus read :—

“Hark to the words of the Sa-ge-mah.”

“The Great Medicine Lodge will be ready in eight days,”

“Ye who live in the woods and near the Lakes and by streams of water, come with your canoes or by land to the worship of the Great Spirit.”

In the above, the wigwam and the medicine pale or worship, represent the depositories of medicine, record and work. The Lodge is represented with men in it; the dots above indicate the number of days.

These picture representations were used by the Ojibways until the introduction of European manners among them. When this occurred, they neglected in a great degree their correspondence with other nations, except by special messengers, and became very cautious in giving information respecting their religious worship to the whites, because they, the whites, ridiculed it.

**CHIEF KAH-GE-GA-GAH-BOWH**

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

## CUBA

## CUBA

Narciso López had as a Cuban official planned a revolution against Spain, but in 1848 he had fled to the United States when this was discovered. He had obtained American aid and had already planned one such filibustering expedition to [Cuba](#) in 1848 which had not succeeded.



At this point the steamer *Georgiana*, with about 200 Kentucky [filibusters](#) on board, left new Orleans for Chagres, Panama as part of his new expedition against Cárdenas intending to seize the island of [Cuba](#) from Spain. (This expedition also would fail. In 1851 a 3rd such expedition would gain a foothold on the island, but would be defeated with López himself being captured and, it goes without saying, executed.)

May 2, Thursday: The steamer *Susan Loud*, with 150 more Louisianan [filibusters](#), followed the *Georgiana*.



CUBA

CUBA

May 7, Tuesday: The steamer *Creole*, with Narciso López and about 650 men, left New Orleans, ostensibly headed for [California](#) by way of Chagres.<sup>155</sup>

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), who was a frequenter of a saloon-restaurant known as “Parker’s” in downtown Boston, there made an observation which he entered into his journal, which he would find useful in constructing “Old Moodie,” one of the characters in his *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE*:

Walking the side-walk, in front of this grog shop of Parkers, (or, sometimes, in cold or rainy days, taking his station inside) there is generally to be observed an elderly ragamuffin, in a dingy and battered hat, an old surtout, and a more than shabby general aspect; a thin face and red-nose, a patch over one eye, and the other half-drowned in moisture; he leans in a slightly stooped posture on a stick, forlorn and silent, addressing nobody, but fixing his one moist eye on you with a certain intentness. He is a man who has been in decent circumstances at some former period of life, but, falling into decay, (perhaps by dint of too frequent visits at Parker’s bar) he now haunts about the place, (as a ghost haunts the spot where he was murdered) to “collect his rents,” as Parker says – that is, to catch an occasional ninepence from some charitable acquaintance, or a glass of liquor at the bar. The word “ragamuffin,” which I have used above, does not accurately express the man; because there is a sort of shadow or delusion of respectability about him; and a sobriety, too, and kind of decency, in his groggy and red-nosed destitution.

155. By going to Chagres, López was expecting to evade the Neutrality law of 1818, which had interdicted military expeditions against powers at peace with the United States of America from being launched from the actual soil of the United States of America.



CUBA

CUBA

One is left, by the general tone of the above, with an estimate that [Nathaniel](#) would not himself have been among the “charitable acquaintances” paying an occasional ninepence rent to such a person — but let us hope at the very least that he was not in the habit of fending off his character with an umbrella.

### Old Moodie

THE evening before my departure for Blithedale, I was returning to my bachelor-apartments, after attending the wonderful exhibition of the Veiled Lady, when an elderly-man of rather shabby appearance met me in an obscure part of the street...

“Mr. Coverdale! — Mr. Coverdale!” said he, repeating my name twice, in order to make up for the hesitating and ineffectual way in which he uttered it — “I ask your pardon, sir — but I hear you are going to Blithedale tomorrow?”

I knew the pale, elderly face, with the red-tipt nose, and the patch over one eye, and likewise saw something characteristic in the old fellow’s way of standing under the arch of a gate, only revealing enough of himself to make me recognize him as an acquaintance. He was a very shy personage, this Mr. Moodie; and the trait was the more singular, as his mode of getting his bread necessarily brought him into the stir and hubbub of the world, more than the generality of men.

“Yes, Mr. Moodie,” I answered, wondering what interest he could take in the fact, “it is my intention to go to Blithedale tomorrow. Can I be of any service to you, before my departure?”

“If you pleased, Mr. Coverdale,” said he, “you might do me a very great favor.”

May 19, Sunday: The 2d [filibustering](#) expedition of Narciso López, consisting of five authentic [Cubans](#) plus numerous US adventurers from Southern states, briefly took control of Cárdenas, but a skirmish with Spanish forces forced them back to sea.

August 10, Sunday: An issue of [Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal](#):

**CHAMBERS’ EDINBURGH JOURNAL**

**ISSUE OF AUGUST 10**

L. Mossi, Sardinian Minister in Washington, reported to Massimo D’Azeglio, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Turin. He discussed the new US Cabinet, slavery, [Cuba](#) and [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#)’s reception in [New-York](#).

October 10, Thursday: [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) wrote to his friend Specchi in [Havana](#), describing his life on [Staten Island](#).





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

Winter: [Brownson's Quarterly Review](#), No. 4

**CATHOLICISM**

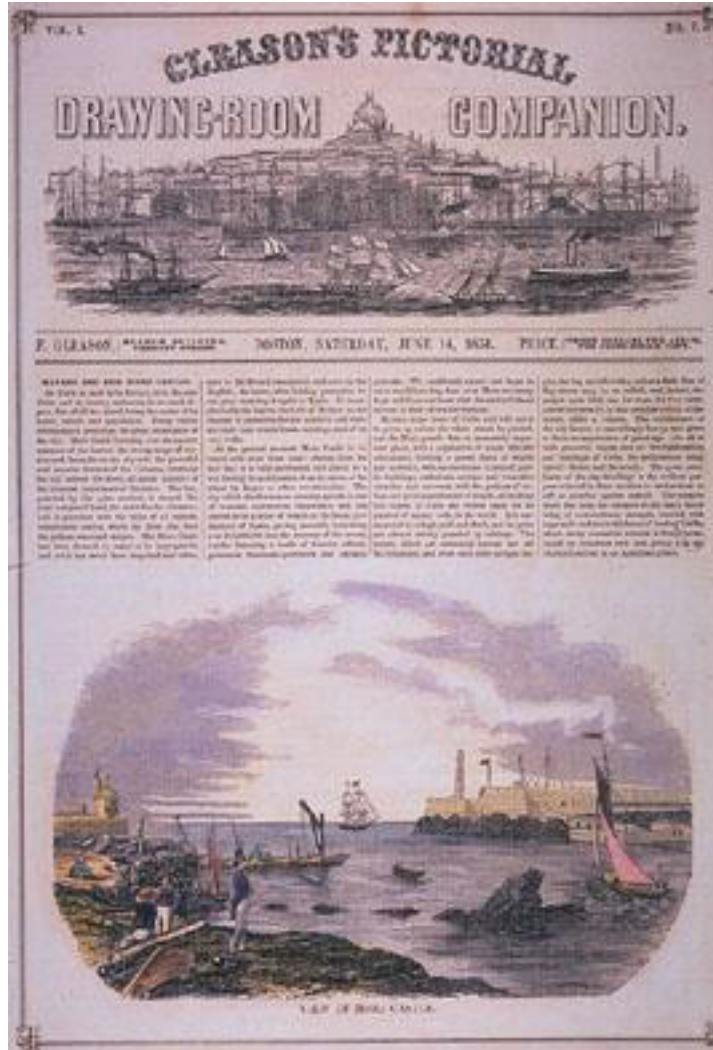
- I. *Vincenzo Gioberti*
- II. *The Confessional*
- III. *Dana's Poems and Prose Writings*
- IV. *The Cuban Expedition*
- V. *Conversations of an Old Man*
- VI. *Literary Notices and Criticisms*

**MAGAZINES**

**ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON**

1851

June 14, Saturday: [Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion](#) published a nicely colorized picture of Morro Castle in the harbor of [Havana, Cuba](#):



CONSULT THE WIKIPEDIA

[John James Babson](#) got married a second time, with Lydia Ann Mason, daughter of Alpheus Mason. The couple would produce a son, [John James Babson](#).



June 14, Saturday: Full moon last night. Set out on a walk to Conantum at 7 pm. A serene evening – the sun going down behind clouds, a few white or slightly shaded piles of clouds floating in the eastern sky – but a broad clear mellow cope left for the moon to rise into– An evening for poets to describe. Met a man driving home his cow from pasture and stopping to chat with his neighbor.– Then a boy who had set down his pail in the road to stone a bird most perseveringly –whom I heard afterward behind me telling his pail to be quiet in a tone of assumed anger because it squeaked under his arm.– As I proceed along the back Road I hear the lark still singing in the meadow. &the bobolink –& the Goldrobin on the elms & the swallows twittering about the barns. A small bird chasing a crow high in the air who is going home at night All nature is in an expectant attitude– Before Goodwin’s House –at the opening of the Sudbury Road The swallows are diving at a tortoise



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shell cat who curvets & frisks rather awkwardly as if she did not know whether to be scared or not— And now having proceeded a little way down this Road, the sun having buried himself in the low cloud in the west and hung out his crimson curtains How quietly we entertain the possibility of joy —of —re creation, of light into our souls —we should be more excited at the pulling of a tooth.

I hear while sitting by the wall the sound of the stake driver<sup>156</sup> at a distance —like that made by a man pumping in a neighboring farm yard —watering his cattle —or like chopping wood before his door on a frosty morning — & I can imagine him driving a stake in a meadow— The pumper— I immediately went in search of the bird —but after going  $\frac{1}{3}$  a mile it did not sound much nearer —and the two parts of the sound did not appear to proceed from the same place— What is the peculiarity of these sounds which penetrates so far on the keynote of nature. At last I got near to the brook in the meadow behind Hubbard's wood, but I could not tell if were further or nearer than that— When I got within half a dozen rods of the brook it ceased —and I heard it no more— I suppose that I scared it. As before I was further off than I thought —so now I was nearer than I thought. It is not easy to understand how so small a creature can make so loud a sound by merely sucking in or throwing out water —with pump-like lungs— As yet no moon but downy piles of cloud scattered here and there in the expectant sky. Saw a blue flag blossom in the meadow while waiting for the stake driver.

It was a sound as of gulping water.

Where my path crosses the brook in the meadow there is a singularly sweet scent in the heavy air bathing the brakes where the brakes grow— The fragrance of the earth —as if the dew were a distillation of the fragrant essences of nature. When I reach the road The farmer going home from town invites me to ride in his high-set wagon —not thinking why I walk —nor can I shortly explain— He remarks on the coolness of the weather. The angelica is budded a handsome luxuriant plant. And now my senses are captivated again by a sweet fragrance as I enter the embowered willow causeway —and I know not if it be from a particular plant or all together— Sweet-scented vernal grass —or sweet briar— Now the sun is fairly gone —& I hear the dreaming frog & the whipporwill [*Caprimulgus vociferus*] from some darker wood. It is not far from 8. & the cuckoo. The song-sparrows sing quite briskly among the willows —as if it were spring again —& the blackbirds harsher note resounds over the meadow, and the veery's comes up from the wood. Fishes are dimpling the surface of the river —seizing the insects which alight —a solitary fisherman in his boat inhabits the scene. As I rise the hill beyond the bridge, I found myself in a cool fragrant dewey up country mountain morning air —a new region— (When I had issued from the willows onto the bridge it was like coming out of night into twilight the river reflected so much light) The moon was now seen rising over fair haven & at the same time reflected in the river —pale & white like a silvery cloud —barred with a cloud not promising how it will shine anon Now I meet an acquaintance coming from a remote field in his hay-rigging with a jag of wood —who reins up to show me how large a wood chuck he has killed, which he found eating his clover. But now he must drive on, for behind comes a boy taking up the whole road with a huge roller drawn by a horse —which goes lumbering & bouncing along —getting out of the way of night, and making such a noise as if it had the contents of a tinker shop in its bowels —& rolls the whole road like a newly sown grain field.

In conants orchard I hear the faint cricket-like song of a sparrow —saying its vespers —as if it were a link between the cricket & the bird— The robin sings now though the moon shines silverly —and the veery jingles its trille I hear the fresh & refreshing sound of falling water —as I have heard it in new Hampshire— It is a sound we do not commonly hear.

I see that the white weed is in blossom which as I had not walked by day for some time I had not seen before. How moderate —deliberate is nature —how gradually the shades of night gather & deepen giving man ample leisure to bid farewell to day —conclude his day's affairs & prepare for slumber.— The twilight seems out of proportion to the length of the day— Perchance it saves our eyes. Now for some hours the farmers have been getting home.

Since the alarm about mad dogs a couple of years ago —there are comparatively few left to bark at the traveller & bay the moon.

All nature is abandoned to me.

You feel yourself your body your legs more at night —for there is less beside to be distinctly known —& hence perhaps you think yourself more tired than you are.— I see indistinctly oxen asleep in the fields —silent in majestic slumber —like the sphinx —statuesque Egyptian reclining. What solid rest —how their heads are supported! A sparrow or a cricket makes more noise. From conants summit I hear as many as 15 whipporwills —or whip-or-I-will's at once —the succeeding cluck —sounding strangely foreign like a hewer at work elsewhere. The moon is accumulating yellow light & triumphing over the clouds —but still the west is suffused here & there with a slight red tinge —marking the path of the day. Though inexperienced ones might call it night, it is not yet—

Dark heavy clouds lie along the western horizon exhibiting the forms of animals and men —while the moon is behind a cloud. Why do we detect these forms so readily —? Whales or giants reclining busts of heroes —Michael Angelic. There is the gallery of statuary the picture gallery of man —not a board upon an Italian's head but these dark figures along the horizon. The board some Titan carries on his head— What firm & heavy outlines for such soft & light material!

How sweet & encouraging it is to hear the sound of some artificial music from the midst of woods or from the top of a hill at night —borne on the breeze from some distant farm house —the human voice or a flute— That is a civilization one can endure —worth having— I could go about the world listening for the strains of music. Men

156.The “stake driver” is the American Bittern *Botaurus lentiginosus*].

use this gift but sparingly methinks. What should we think of a bird which had the gift of song but sang but used it only once in a dozen years! like the tree which blossoms only once in a century. Now the daw bug comes humming by the first I have heard this year. In 3 month It will be the harvest moon –I cannot easily believe it. Why not call this the Traveller’s Moon? It would be as true to call the last (the May) the Planter’s moon as it is to call Septembers the Harvest moon– For the farmers use one about as little as the other. Perhaps this is the Whippoorwill’s Moon. The bull-frog now which I have not heard before this evening –it is nearly 9– They are much less common & their note more intermittent than that of the dreamers.

I scared up a bird on a *low* bush –perchance on its nest– It is rare that you you start them at night from such places.

Peabody says that the Night Hawk retires to rest about the time the whipporwill begins its song– The whipporwill begins now at 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> I hear the Night Hawk after 9 o’clock. He says it flies low in the evening – but it also flies high as it must needs do to make the booming sound.

I hear the lowing of cows occasionally –& the barking of dogs. The Pond by moonlight which may make the object in a walk, suggests little to be said– Where there was only one firefly in a dozen rods –I hastily ran to one –which had crawled up to the top of a grass head & exhibited its light –& Instantly another sailed in to it showing its light also –but my presence made them extinguish their lights –the latter retreated & the former – crawled slowly down the stem. It appeared to me That the first was a female who thus revealed her place to the male who was also making known his neighborhood as he hovered about –both showing their lights that they might come together It was like a mistress who had climbed to the turrets of her castle & exhibited there a blazing taper for a signal –while her lover had displayed his light on the plain. If perchance she might have any lovers abroad.

Not much before 10 o’clock does the moonlight night begin. When man is asleep & day fairly forgotten –then is the beauty of moon light seen over lonely pastures –where cattle are silently feeding. Then let me walk in a diversified country –of hill and dale with heavy woods one side –& copses & scattered trees & bushes enough –to give me shadows– Returning a mist is on the river. The river is taken into the womb of nature again.

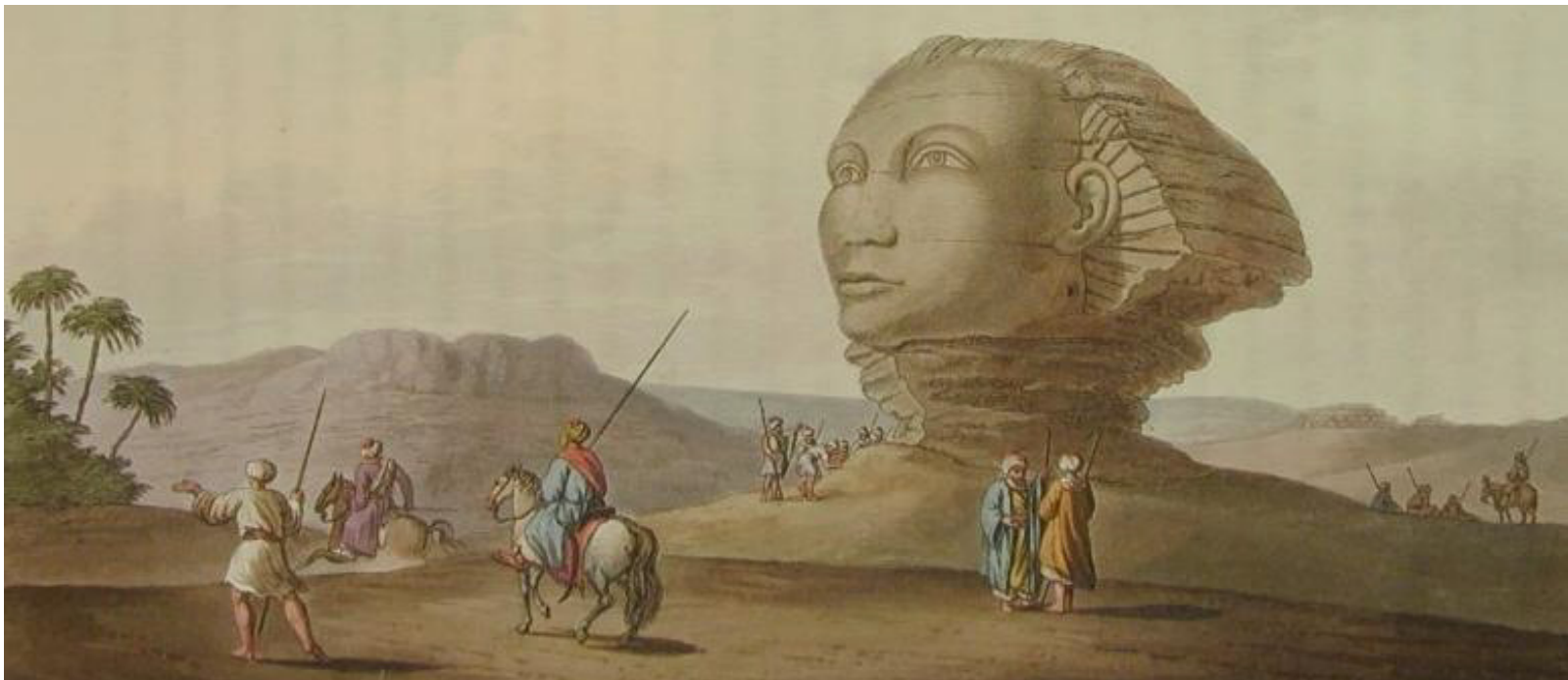
Now is the clover month –but haying is not yet begun.

Evening

Went to Nawshawtuct by North branch –overtaken by a slight shower The same increased fragrance from the ground sweet fern &c as in the night –& for the like reason probably.

The houstonias still blossom freshly as I believe they continue to do all summer –. The Fever root in blossom –pictured in B’s Med. Bot. *Triosteum perfoliatum* near the top of Hill under the wall looks somewhat like a milkweed. The *viburnum dentatum* very regularly toothed just ready to blossom sometimes called arrow wood. Nature seems not have designed that man should be much abroad by night and in the moon proportioned the light fitly. By the faintness & rareness of the light compared with that of the sun she expresses her intention with regard to him

**BIGELOW**





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Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 47th birthday.



[Henry Thoreau](#) made no entry in his journal.

[Charles Theodore Russell](#)'s AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1851 (Boston: J.H. Eastburn, City Printer).

### ORATION OF 4TH OF JULY

In Trappe, Pennsylvania, a monument to the memory of the late governor, Francis R. Shunk, was unveiled, with George W. Woodward delivering the address.

In Greenville, South Carolina, an anti-secession event succeeded in attracting 4,000 persons.

[Cuba](#) declared its independence from Spain.

In [Washington DC](#), President Millard Fillmore assisted in the laying of the “cornerstone of the new Capitol edifice” and [Daniel Webster](#) delivered what would prove to be his final 4th of July oration.<sup>157</sup>

### CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Fellow-Citizens,—I greet you well; I give you joy, on the return of this anniversary; and I felicitate you, also, on the more particular purpose of which this ever-memorable day has been chosen to witness the fulfilment. Hail! all hail! I see before and around me a mass of faces, glowing with cheerfulness and patriotic pride. I see thousands of eyes turned towards other eyes, all sparkling with gratification and delight. This is the New World! This is America! This is Washington! and this the Capitol of the United States! And where else, among the nations, can the seat of government be surrounded, on any day of any year, by those who have more reason to rejoice in the blessings which they possess? Nowhere, fellow-citizens! assuredly, nowhere! Let us, then, meet this rising sun with joy and thanksgiving! This is that day of the year which announced to mankind the great fact of American Independence. This fresh and brilliant morning blesses our vision with another beholding of the birthday of our nation; and we see that nation, of recent origin, now among the most considerable and powerful, and spreading over the continent from sea to sea.

157. The printed version of this oration would begin with:

“Stet Capitolium  
Fulgens;  
late nomen in ultimas  
Extendat oras.”





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Among the first colonists from Europe to this part of America, there were some, doubtless, who contemplated the distant consequences of their undertaking, and who saw a great futurity. But, in general, their hopes were limited to the enjoyment of a safe asylum from tyranny, religious and civil, and to respectable subsistence, by industry and toil. A thick veil hid our times from their view. But the progress of America, however slow, could not but at length awaken genius, and attract the attention of mankind.

In the early part of the second century of our history, Bishop Berkeley, who, it will be remembered, had resided for some time in Newport, in Rhode Island, wrote his well-known "Verses on the Prospect of Planting ARTS and LEARNING in AMERICA." The last stanza of this little poem seems to have been produced by a high poetical inspiration:-

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;  
The four first acts already past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:  
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

This extraordinary prophecy may be considered only as the result of long foresight and uncommon sagacity; of a foresight and sagacity stimulated, nevertheless, by excited feeling and high enthusiasm. So clear a vision of what America would become was not founded on square miles, or on existing numbers, or on any common laws of statistics. It was an intuitive glance into futurity; it was a grand conception, strong, ardent, glowing, embracing all time since the creation of the world, and all regions of which that world is composed, and judging of the future by just analogy with the past. And the inimitable imagery and beauty with which the thought is expressed, joined to the conception itself, render it one of the most striking passages in our language.

On the day of the [Declaration of Independence](#) our illustrious fathers performed the first scene in the last great act of this drama; one in real importance infinitely exceeding that for which the great English poet invokes

"A muse of fire, ...  
A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,  
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!"

The Muse inspiring our fathers was the Genius of Liberty, all on fire with a sense of oppression, and a resolution to throw it off; the whole world was the stage, and higher characters than princes trod it; and, instead of monarchs, countries and nations and the age beheld the swelling scene. How well the characters were cast, and how well each acted his part, and what emotions the whole performance excited, let history, now and hereafter, tell.

At a subsequent period, but before the [Declaration of Independence](#), the Bishop of St. Asaph published a discourse, in which the following remarkable passages are found:-

"It is difficult for man to look into the destiny of future ages; the designs of Providence are vast and complicated, and our own powers are too narrow to admit of much satisfaction to our curiosity. But when we see many great and powerful causes constantly at work, we cannot doubt of their producing proportionable effects.



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"The colonies in North America have not only taken root and acquired strength, **but seem hastening with an accelerated progress to such a powerful state as may introduce a new and important change in human affairs.**

"Descended from ancestors of the most improved and enlightened part of the Old World, they receive, as it were by inheritance, all the improvements and discoveries of their mother country. And it happens fortunately for them to commence their flourishing state at a time when the human understanding has attained to the free use of its powers, and has learned to act with vigor and certainty. They may avail themselves, not only of the experience and industry, but even of the errors and mistakes, of former days. Let it be considered for how many ages a great part of the world appears not to have thought at all; how many more they have been busied in forming systems and conjectures, while reason has been lost in a labyrinth of words, and they never seem to have suspected on what frivolous matters their minds were employed.

"And let it be well understood what rapid improvements, what important discoveries, have been made, in a few years, by a few countries, with our own at their head, which have at last discovered the right method of using their faculties.

"May we not reasonably expect that a number of provinces possessed of these advantages and quickened by mutual emulation, with only the common progress of the human mind, should very considerably enlarge the boundaries of science?

"The vast continent itself, over which they are gradually spreading, may be considered as a treasure yet untouched of natural productions that shall hereafter afford ample matter for commerce and contemplation. And if we reflect what a stock of knowledge may be accumulated by the constant progress of industry and observation, fed with fresh supplies from the stores of nature, assisted sometimes by those happy strokes of chance which mock all the powers of invention, and sometimes by those superior characters which arise occasionally to instruct and enlighten the world, it is difficult even to imagine to what height of improvement their discoveries may extend.

**"And perhaps they may make as considerable advances in the arts of civil government and the conduct of life.**

We have reason to be proud, and even jealous, of our excellent constitution; but those equitable principles on which it was formed, an equal representation (the best discovery of political wisdom), and a just and commodious distribution of power, which with us were the price of civil wars, and the rewards of the virtues and sufferings of our ancestors, descend to them as a natural inheritance, without toil or pain.

**"But must they rest here, as in the utmost effort of human genius? Can chance and time, the wisdom and the experience of public men, suggest no new remedy against the evils** which vices and ambition are perpetually apt to cause? May they not hope, without presumption, to



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preserve a greater zeal for piety and public devotion than we have alone? For sure it can hardly happen to them, as it has to us, that, when religion is best understood and rendered most pure and reasonable, then should be the precise time when many cease to believe and practise it, and all in general become most indifferent to it.

"May they not possibly be more successful than their mother country has been in preserving that reverence and authority which are due to the laws? to those who make, and to those who execute them? **May not a method be invented of procuring some tolerable share of the comforts of life to those inferior useful ranks of men to whose industry we are indebted for the whole? Time and discipline may discover some means to correct the extreme inequalities of condition between the rich and the poor, so dangerous to the innocence and happiness of both.** They may fortunately be led by habit and choice to despise that luxury which is considered with us the true enjoyment of wealth. They may have little relish for that ceaseless hurry of amusements which is pursued in this country without pleasure, exercise, or employment. And perhaps, after trying some of our follies and caprices, and rejecting the rest, they may be led by reason and experiment to that old simplicity which was first pointed out by nature, and has produced those models which we still admire in arts, eloquence, and manners. **The diversity of new scenes and situations, which so many growing states must necessarily pass through, may introduce changes in the fluctuating opinions and manners of men which we can form no conception of;** and not only the gracious disposition of Providence, but the visible preparation of causes, seems to indicate strong tendencies towards a general improvement."

Fellow-citizens, this "gracious disposition of Providence," and this "visible preparation of causes," at length brought on the hour for decisive action. On the 4th of July, 1776, the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, declared that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

This Declaration, made by most patriotic and resolute men, trusting in the justice of their cause and the protection of Heaven, and yet made not without deep solicitude and anxiety, has now stood for seventy-five years, and still stands. It was sealed in blood. It has met dangers, and overcome them; it has had enemies, and conquered them; it has had detractors, and abashed them all; it has had doubting friends, but it has cleared all doubts away; and now, to-day, raising its august form higher than the clouds, twenty millions of people contemplate it with hallowed love, and the world beholds it, and the consequences which have followed from it, with profound admiration.

This anniversary animates and gladdens and unites all American hearts. On other days of the year we may be party men, indulging in controversies, more or less important to the public good; we may have likes and dislikes, and we may maintain our political differences, often with warm, and sometimes with angry feelings. But to-day we are Americans all; and all nothing but Americans.



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As the great luminary over our heads, dissipating mists and fogs, now cheers the whole hemisphere, so do the associations connected with this day disperse all cloudy and sullen weather in the minds and hearts of true Americans. Every man's heart swells within him; every man's port and bearing become somewhat more proud and lofty, as he remembers that seventy-five years have rolled away, and that the great inheritance of liberty is still his; his, undiminished and unimpaired; his in all its original glory; his to enjoy, his to protect, and his to transmit to future generations.

Fellow-citizens, this inheritance which we enjoy to-day is not only an inheritance of liberty, but of our own peculiar American liberty. Liberty has existed in other times, in other countries, and in other forms. There has been a Grecian liberty, bold and powerful, full of spirit, eloquence, and fire; a liberty which produced multitudes of great men, and has transmitted one immortal name, the name of Demosthenes, to posterity. But still it was a liberty of disconnected states, sometimes united, indeed, by temporary leagues and confederacies, but often involved in wars between themselves. The sword of Sparta turned its sharpest edge against Athens, enslaved her, and devastated Greece; and, in her turn, Sparta was compelled to bend before the power of Thebes. And let it ever be remembered, especially let the truth sink deep into all American minds, that it was the WANT OF UNION among her several states which finally gave the mastery of all Greece to Philip of Macedon.

And there has also been a Roman liberty, a proud, ambitious, domineering spirit, professing free and popular principles in Rome itself, but, even in the best days of the republic, ready to carry slavery and chains into her provinces, and through every country over which her eagles could be borne. What was the liberty of Spain, or Gaul, or Germany, or Britain, in the days of Rome? Did true constitutional liberty then exist? As the Roman empire declined, her provinces, not instructed in the principles of free popular government, one after another declined also, and when Rome herself fell, in the end, all fell together.

I have said, Gentlemen, that our inheritance is an inheritance of American liberty. That liberty is characteristic, peculiar, and altogether our own. Nothing like it existed in former times, nor was known in the most enlightened states of antiquity; while with us its principles have become interwoven into the minds of individual men, connected with our daily opinions, and our daily habits, until it is, if I may so say, an element of social as well as of political life; and the consequence is, that to whatever region an American citizen carries himself, he takes with him, fully developed in his own understanding and experience, our American principles and opinions, and becomes ready at once, in co-operation with others, to apply them to the formation of new governments. Of this a most wonderful instance may be seen in the history of the State of California.

On a former occasion I ventured to remark, that "it is very difficult to establish a free conservative government for the equal advancement of all the interests of society. What has Germany done, learned Germany, more full of ancient lore than all the world beside? What has Italy done? What have they done who dwell on the spot where Cicero lived? They have not the power of self-government which a common town-meeting, with us,



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possesses.... Yes, I say that those persons who have gone from our town-meetings to dig gold in California are more fit to make a republican government than any body of men in Germany or Italy; because they have learned this one great lesson, that there is no security without law, and that, under the circumstances in which they are placed, where there is no military authority to cut their throats, there is no sovereign will but the will of the majority; that, therefore, if they remain, they must submit to that will." And this I believe to be strictly true.

Now, fellow-citizens, if your patience will hold out, I will venture, before proceeding to the more appropriate and particular duties of the day, to state, in a few words, what I take these American political principles in substance to be. They consist, as I think, in the first place, in the establishment of popular governments, on the basis of representation; for it is plain that a pure democracy, like that which existed in some of the states of Greece, in which every individual had a direct vote in the enactment of all laws, cannot possibly exist in a country of wide extent. This representation is to be made as equal as circumstances will allow. Now, this principle of popular representation, prevailing either in all the branches of government, or in some of them, has existed in these States almost from the days of the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth; borrowed, no doubt, from the example of the popular branch of the British legislature. The representation of the people in the British House of Commons was, however, originally very unequal, and is yet not equal. Indeed, it may be doubted whether the appearance of knights and burgesses, assembling on the summons of the crown, was not intended at first as an assistance and support to the royal prerogative, in matters of revenue and taxation, rather than as a mode of ascertaining popular opinion. Nevertheless, representation had a popular origin, and savored more and more of the character of that origin, as it acquired, by slow degrees, greater and greater strength, in the actual government of the country. The constitution of the House of Commons was certainly a form of representation, however unequal; numbers were counted, and majorities prevailed; and when our ancestors, acting upon this example, introduced more equality of representation, the idea assumed a more rational and distinct shape. At any rate, this manner of exercising popular power was familiar to our fathers when they settled on this continent. They adopted it, and generation has risen up after generation, all acknowledging it, and all learning its practice and its forms.

The next fundamental principle in our system is, that the will of the majority, fairly expressed through the means of representation, shall have the force of law; and it is quite evident that, in a country without thrones or aristocracies or privileged castes or classes, there can be no other foundation for law to stand upon.

And, as the necessary result of this, the third element is, that the law is the supreme rule for the government of all. The great sentiment of Alcaeus, so beautifully presented to us by Sir William Jones, is absolutely indispensable to the construction and maintenance of our political systems:-

"What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlement or labored mound,  
Thick wall or moated gate;





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Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;  
Not bays and broad-armed ports,  
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;  
Not starred and spangled courts,  
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.  
No: MEN, high-minded MEN,  
With powers as far above dull brutes endued,  
In forest, brake, or den,  
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude:  
Men who their duties know,  
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain;  
Prevent the long-aimed blow,  
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:  
These constitute a state;  
And SOVEREIGN LAW, that state's collected will,  
O'er thrones and globes elate  
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill."

And, finally, another most important part of the great fabric of American liberty is, that there shall be written constitutions, founded on the immediate authority of the people themselves, and regulating and restraining all the powers conferred upon government, whether legislative, executive, or judicial.

This, fellow-citizens, I suppose to be a just summary of our American principles, and I have on this occasion sought to express them in the plainest and in the fewest words. The summary may not be entirely exact, but I hope it may be sufficiently so to make manifest to the rising generation among ourselves, and to those elsewhere who may choose to inquire into the nature of our political institutions, the general theory upon which they are founded.

And I now proceed to add, that the strong and deep-settled conviction of all intelligent persons amongst us is, that, in order to support a useful and wise government upon these popular principles, the general education of the people, and the wide diffusion of pure morality and true religion, are indispensable. Individual virtue is a part of public virtue. It is difficult to conceive how there can remain morality in the government when it shall cease to exist among the people; or how the aggregate of the political institutions, all the organs of which consist only of men, should be wise, and beneficent, and competent to inspire confidence, if the opposite qualities belong to the individuals who constitute those organs, and make up that aggregate.

And now, fellow-citizens, I take leave of this part of the duty which I proposed to perform; and, once more felicitating you and myself that our eyes have seen the light of this blessed morning, and that our ears have heard the shouts with which joyous thousands welcome its return, and joining with you in the hope that every revolving year may renew these rejoicings to the end of time, I proceed to address you, shortly, upon the particular occasion of our assembling here to-day.

Fellow-citizens, by the act of Congress of the 30th of September, 1850, provision was made for the extension of the Capitol, according to such plan as might be approved by the President of the United States, and for the necessary sums to be expended, under his direction, by such architect as he might appoint. This measure was imperatively demanded, for the use of



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the legislative and judiciary departments, the public libraries, the occasional accommodation of the chief executive magistrate, and for other objects. No act of Congress incurring a large expenditure has received more general approbation from the people. The President has proceeded to execute this law. He has approved a plan; he has appointed an architect; and all things are now ready for the commencement of the work.

The anniversary of national independence appeared to afford an auspicious occasion for laying the foundation-stone of the additional building. That ceremony has now been performed by the President himself, in the presence and view of this multitude. He has thought that the day and the occasion made a united and imperative call for some short address to the people here assembled; and it is at his request that I have appeared before you to perform that part of the duty which was deemed incumbent on us.

Beneath the stone is deposited, among other things, a list of which will be published, the following brief account of the proceedings of this day, in my handwriting:-

"On the morning of the first day of the seventy-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America, in the city of Washington, being the 4th day of July, 1851, this stone, designed as the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol, according to a plan approved by the President, in pursuance of an act of Congress, was laid by

"MILLARD FILLMORE,

"PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

"assisted by the Grand Master of the Masonic Lodges, in the presence of many members of Congress, of officers of the Executive and Judiciary Departments, National, State, and District, of officers of the army and navy, the corporate authorities of this and neighboring cities, many associations, civil and military and masonic, members of the Smithsonian Institution and National Institute, professors of colleges and teachers of schools of the District, with their students and pupils, and a vast concourse of people from places near and remote, including a few surviving gentlemen who witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of the Capitol by President Washington, on the 18th day of September, A.D. 1793.

"If, therefore, it shall be hereafter the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base, that its foundation be upturned, and this deposit brought to the eyes of men, be it then known, that on this day the Union of the United States of America stands firm, that their Constitution still exists unimpaired, and with all its original usefulness and glory; growing every day stronger and stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world. And all here assembled, whether belonging to public life or to private life, with hearts devoutly thankful to Almighty God for the preservation of the liberty and happiness of the country, unite in sincere and fervent prayers that this deposit, and the walls and arches, the domes and towers, the columns and entablatures, now to be



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erected over it, may endure for ever!  
 "GOD SAVE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!  
 "DANIEL WEBSTER,  
 "Secretary of State of the United States."

Fellow-citizens, fifty-eight years ago Washington stood on this spot to execute a duty like that which has now been performed. He then laid the corner-stone of the original Capitol. He was at the head of the government, at that time weak in resources, burdened with debt, just struggling into political existence and respectability, and agitated by the heaving waves which were overturning European thrones. But even then, in many important respects, the government was strong. It was strong in Washington's own great character; it was strong in the wisdom and patriotism of other eminent public men, his political associates and fellow-laborers; and it was strong in the affections of the people. Since that time astonishing changes have been wrought in the condition and prospects of the American people; and a degree of progress witnessed with which the world can furnish no parallel. As we review the course of that progress, wonder and amazement arrest our attention at every step. The present occasion, although allowing of no lengthened remarks, may yet, perhaps, admit of a short comparative statement of important subjects of national interest as they existed at that day, and as they now exist. I have adopted for this purpose the tabular form of statement, as being the most brief and significant.

**COMPARATIVE TABLE.**

	Year 1793	Year 1851
Number of States	15	31
Representatives and Senators in Congress	135	295
Population of the United States	3,929,328	23,267,498
Population of Boston	18,038	136,871
Population of Baltimore	13,503	169,054
Population of Philadelphia	42,520	409,045
Population of New York (city)	33,121	515,507
Population of Washington	. . .	40,075
Population of Richmond	4,000	27,582
Population of Charleston	16,359	42,983
Amount of receipts into the Treasury	\$5,720,624	\$52,312,980
Amount of expenditures	\$7,529,575	\$48,005,879
Amount of imports	\$31,000,000	\$215,725,995
Amount of exports	\$26,109,000	\$217,517,130
Amount of tonnage (tons)	520,764	3,772,440
Area of the United States in square miles	805,461	3,314,365
Rank and file of the army	5,120	10,000
Militia (enrolled)	. . .	2,006,456
Navy of the United States (vessels)	(None)	76
Navy armament (ordnance)	. . .	2,012
Treaties and conventions with foreign powers	9	90
Light-houses and light-boats	12	372
Expenditures for ditto	\$12,061	\$529,265
Area of the Capitol	1/2 acre	4-1/8 acres
Number of miles of railroad in operation	. . .	10,287
Cost of ditto	. . .	\$306,607,954
Number of miles in course of construction	. . .	10,092
Lines of electric telegraph, in miles	. . .	15,000



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Number of post-offices	209	21,551
Number of miles of post-route	5,642	196,290
Amount of revenue from post-offices	\$104,747	\$6,727,867
Amount of expenditures of Post-Office Department	\$72,040	\$6,024,567
Number of miles of mail transportation	. . .	52,465,724
Number of colleges	19	121
Public libraries	35	694
Volumes in ditto	75,000	2,201,632
School libraries	. . .	10,000
Volumes in ditto	. . .	2,000,000
Emigrants from Europe to the United States	10,000	299,610
Coinage at the Mint	\$9,664	\$52,019,465

In respect to the growth of Western trade and commerce, I extract a few sentences from a very valuable address before the Historical Society of Ohio, by William D. Gallagher, Esq., 1850:—

“A few facts will exhibit as well as a volume the wonderful growth of Western trade and commerce. Previous to the year 1800, some eight or ten keel-boats, of twenty or twenty-five tons each, performed all the carrying trade between Cincinnati and Pittsburg. In 1802 the first government vessel appeared on Lake Erie. In 1811 the first steamboat (the Orleans) was launched at Pittsburg. In 1826 the waters of Michigan were first ploughed by the keel of a steamboat, a pleasure trip to Green Bay being planned and executed in the summer of this year. In 1832 a steamboat first appeared at Chicago. At the present time the entire number of steamboats running on the Mississippi and Ohio and their tributaries is more probably over than under six hundred, the aggregate tonnage of which is not short of one hundred and forty thousand; a larger number of steamboats than England can claim, and a greater steam commercial marine than that employed by Great Britain and her dependencies.”

And now, fellow-citizens, having stated to you this infallible proof of the growth and prosperity of the nation, I ask you, and I would ask every man, whether the government which has been over us has proved itself an infliction or a curse to the country, or any part of it?

Ye men of the South, of all the original Southern States, what say you to all this? Are you, or any of you, ashamed of this great work of your fathers? Your fathers were not they who storied the prophets and killed them. They were among the prophets; they were of the prophets; they were themselves the prophets.

Ye men of Virginia, what do you say to all this? Ye men of the Potomac, dwelling along the shores of that river on which WASHINGTON lived and died, and where his remains now rest, ye, so many of whom may see the domes of the Capitol from your own homes, what say ye?

Ye men of James River and the Bay, places consecrated by the early settlement of your Commonwealth, what do you say? Do you desire, from the soil of your State, or as you travel to the North, to see these halls vacated, their beauty and ornaments destroyed, and their national usefulness gone for ever?

Ye men beyond the Blue Ridge, many thousands of whom are nearer



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to this Capitol than to the seat of government of your own State, what do you think of breaking this great association into fragments of States and of people? I know that some of you, and I believe that you all, would be almost as much shocked at the announcement of such a catastrophe, as if you were to be informed that the Blue Ridge itself would soon totter from its base. And ye men of Western Virginia, who occupy the great slope from the top of the Alleghanies to Ohio and Kentucky, what benefit do you propose to yourselves by disunion? If you "secede," what do you "secede" from, and what do you "accede" to? Do you look for the current of the Ohio to change, and to bring you and your commerce to the tidewaters of Eastern rivers? What man in his senses can suppose that you would remain part and parcel of Virginia a month after Virginia should have ceased to be part and parcel of the United States?

The secession of Virginia! The secession of Virginia, whether alone or in company, is most improbable, the greatest of all improbabilities. Virginia, to her everlasting honor, acted a great part in framing and establishing the present Constitution. She has had her reward and her distinction. Seven of her noble sons have each filled the Presidency, and enjoyed the highest honors of the country. Dolorous complaints come up to us from the South, that Virginia will not head the march of secession, and lead the other Southern States out of the Union. This, if it should happen, would be something of a marvel, certainly, considering how much pains Virginia took to lead these same States into the Union, and considering, too, that she has partaken as largely of its benefits and its government as any other State.

And ye men of the other Southern States, members of the Old Thirteen; yes, members of the Old Thirteen; that always touches my regard and my sympathies; North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina! What page in your history, or in the history of any one of you, is brighter than those which have been recorded since the Union was formed? Or through what period has your prosperity been greater, or your peace and happiness better secured? What names even has South Carolina, now so much dissatisfied, what names has she of which her intelligent sons are more proud than those which have been connected with the government of the United States? In Revolutionary times, and in the earliest days of this Constitution, there was no State more honored, or more deserving of honor. Where is she now? And what a fall is there, my countrymen! But I leave her to her own reflections, commending to her, with all my heart, the due consideration of her own example in times now gone by.

Fellow-citizens, there are some diseases of the mind as well as of the body, diseases of communities as well as diseases of individuals, that must be left to their own cure; at least it is wise to leave them so until the last critical moment shall arrive.

I hope it is not irreverent, and certainly it is not intended as reproach, when I say, that I know no stronger expression in our language than that which describes the restoration of the wayward son,— "he came to himself." He had broken away from all the ties of love, family, and friendship. He had forsaken every thing which he had once regarded in his father's house. He had forsworn his natural sympathies, affections, and habits, and taken his journey into a far country. He had gone away from





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himself and out of himself. But misfortunes overtook him, and famine threatened him with starvation and death. No entreaties from home followed him to beckon him back; no admonition from others warned him of his fate. But the hour of reflection had come, and nature and conscience wrought within him, until at length **"he came to himself."**

And now, ye men of the new States of the South! You are not of the original thirteen. The battle had been fought and won, the Revolution achieved, and the Constitution established, before your States had any existence as States. You came to a prepared banquet, and had seats assigned you at table just as honorable as those which were filled by older guests. You have been and are singularly prosperous; and if any one should deny this, you would at once contradict his assertion. You have bought vast quantities of choice and excellent land at the lowest price; and if the public domain has not been lavished upon you, you yourself will admit that it has been appropriated to your own uses by a very liberal hand. And yet in some of these States, not in all, persons are found in favor of a dissolution of the Union, or of secession from it. Such opinions are expressed even where the general prosperity of the community has been the most rapidly advanced. In the flourishing and interesting State of Mississippi, for example, there is a large party which insists that her grievances are intolerable, that the whole body politic is in a state of suffering; and all along, and through her whole extent on the Mississippi, a loud cry rings that her only remedy is "Secession," "Secession." Now, Gentlemen, what infliction does the State of Mississippi suffer under? What oppression prostrates her strength or destroys her happiness? Before we can judge of the proper remedy, we must know something of the disease; and, for my part, I confess that the real evil existing in the case appears to me to be a certain inquietude or uneasiness growing out of a high degree of prosperity and consciousness of wealth and power, which sometimes lead men to be ready for changes, and to push on unreasonably to still higher elevation. If this be the truth of the matter, her political doctors are about right. If the complaint spring from overwrought prosperity, for that disease I have no doubt that secession would prove a sovereign remedy.

But I return to the leading topic on which I was engaged. In the department of invention there have been wonderful applications of science to arts within the last sixty years. The spacious hall of the Patent Office is at once the repository and proof of American inventive art and genius. Their results are seen in the numerous improvements by which human labor is abridged.

Without going into details, it may be sufficient to say, that many of the applications of steam to locomotion and manufactures, of electricity and magnetism to the production of mechanical motion, the electrical telegraph, the registration of astronomical phenomena, the art of multiplying engravings, the introduction and improvement among us of all the important inventions of the Old World, are striking indications of the progress of this country in the useful arts. The network of railroads and telegraphic lines by which this vast country is reticulated have not only developed its resources, but united emphatically, in metallic bands, all parts of the Union. The hydraulic works of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston surpass in extent and importance those of ancient Rome.



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But we have not confined our attention to the immediate application of science to the useful arts. We have entered the field of original research, and have enlarged the bounds of scientific knowledge.

Sixty years ago, besides the brilliant discoveries of Franklin in electricity, scarcely any thing had been done among us in the way of original discovery. Our men of science were content with repeating the experiments and diffusing a knowledge of the discoveries of the learned of the Old World, without attempting to add a single new fact or principle to the existing stock. Within the last twenty-five or thirty years a remarkable improvement has taken place in this respect. Our natural history has been explored in all its branches; our geology has been investigated with results of the highest interest to practical and theoretical science. Discoveries have been made in pure chemistry and electricity, which have received the approbation of the world. The advance which has been made in meteorology in this country, within the last twenty years, is equal to that made during the same period in all the world besides.

In 1793 there was not in the United States an instrument with which a good observation of the heavenly bodies could be made. There are now instruments at Washington, Cambridge, and Cincinnati equal to those at the best European observatories, and the original discoveries in astronomy within the last five years, in this country, are among the most brilliant of the age. I can hardly refrain from saying, in this connection, that the "Celestial Mechanics" of La Place has been translated and commented upon by Bowditch.

Our knowledge of the geography and topography of the American continent has been rapidly extended by the labor and science of the officers of the United States army, and discoveries of much interest in distant seas have resulted from the enterprise of the navy.

In 1807, a survey of the coast of the United States was commenced, which at that time it was supposed no American was competent to direct. The work has, however, grown within the last few years, under a native superintendent, in importance and extent, beyond any enterprise of the kind ever before attempted. These facts conclusively prove that a great advance has been made among us, not only in the application of science to the wants of ordinary life, but in science itself, in its highest branches, in its adaptation to satisfy the cravings of the immortal mind.

In respect to literature, with the exception of some books of elementary education, and some theological treatises, of which scarcely any but those of [Jonathan Edwards](#) have any permanent value, and some works on local history and politics, like Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, the Federalist, [Belknap](#)'s New Hampshire, and Morse's Geography, and a few others, America had not produced a single work of any repute in literature. We were almost wholly dependent on imported books. Even our Bibles and Testaments were, for the most part, printed abroad. The book trade is now one of the greatest branches of business, and many works of standard value, and of high reputation in Europe as well as at home, have been produced by American authors in every department of literary composition.

While the country has been expanding in dimensions, in numbers,



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and in wealth, the government has applied a wise forecast in the adoption of measures necessary, when the world shall no longer be at peace, to maintain the national honor, whether by appropriate displays of vigor abroad, or by well-adapted means of defence at home. A navy, which has so often illustrated our history by heroic achievements, though in peaceful times restrained in its operations to narrow limits, possesses, in its admirable elements, the means of great and sudden expansion, and is justly looked upon by the nation as the right arm of its power. An army, still smaller, but not less perfect in its detail, has on many a field exhibited the military aptitudes and prowess of the race, and demonstrated the wisdom which has presided over its organization and government.

While the gradual and slow enlargement of these respective military arms has been regulated by a jealous watchfulness over the public treasure, there has, nevertheless, been freely given all that was needed to perfect their quality; and each affords the nucleus of any enlargement that the public exigencies may demand, from the millions of brave hearts and strong arms upon the land and water.

The navy is the active and aggressive element of national defence; and, let loose from our own sea-coast, must display its power in the seas and channels of the enemy. To do this, it need not be large; and it can never be large enough to defend by its presence at home all our ports and harbors. But, in the absence of the navy, what can the regular army or the volunteer militia do against the enemy's line-of-battle ships and steamers, falling without notice upon our coast? What will guard our cities from tribute, our merchant-vessels and our navy-yards from conflagration? Here, again, we see a wise forecast in the system of defensive measures which, especially since the close of the war with Great Britain, has been steadily followed by our government.

While the perils from which our great establishments had just escaped were yet fresh in remembrance, a system of fortifications was begun, which now, though not quite complete, fences in our important points with impassable strength. More than four thousand cannon may at any moment, within strong and permanent works, arranged with all the advantages and appliances that the art affords, be turned to the protection of the sea-coast, and be served by the men whose hearths they shelter. Happy for us that it is so, since these are means of security that time alone can supply, and since the improvements of maritime warfare, by making distant expeditions easy and speedy, have made them more probable, and at the same time more difficult to anticipate and provide against. The cost of fortifying all the important points of our coast, as well upon the whole Atlantic as the Gulf of Mexico, will not exceed the amount expended on the fortifications of Paris.

In this connection one most important facility in the defence of the country is not to be overlooked; it is the extreme rapidity with which the soldiers of the army, and any number of the militia corps, may be brought to any point where a hostile attack shall at any time be made or threatened.

And this extension of territory embraced within the United States, increase of its population, commerce, and manufactures, development of its resources by canals and railroads, and rapidity of intercommunication by means of steam and



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electricity, have all been accomplished without overthrow of, or danger to, the public liberties, by any assumption of military power; and, indeed, without any permanent increase of the army, except for the purpose of frontier defence, and of affording a slight guard to the public property; or of the navy, any further than to assure the navigator that, in whatsoever sea he shall sail his ship, he is protected by the stars and stripes of his country. This, too, has been done without the shedding of a drop of blood for treason or rebellion; while systems of popular representation have regularly been supported in the State governments and in the general government; while laws, national and State, of such a character have been passed, and have been so wisely administered, that I may stand up here to-day, and declare, as I now do declare, in the face of all the intelligent of the age, that, for the period which has elapsed from the day that Washington laid the foundation of this Capitol to the present time, there has been no country upon earth in which life, liberty, and property have been more amply and steadily secured, or more freely enjoyed, than in these United States of America. Who is there that will deny this? Who is there prepared with a greater or a better example? Who is there that can stand upon the foundation of facts, acknowledged or proved, and assert that these our republican institutions have not answered the true ends of government beyond all precedent in human history?

There is yet another view. There are still higher considerations. Man is an intellectual being, destined to immortality. There is a spirit in him, and the breath of the Almighty hath given him understanding. Then only is he tending toward his own destiny, while he seeks for knowledge and virtue, for the will of his Maker, and for just conceptions of his own duty. Of all important questions, therefore, let this, the most important of all, be first asked and first answered: In what country of the habitable globe, of great extent and large population, are the means of knowledge the most generally diffused and enjoyed among the people? This question admits of one, and only one, answer. It is here; it is here in these United States; it is among the descendants of those who settled at Jamestown; of those who were pilgrims on the shore of Plymouth; and of those other races of men, who, in subsequent times, have become joined in this great American family. Let one fact, incapable of doubt or dispute, satisfy every mind on this point. The population of the United States is twenty-three millions. Now, take the map of the continent of Europe and spread it out before you. Take your scale and your dividers, and lay off in one area, in any shape you please, a triangle, square, circle, parallelogram, or trapezoid, and of an extent that shall contain one hundred and fifty millions of people, and there will be found within the United States more persons who do habitually read and write than can be embraced within the lines of your demarcation. But there is something even more than this. Man is not only an intellectual, but he is also a religious being, and his religious feelings and habits require cultivation. Let the religious element in man's nature be neglected, let him be influenced by no higher motives than low self-interest, and subjected to no stronger restraint than the limits of civil authority, and he becomes the creature of selfish passion or blind fanaticism.



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The spectacle of a nation powerful and enlightened, but without Christian faith, has been presented, almost within our own day, as a warning beacon for the nations.

On the other hand, the cultivation of the religious sentiment represses licentiousness, incites to general benevolence and the practical acknowledgment of the brotherhood of man, inspires respect for law and order, and gives strength to the whole social fabric, at the same time that it conducts the human soul upward to the Author of its being.

Now, I think it may be stated with truth, that in no country, in proportion to its population, are there so many benevolent establishments connected with religious instruction, Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, supported by public and private contributions, as in our own. There are also institutions for the education of the blind, of idiots, of the deaf and dumb; for the reception of orphan and destitute children, and the insane; for moral reform, designed for children and females respectively; and institutions for the reformation of criminals; not to speak of those numerous establishments, in almost every county and town in the United States, for the reception of the aged, infirm, and destitute poor, many of whom have fled to our shores to escape the poverty and wretchedness of their condition at home.

In the United States there is no church establishment or ecclesiastical authority founded by government. Public worship is maintained either by voluntary associations and contributions, or by trusts and donations of a charitable origin.

Now, I think it safe to say, that a greater portion of the people of the United States attend public worship, decently clad, well behaved, and well seated, than of any other country of the civilized world. Edifices of religion are seen everywhere. Their aggregate cost would amount to an immense sum of money. They are, in general, kept in good repair, and consecrated to the purposes of public worship. In these edifices the people regularly assemble on the Sabbath day, which, by all classes, is sacredly set apart for rest from secular employment and for religious meditation and worship, to listen to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and discourses from pious ministers of the several denominations.

This attention to the wants of the intellect and of the soul, as manifested by the voluntary support of schools and colleges, of churches and benevolent institutions, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the American people, not less strikingly exhibited in the new than in the older settlements of the country. On the spot where the first trees of the forest were felled, near the log cabins of the pioneers, are to be seen rising together the church and the school-house. So has it been from the beginning, and God grant that it may thus continue!

“On other shores, above their mouldering towns,  
In sullen pomp, the tall cathedral frowns;  
Simple and frail, our lowly temples throw  
Their slender shadows on the paths below;  
Scarce steal the winds, that sweep the woodland tracks,  
The larch’s perfume from the settler’s axe,  
Ere, like a vision of the morning air,  
His slight-framed steeple marks the house of prayer.  
Yet Faith’s pure hymn, beneath its shelter rude,





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Breathes out as sweetly to the tangled wood,  
As where the rays through blazing oriels pour  
On marble shaft and tessellated floor.”

Who does not admit that this unparalleled growth in prosperity and renown is the result, under Providence, of the union of these States under a general Constitution, which guarantees to each State a republican form of government, and to every man the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, free from civil tyranny or ecclesiastical domination?

And, to bring home this idea to the present occasion, who does not feel that, when President Washington laid his hand on the foundation of the first Capitol, he performed a great work of perpetuation of the Union and the Constitution? Who does not feel that this seat of the general government, healthful in its situation, central in its position, near the mountains whence gush springs of wonderful virtue, teeming with Nature’s richest products, and yet not far from the bays and the great estuaries of the sea, easily accessible and generally agreeable in climate and association, does give strength to the union of these States? that this city, bearing an immortal name, with its broad streets and avenues, its public squares and magnificent edifices of the general government, erected for the purpose of carrying on within them the important business of the several departments, for the reception of wonderful and curious inventions, for the preservation of the records of American learning and genius, of extensive collections of the products of nature and art, brought hither for study and comparison from all parts of the world,—adorned with numerous churches, and sprinkled over, I am happy to say, with many public schools, where all the children of the city, without distinction, have the means of obtaining a good education, and with academies and colleges, professional schools and public libraries,—should continue to receive, as it has heretofore received, the fostering care of Congress, and should be regarded as the permanent seat of the national government? Here, too, a citizen of the great republic of letters,<sup>158</sup> a republic which knows not the metes and bounds of political geography, has prophetically indicated his conviction that America is to exercise a wide and powerful influence in the intellectual world, by founding in this city, as a commanding position in the field of science and literature, and placing under the guardianship of the government, an institution “for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.”

With each succeeding year new interest is added to the spot; it becomes connected with all the historical associations of our country, with her statesmen and her orators, and, alas! its cemetery is annually enriched by the ashes of her chosen sons. Before us is the broad and beautiful river, separating two of the original thirteen States, which a late President, a man of determined purpose and inflexible will, but patriotic heart, desired to span with arches of ever-enduring granite, symbolical of the firmly cemented union of the North and the South. That President was General Jackson.

On its banks repose the ashes of the Father of his Country, and at our side, by a singular felicity of position, overlooking the city which he designed, and which bears his name, rises to his memory the marble column, sublime in its simple grandeur, and

158. Hugh Smithson of, eventually, our “Smithsonian Institution.”



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fitly intended to reach a loftier height than any similar structure on the surface of the whole earth.

Let the votive offerings of his grateful countrymen be freely contributed to carry this monument higher and still higher. May I say, as on another occasion, "Let it rise; let it rise till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit!" Fellow-citizens, what contemplations are awakened in our minds as we assemble here to re-enact a scene like that performed by Washington! Methinks I see his venerable form now before me, as presented in the glorious statue by Houdon, now in the Capitol of Virginia. He is dignified and grave; but concern and anxiety seem to soften the lineaments of his countenance. The government over which he presides is yet in the crisis of experiment. Not free from troubles at home, he sees the world in commotion and in arms all around him. He sees that imposing foreign powers are half disposed to try the strength of the recently established American government. We perceive that mighty thoughts, mingled with fears as well as with hopes, are struggling within him. He heads a short procession over these then naked fields; he crosses yonder stream on a fallen tree; he ascends to the top of this eminence, whose original oaks of the forest stand as thick around him as if the spot had been devoted to Druidical worship, and here he performs the appointed duty of the day.

And now, fellow-citizens, if this vision were a reality; if Washington actually were now amongst us, and if he could draw around him the shades of the great public men of his own day, patriots and warriors, orators and statesmen, and were to address us in their presence, would he not say to us: "Ye men of this generation, I rejoice and thank God for being able to see that our labors and toils and sacrifices were not in vain. You are prosperous, you are happy, you are grateful; the fire of liberty burns brightly and steadily in your hearts, while DUTY and the LAW restrain it from bursting forth in wild and destructive conflagration. Cherish liberty, as you love it; cherish its securities, as you wish to preserve it. Maintain the Constitution which we labored so painfully to establish, and which has been to you such a source of inestimable blessings. Preserve the union of the States, cemented as it was by our prayers, our tears, and our blood. Be true to God, to your country, and to your duty. So shall the whole Eastern world follow the morning sun to contemplate you as a nation; so shall all generations honor you, as they honor us; and so shall that Almighty Power which so graciously protected us, and which now protects you, shower its everlasting blessings upon you and your posterity."

Great Father of your Country! we heed your words; we feel their force as if you now uttered them with lips of flesh and blood. Your example teaches us, your affectionate addresses teach us, your public life teaches us, your sense of the value of the blessings of the Union. Those blessings our fathers have tasted, and we have tasted, and still taste. Nor do we intend that those who come after us shall be denied the same high fruition. Our honor as well as our happiness is concerned. We cannot, we dare not, we will not, betray our sacred trust. We will not filch from posterity the treasure placed in our hands to be transmitted to other generations. The bow that gilds the clouds in the heavens, the pillars that uphold the firmament, may



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disappear and fall away in the hour appointed by the will of God; but until that day comes, or so long as our lives may last, no ruthless hand shall undermine that bright arch of Union and Liberty which spans the continent from Washington to California. Fellow-citizens, we must sometimes be tolerant to folly, and patient at the sight of the extreme waywardness of men; but I confess that, when I reflect on the renown of our past history, on our present prosperity and greatness, and on what the future hath yet to unfold, and when I see that there are men who can find in all this nothing good, nothing valuable, nothing truly glorious, I feel that all their reason has fled away from them, and left the entire control over their judgment and their actions to insanity and fanaticism; and more than all, fellow-citizens, if the purposes of fanatics and disunionists should be accomplished, the patriotic and intelligent of our generation would seek to hide themselves from the scorn of the world, and go about to find dishonorable graves.

Fellow-citizens, take **courage**; be of **good cheer**. We shall come to no such ignoble end. We shall live, and not die. During the period allotted to our several lives, we shall continue to rejoice in the return of this anniversary. The ill-omened sounds of fanaticism will be hushed; the ghastly spectres of **Secession** and **Disunion** will disappear; and the enemies of united constitutional liberty, if their hatred cannot be appeased, may prepare to have their eyeballs seared as they behold the steady flight of the American eagle, on his burnished wings, for years and years to come.

President Fillmore, it is your singularly good fortune to perform an act such as that which the earliest of your predecessors performed fifty-eight years ago. You stand where he stood; you lay your hand on the corner-stone of a building designed greatly to extend that whose corner-stone he laid. Changed, changed is every thing around. The same sun, indeed, shone upon his head which now shines upon yours. The same broad river rolled at his feet, and bathes his last resting-place, that now rolls at yours. But the site of this city was then mainly an open field. Streets and avenues have since been laid out and completed, squares and public grounds enclosed and ornamented, until the city which bears his name, although comparatively inconsiderable in numbers and wealth, has become quite fit to be the seat of government of a great and united people.

Sir, may the consequences of the duty which you perform so auspiciously to-day, equal those which flowed from his act. Nor this only; may the principles of your administration, and the wisdom of your political conduct, be such, as that the world of the present day, and all history hereafter, may be at no loss to perceive what example you have made your study.

Fellow-citizens, I now bring this address to a close, by expressing to you, in the words of the great Roman orator, the deepest wish of my heart, and which I know dwells deeply in the hearts of all who hear me: "Duo modo haec opto; unum, UT MORIENS POPULUM ROMANUM LIBERUM RELINQUAM; hoc mihi majus a diis immortalibus dari nihil potest: alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de republicâ quisque mereatur."

And now, fellow-citizens, with hearts void of hatred, envy, and malice towards our own countrymen, or any of them, or towards the subjects or citizens of other governments, or towards any



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

member of the great family of man; but exulting, nevertheless, in our own peace, security, and happiness, in the grateful remembrance of the past, and the glorious hopes of the future, let us return to our homes, and with all humility and devotion offer our thanks to the Father of all our mercies, political, social, and religious.

**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JULY 4TH, 1851 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).**

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August 11, Monday: A 3d [filibustering](#) expedition led by General Narciso López, this one made up of 435 adventurers, landed at Bahía Honda about 40 miles to the west of the port of [Havana](#).



August 13, Wednesday: At the village of Las Pozas in [Cuba](#), Spanish forces defeated López's [filibustering](#) army.



August 16, Saturday: Some of López's [filibusters](#) having been captured at sea, they had been taken to [Havana](#), and on this day the last 51 members of the regiment (excepting Narciso López himself) were executed by [firing squad](#).



August 16, Saturday: Agrimonia Eupatoria small flowered (yellow) plant with hispid fruit 2 or 3 feet high turnpike at Tuttle's peatmead. Hemp –Cannabis sativa said by Gray to have been introduced not named by Bigelow –is it not a native?

**BIGELOW**

It is true man can and does live by preying on other animals, but this is a miserable way of sustaining himself –and he will be regarded as a benefactor of his race –along with Prometheus & Christ –who shall teach men to live on a more innocent & wholesome diet. Is it not already acknowledged to be a reproach that man is a carnivorous animal?

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## CUBA

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September 1, Monday: On this day Narciso López was executed publicly at [Havana](#). Before his death he shouted, most accurately, “My death will not change the destiny of [Cuba](#)!”



GEN. LOPEZ

Of course, this [filibuster](#) might as well have shouted “My death is not going to affect the price of cigars!” or “Cuba remains an island!” or “Long live the Queen of Ethiopia!” He could have shouted just anything, as long as he did not attempt to deliver the sort of very lengthy political speech that might have fatigued his audience.

In New Orleans, former associates of López would form a secret society called “Order of the Lone Star.” The goal of the order would of course be, what else, to incorporate [Cuba](#) into the United States of America. With 50 chapters in 8 southern states and an estimated membership of 15,000-20,000, the order would develop a plan to invade the island during the summer of 1852 in conjunction with a revolt on the island itself, the “Conspiracy of Vuelta Abajo” organized in Pinar del Río by López’s wealthy brother-in-law Francisco de

## CUBA

## CUBA

Frías.



September 1, Monday: Mikania scandens with its purplish white flowers now covering the button bushes and willows by the side of the stream.

Bidens Chrysanthemoides Large flowered Bidens edge of River– Various colored Polygonums standing high among the bushes & weeds by river side–white & reddish–& red.

Is not disease the rule of existence? There is not a lily pad floating on the river but has has been riddled by insects– Almost every shrub and tree has its gall–oftentimes esteemed its chief ornament–and hardly to be distinguished from the fruit. If misery loves company–misery has company enough– Now at midsummer find me a perfect leaf–or fruit.

The fruit of the trilliums is very handsome I found some a month ago a singular **red**–angular cased pulp drooping with the old anthers surrounding it  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diam.

–and now there is another kind a dense crowded cluster of many ovoid berries–turning from green to scarlet or bright brick color– Then there is the mottled fruit of the clustered Solomons seal–and also the greenish with blue meat fruit of the Convallaria Multiflora dangling from the axils of the leaves–

I suspect that the common wild bean vine of the gardens must be the Polygonum Convolvulus or Black bindweed. though I do not find the 3 styles.

Found a Utricularia on the North branch without leaves but slight sheathes 7 or 8 flowered upright 6 or 8 inches high where the water had gone down rooted yellow.– with racemed **pedicels about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch** long–no bladders nor inflated leaves.

Then there is the small floating marry gold or sun flower of the river–corolla spreading but little  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch–petals 8 ribbed yellow obovate lanceolate blunt rounded  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch long tubular at base–stand at ang of  $45^\circ$  / Calyx double outer 5 leaves green & spreading inner 8 leaves close to petals & yellowish at tips. Calyx half as

long as corolla-florets more than half as long as corolla-5 stamens & one pistil in a yellow cup with 5 lanceolate segments- Compound flower-though stamens are not **decidedly** united by their anthers. Pistil rising above stamens divided in two at top & curling over each way, Stem 3 to 5 feet long-hollow & cellular- $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{10}$  inch diameter upper or emersed 2 or 3 sets of leaves crosswise opposite lanceolate broad at base-fringe serrate-clasping sub-connate The rest immersed opposite-capillaceous-multipartite forming a dark cylindrical mass in shallow cups of rivers-covered with small fish ova or perchance bladders?

September 16, Tuesday: According to Concord town records, the boundaries committee perambulated from Sudbury to Powder Mills.



American newspapers, along with notices of the execution in Havana, [Cuba](#) of the [filibustering](#) general Narciso López, were reporting that a new government had come into existence in a new territory "Utah," and that this new thingie was being headed by one [Brigham Young](#):

*... hundred troops in Havana, and invades all classes.*

**GEN. LOPEZ.**  
*... sons of fast accounts, and one joined him.*

"SUN" OF AUGUST 20.

FOR THE NEW YORK SUN.

**CUBAN NEWS!**

*!—Accident to her Majesty.*

**DEATH OF GEN. LOPEZ**  
*... People of Bahia Honda, placed at their disposal.*

**NEWS FOR CUBA.**

**MEETINGS.**

*... re arrived, leaving one still due. takes that the Pampers, when broke some part of her machinery hours along the current of the runs all the time. Before the is carried in full view of Moro lines of the water battery. id bore away for Bahia Honda, of Lopez with open arms, and , and very soon a large part of 'ers, the voluntary offerings of*

*... in of the lying Spanish accounts unit.)*

*... Bahia Honda all night, and then substitute of coal, which accounts*

*... rys a company of one hundred Tuesday for Cuba. There was were; the city was illuminated, a lot off, and the Cuba flag floated in public houses.*

**TERRITORY OF UTAH.**

From the "Deseret News" of July 26 we copy the following acts of organization of the Government of the new United States Territory of Utah:

**PROCLAMATION.**

WHEREAS the law of the Congress of the United States, approved September 9, 1850, organizing a Territorial Government for UTAH, provides that the Governor of said Territory shall, after enumerating the inhabitants, make an apportionment of the members of Council and House of Representatives, in accordance with the ratio of population in their respective counties—

Therefore I, BRIGHAM YOUNG, Governor of said Territory, have caused the enumeration of the inhabitants to be taken, and the following apportionment to be made, and direct that an election be held in the respective precincts throughout the Territory, on the first Monday in August next, in accordance with the existing laws of the Provisional Government of the State of Deseret, regulating the elections passed by the General Assembly November 12, 1849, page 9, for the election of the following officers, viz Six councillors and thirteen representatives for Great Salt Lake county; two councillors and three representatives for Weber county; one councillor and three representatives for Davis county; one representative for Tooele county; two councillors and three representatives for Utah county; one councillor and one representative for San Pete county; one councillor and two representatives for Iron county.

At the same time and place, in the respective precincts, an election will be held for a Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, to represent said Territory.

**BRIGHAM YOUNG, Governor.**

N. B. The U. S. Marshal of said Territory will give due notice, and advertise the same accordingly in three of the most public places in the several counties.

B. Y.

G. S. L. CITY, JULY 1, 1851.

MORMONISM



September 16, Tuesday: Met the Select men of Sudbury Moore and Haines- I trust that towns will remember that they are supposed to be fairly represented by their **select** men.

From the specimen which acton sent I should judge that the inhabitants of that town were made up of a mixture of quiet respectable & even gentlemanly farmer people, well to do in the world, with a rather boisterous, coarse, and a little self willed class. That the inhabitants of Sudbury are farmers almost exclusively-exceedingly rough & countrified & more illiterate than usual, very tenacious of their rights & dignities and difficult to deal with. That the inhabitants of Lincoln yield sooner than usual to the influence of the rising generation-and are a mixture of rather simple but clever with a well informed & trustworthy people-that the inhabitants of Bedford are mechanics who aspire to keep up with the age-with some of the polish of society-mingled with substantial and rather intelligent farmers.



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Moore of Sudbury thinks the river would be still lower now if it were not for the water in the reservoir pond in Hopkinton running into it.

December 11, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) did not make an entry in his journal.

Spain informed the American minister in Madrid that it would pardon all Americans held in Spain and [Cuba](#).





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1852

Spring: [Brownson's Quarterly Review](#), No. 1

CATHOLICISM

- I. *Christianity and Heathenism*
- II. *Willitoft, or Protestant Persecution* [Willitoft, or the Days of James the First]
- III. *Piratical Expeditions against Cuba*
- IV. *Continental Prospects*
- V. *Sick Calls* [from the diaries of a missionary priest]
- VI. *Literary Notices and Criticisms*

MAGAZINES

ORESTES AUGUSTUS BROWNSON

# CUBA

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August: The governing body of the [Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints](#) publicly proclaimed its delight in plural wives.<sup>159</sup>

MORMONISM

Aboard the island of [Cuba](#) in the Caribbean, the controlling Spaniards discovered the “Conspiracy of Vuelta Abajo.” Some of the conspirators would manage to escape to the USA, while others would be caught and condemned to death. The wealthy leader Francisco de Frías himself, the rich being different from thee and me, was only sent to prison.

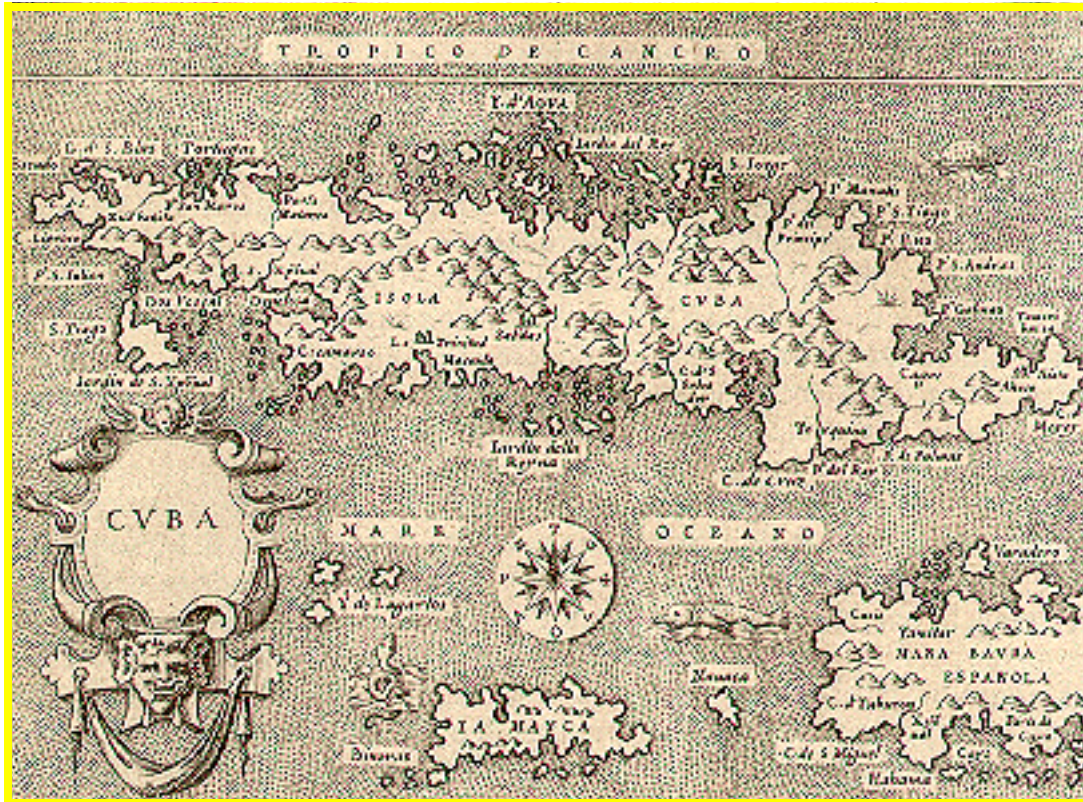


159. Combined, it must be pointed out, with what must seem a rather old-fashioned attitude in regard to plural husbands.

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## CUBA

October 22, Friday: When Spain refused for a 2d time to sell [Cuba](#) to the USA, the New-York [Times](#) declared that “The Cuban question is now the leading one of the time.”



What part of “don’t make us get nasty” was it that these Spaniards were so incapable of understanding?

December 1, Wednesday: Louis Moreau Gottschalk reached Paris from Spain.

The United States informed Great Britain and France that it would not join in an agreement to preserved the status quo in [Cuba](#).



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1853

The [negrero](#) *Silenus*, of [New-York](#), and the [negrero](#) *General de Kalb*, of [Baltimore](#), carried 900 [slaves](#) from Africa (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34th Congress, 1st session XV, Number 99, pages 46-52; HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 105, pages 20-26).



The [negrero](#) *Jasper* carried an unknown number of [slaves](#) to [Cuba](#) (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34th Congress, 1st session XV, Number 99, pages 52-7).

The [negrero](#) *Camargo*, of Portland, [Maine](#), landed 500 [slaves](#) in Brazil (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 33d Congress, 1st session VIII, Number 47).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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## CUBA

## CUBA

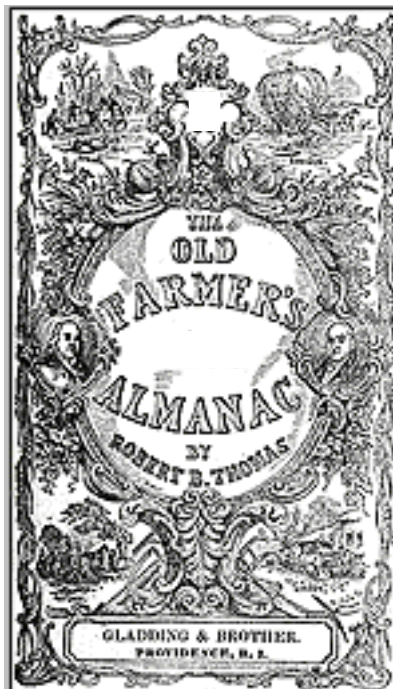
January 28, Friday: Don José Martí y Pérez was born in [Havana](#).



[Henry Thoreau](#) made an entry in his journal that he was later to copy into his early lecture “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” It would be combined with an entry made on March 2, 1852 to form the following, using [Oliver Goldsmith](#)’s “[The Deserted Village](#),” line 158:

[Paragraph 23] If any body thinks a thought, how sure we are to hear of it! Though it be only a half thought, or half a delusion it gets into the newspapers, and all the country rings with it at last. But how much clearing of land, and plowing and planting and building of stone wall is done every summer without being heard of out of the district! A man may do a great deal of bogging without becoming illustrious—when if he had done comparatively little work in some intellectual or spiritual bog—we should not have willingly let it die. Agricultural literature is not as extensive as the fields, and the farmer’s almanac is never a big book. The exploits of the farmer are not often reported even in the agricultural papers, nor are they handed down by tradition from father to son, praiseworthy and memorable as so many of them are. But if he ran away from hard work once in his youth and chanced to be present at one short battle, he will, even in his old age, love to dwell on this, “shoulder his crutch, and” –with cruel satire– “show how fields are won.”

**Brad Dean's  
Commentary**







CUBA



January 28th 53: Saw 3 ducks sailing in the river behind Pritchards this afternoon black with white on wings— Though the 2 or 3 have been the coldest days of the winter & the river is generally closed. Observed a new wall of stones recently dug out of the earth—all yellow & easily detected at a distance—not yet gray with lichens. Though somewhat cool it has been remarkably pleasant today—& the sun sparkles where the river is open are very cheerful to behold.

As I approach Bateman's Pond the ice looked blue— Is it indeed blue like Walden ice?

I saw an improvement, I suppose by Wm Brown—on the shore of this Pond this P.m. which really is something to tell of— The exploits of the farmer are not often reported even in the agricultural paper—nor are they handed down by tradition from father to son—praise- worthy and memorable as so many of them are—though if he ran away from hard work once in his youth & enlisted, and chanced to be present at one short battle, he will even in his old age love to dwell on this “shoulder his crutch & show how fields are won” with cruel satire as if he had not far better shown this with his axe & spade & plough. Here was an extensive swamp level of course as a floor—which first had been cut—then ditched broadly—then burnt over—then the surface pare off stumps & all in great slices—then these piled up every six feet 3 or 4 feet high like countless larger muskrat cabins to dry—then fire put to them—& so the soil was tamed.

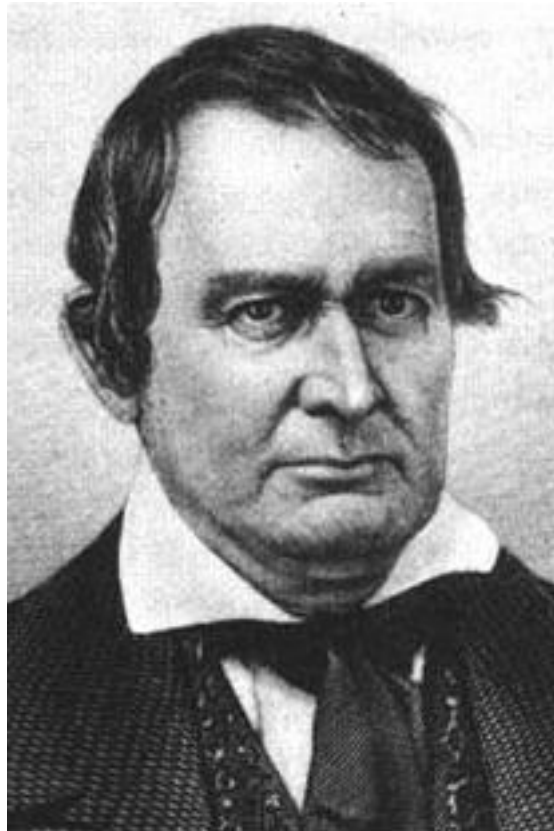
We witnessed the different stages in dif. parts of the swamp.

You can walk in the woods in no direction but you hear the sound of the axe.

I tasted some black shrivelled pyrus berries in a spruce swamp—rather sweet.

CUBA

April 29, Friday: It was reported that when Gerrit Smith had been elected to Congress, he had been advised by [Henry C. Wright](#) not to associate with congressmen who held slaves. Instead, Wright had urged, demand that Congress expel these men. And if it fail so to do, resign and return home. But Smith and his wife had come from slaveholding families, and Smith's brother currently held slaves, and these slaveholding Congressmen were welcomed into Smith's home although he of course made it very clear to such guests that he was boycotting all commodities produced through the labor of enslaved persons. This came as no surprise to Wright, who had commented on April 15, 1840 that "Bro. Smith is influenced — it may be unconsciously.... His conscience and reason are with nonresistance, but his circumstances battle against it."



The Junta Cubana of New-York called on a former associate of Narciso López, General John A. Quitman, to lead yet another American invasion of [Cuba](#), proposing that as his reward for success he would become "exclusive chief of our revolution, not only in its military, but also in its civil sense."



April 29: Return to Concord . At Natural History Rooms in Boston . Have I seen the least bittern? It is so brown above and yellowish, woolly, white beneath. The American goshawk is slate above, gray beneath; the young spotted dark and white beneath, and brown above. Fish hawk, white beneath. Young of marsh hawk, reddish-brown above, iron-rusty beneath. Summer duck with a crest. Dusky duck, not black, but rather dark brown. The velvet ducks I saw, hardly large enough for this. My whiter ducks may be the *Merganser castor*, or the red-breasted.

# CUBA

# CUBA

August 18, Thursday: General John A. Quitman signed a formal agreement with the Junta Cubana, which appointed him the “civil and military chief of the revolution, with all the powers and attributes of dictatorship as recognized by civilized nations, to be used and exercised by him for the purpose of overthrowing the Spanish government in the island of [Cuba](#) and its dependencies, and substituting in the place thereof a free and independent government.”

Article II of this signed formal agreement stipulated that General Quitman, as dictator, was to exercise the freedom and independence of his island government through the protection of the institution of human slavery.

September 23, Friday: Spain appointed the Marquis Juan de la Pezuela as Captain General of [Cuba](#). This man was well known as an opponent of human [slavery](#), and was assigned the task of suppression of the slave trade.

## THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY



In Mobile, Alabama, a 4th child of [Dr. Josiah Clark Nott](#) and [Sarah \(Sally\) Deas Nott](#), [Edward Fisher Nott](#), succumbed to [yellow fever](#) at the age of 18 or 19.<sup>160</sup>



December 7, Wednesday: The [Diario de la Marina](#), a newspaper operated by the [Cuban](#) government, initiated a series of articles on human [slavery](#) and trafficking, stressing the advantages of a free labor system.

160. The Nott children who would survive would be [James Deas Nott II](#), then age 12, [Henry Nott](#), then age 11, and [Josiah Nott, Jr.](#), then age 7 or 8 (out of a total population in the city of Mobile of about 25,000, the final tally of this epidemic would be 1,331). Of the three boys who would not succumb during this epidemic, the two old enough to become soldiers would be killed, one at Shiloh in 1862 and the other at Chickamauga in 1863.



December 23, Friday: At this time a black could be bought on the coast of Africa for 40 duros and then sold on the island for 700 duros, so “negreros” were very willing to risk the established British blockade in order to surreptitiously deposit fresh crops of slaves in the hidden harbors along Cuba’s long and broken coastline, at great profit.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

The Marquis Juan de la Pezuela issued the 1st of his several decrees as Captain-General of Cuba: Negroes “known by the name of ‘emancipados’ are all free”; anyone caught importing any more new African slaves would be heavily fined plus banished from the island for 2 years; all governors and lieutenant governors who failed to advise their Captain General of clandestine landings in their respective provinces would be summarily removed from their offices.



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1854

The [negrero](#) *Glamorgan*, of [New-York](#), was captured while about to embark nearly 700 [slaves](#) (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34th Congress, 1st session XV, Number 99, pages 59-60).

The [negrero](#) *Grey Eagle*, of Philadelphia, was captured off [Cuba](#) by a British cruiser (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34th Congress, 1st session XV, Number 99, pages 61-3).

The [negrero](#) *Peerless*, of [New-York](#), landed 350 [slaves](#) in [Cuba](#) (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34th Congress, 1st session XV, Number 99, page 66).

The [negrero](#) *Oregon*, of New Orleans, was known to be trading to [Cuba](#) (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34th Congress, 1st session XV, Number 99, pages 69-70).

#### INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: A somewhat more sincere and determined effort to enforce the slave-trade laws now followed; and yet it is a significant fact that not until Lincoln's administration did a slave-trader suffer death for violating the laws of the United States. The participation of Americans in the trade continued, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860. The development of a vast internal slave-trade, and the consequent rise in the South of vested interests strongly opposed to slave smuggling, led to a falling off in the illicit introduction of Negroes after 1825, until the fifties; nevertheless, smuggling never entirely ceased, and large numbers were thus added to the plantations of the Gulf States.

Monroe had various constitutional scruples as to the execution of the Act of 1819;<sup>161</sup> but, as Congress took no action, he at last put a fair interpretation on his powers, and appointed Samuel Bacon as an agent in Africa to form a settlement for recaptured Africans. Gradually the agency thus formed became merged with that of the Colonization Society on Cape Mesurado; and from this union Liberia was finally evolved.<sup>162</sup>

Meantime, during the years 1818 to 1820, the activity of the slave-traders was prodigious. General James Tallmadge declared in the House, February 15, 1819: "Our laws are already highly penal against their introduction, and yet, it is a well known fact, that about fourteen thousand slaves have been brought into our country this last year."<sup>163</sup> In the same year Middleton of South Carolina and Wright of Virginia estimated illicit introduction at 13,000 and 15,000 respectively.<sup>164</sup> Judge Story, in charging a jury, took occasion to say: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the slave-trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather

161. Attorney-General Wirt advised him, October, 1819, that no part of the appropriation could be used to purchase land in Africa or tools for the Negroes, or as salary for the agent: OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, I. 314-7. Monroe laid the case before Congress in a special message Dec. 20, 1819 (HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, page 57); but no action was taken there.

162. Cf. Kendall's Report, August, 1830: SENATE DOCUMENT, 21st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 211-8; also see below, Chapter X.

163. Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1819, page 18; published in Boston, 1849.

164. Jay, INQUIRY INTO AMERICAN COLONIZATION (1838), page 59, note.





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than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."<sup>165</sup> The following year, 1820, brought some significant statements from various members of Congress. Said Smith of South Carolina: "Pharaoh was, for his temerity, drowned in the Red Sea, in pursuing them [the Israelites] contrary to God's express will; but our Northern friends have not been afraid even of that, in their zeal to furnish the Southern States with Africans. They are better seamen than Pharaoh, and calculate by that means to elude the vigilance of Heaven; which they seem to disregard, if they can but elude the violated laws of their country."<sup>166</sup> As late as May he saw little hope of suppressing the traffic.<sup>167</sup> Sergeant of Pennsylvania declared: "It is notorious that, in spite of the utmost vigilance that can be employed, African negroes are clandestinely brought in and sold as slaves."<sup>168</sup> Plumer of New Hampshire stated that "of the unhappy beings, thus in violation of all laws transported to our shores, and thrown by force into the mass of our black population, scarcely one in a hundred is ever detected by the officers of the General Government, in a part of the country, where, if we are to believe the statement of Governor Rabun, 'an officer who would perform his duty, by attempting to enforce the law [against the slave trade] is, by many, considered as an officious meddler, and treated with derision and contempt;' ... I have been told by a gentleman, who has attended particularly to this subject, that ten thousand slaves were in one year smuggled into the United States; and that, even for the last year, we must count the number not by hundreds, but by thousands."<sup>169</sup> In 1821 a committee of Congress characterized prevailing methods as those "of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government."<sup>170</sup> Another committee, in 1822, after a careful examination of the subject, declare that they "find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the slave trade by the laws above mentioned, and the seizures under them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations." They then state the suspicious circumstance that, with the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic, "the trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations." They complain of the spasmodic efforts of the executive. They say that the first United States cruiser arrived on the African coast in March, 1820, and remained a "few weeks;" that since then four others had in two years made five visits in all; but "since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is, under orders for that service."<sup>171</sup> The United States African agent, Ayres, reported in 1823: "I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas,

165. Quoted in Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (ed. 1841), pages 7-8.

166. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 270-1.

167. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 698.

168. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1207.

169. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1433.

170. Referring particularly to the case of the slaver "Plattsburg." Cf. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 10.



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and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruizers, their short stay and seldom appearance had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system to gain intelligence of any cruiser being on the coast."<sup>172</sup>

Even such spasmodic efforts bore abundant fruit, and indicated what vigorous measures might have accomplished. Between May, 1818, and November, 1821, nearly six hundred Africans were recaptured and eleven American slavers taken.<sup>173</sup> Such measures gradually changed the character of the trade, and opened the international phase of the question. American slavers cleared for foreign ports, there took a foreign flag and papers, and then sailed boldly past American cruisers, although their real character was often well known. More stringent clearance laws and consular instructions might have greatly reduced this practice; but nothing was ever done, and gradually the laws became in large measure powerless to deal with the bulk of the illicit trade. In 1820, September 16, a British officer, in his official report, declares that, in spite of United States laws, "American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are unquestionably engaged in the trade, though under other colours and in disguise."<sup>174</sup> The United States ship "Cyane" at one time reported ten captures within a few days, adding: "Although they are evidently owned by Americans, they are so completely covered by Spanish papers that it is impossible to condemn them."<sup>175</sup> The governor of Sierra Leone reported the rivers Nunez and Pongas full of renegade European and American slave-traders;<sup>176</sup> the trade was said to be carried on "to an extent that almost staggers belief."<sup>177</sup> Down to 1824 or 1825, reports from all quarters prove this activity in slave-trading.

The execution of the laws within the country exhibits grave defects and even criminal negligence. Attorney-General Wirt finds it necessary to assure collectors, in 1819, that "it is against public policy to dispense with prosecutions for violation of the law to prohibit the Slave trade."<sup>178</sup> One district attorney writes: "It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders after the negroes have been landed in the state."<sup>179</sup> Again, it is

171. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 2. The President had in his message spoken in exhilarating tones of the success of the government in suppressing the trade. The House Committee appointed in pursuance of this passage made the above report. Their conclusions are confirmed by British reports: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, III. page 44. So, too, in 1823, Ashmun, the African agent, reports that thousands of slaves are being abducted.

172. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 24, 1823; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 31.

173. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 5-6. The slavers were the "Ramirez," "Endymion," "Esperanza," "Plattsburg," "Science," "Alexander," "Eugene," "Mathilde," "Daphne," "Eliza," and "La Pensée." In these 573 Africans were taken. The naval officers were greatly handicapped by the size of the ships, etc. (cf. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), pages 33-41). They nevertheless acted with great zeal.

174. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, page 76. The names and description of a dozen or more American slavers are given: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 18-21.

175. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 15-20.

176. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 119, page 13.

177. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, Vol. XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 10-11.

178. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, V. 717.

179. R.W. Habersham to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1821; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 47.



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asserted that "when vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruisers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the freedom to these captives which the laws of the United States have decreed for them."<sup>180</sup> In some cases, one man would smuggle in the Africans and hide them in the woods; then his partner would "rob" him, and so all trace be lost.<sup>181</sup> Perhaps 350 Africans were officially reported as brought in contrary to law from 1818 to 1820: the absurdity of this figure is apparent.<sup>182</sup> A circular letter to the marshals, in 1821, brought reports of only a few well-known cases, like that of the "General Ramirez;" the marshal of Louisiana had "no information."<sup>183</sup>

There appears to be little positive evidence of a large illicit importation into the country for a decade after 1825. It is hardly possible, however, considering the activity in the trade, that slaves were not largely imported. Indeed, when we note how the laws were continually broken in other respects, absence of evidence of petty smuggling becomes presumptive evidence that collusive or tacit understanding of officers and citizens allowed the trade to some extent.<sup>184</sup> Finally, it must be noted that during all this time scarcely a man suffered for participating in the trade, beyond the loss of the Africans and, more rarely, of his ship. Red-handed slavers, caught in the act and convicted, were too often, like La Coste of South Carolina, the subjects of executive clemency.<sup>185</sup> In certain cases there were those who even had the effrontery to ask Congress to cancel their own laws. For instance, in 1819 a Venezuelan privateer, secretly fitted out and manned by Americans in Baltimore, succeeded in capturing several American, Portuguese, and Spanish slavers, and appropriating the slaves; being finally wrecked herself, she transferred her crew and slaves to one of her prizes, the "Antelope," which was eventually captured by a United States cruiser and the 280 Africans sent to Georgia. After much litigation, the United States Supreme Court ordered those captured from Spaniards to be surrendered, and the others to be returned to Africa. By some mysterious process, only 139 Africans now remained, 100 of whom were sent to Africa. The Spanish claimants of the remaining thirty-nine sold them to a certain Mr. Wilde, who gave bond to transport them out of the country. Finally, in December, 1827, there came an innocent petition to Congress to *cancel this bond*.<sup>186</sup> A bill to that effect passed and was approved, May 2, 1828,<sup>187</sup> and in consequence these Africans remained as slaves in Georgia. On the whole, it is plain that, although in the period from 1807 to 1820 Congress laid down broad lines of legislation sufficient, save in some details, to suppress the African slave trade to America, yet the execution of these laws was criminally lax. Moreover, by the facility with which slavers could disguise their identity, it was possible for them to escape even a vigorous enforcement of our laws. This situation could properly be met only by energetic and sincere international co-operation....<sup>188</sup>

180. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

181. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 43.

182. Cf. above, pages 126-7.

183. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

184. A few accounts of captures here and there would make the matter less suspicious; these, however, do not occur. How large this suspected illicit traffic was, it is of course impossible to say; there is no reason why it may not have reached many hundreds per year.



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W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: It was not altogether a mistaken judgment that led the constitutional fathers to consider the slave-trade as the backbone of slavery. An economic system based on slave labor will find, sooner or later, that the demand for the cheapest slave labor cannot long be withstood. Once degrade the laborer so that he cannot assert his own rights, and there is but one limit below which his price cannot be reduced. That limit is not his physical well-being, for it may be, and in the Gulf States it was, cheaper to work him rapidly to death; the limit is simply the cost of procuring him and keeping him alive a profitable length of time. Only the moral sense of a community can keep helpless labor from sinking to this level; and when a community has once been debauched by slavery, its moral sense offers little resistance to economic demand. This was the case in the West Indies and Brazil; and although better moral stamina held the crisis back longer in the United States, yet even here the ethical standard of the South was not able to maintain itself against the demands of the cotton industry. When, after 1850, the price of slaves had risen to a monopoly height, the leaders of the plantation system, brought to the edge of bankruptcy by the crude and reckless farming necessary under a slave régime, and baffled, at least temporarily, in their quest of new rich land to exploit, began instinctively to feel that the only salvation of American slavery lay in the reopening of the African slave-trade.

It took but a spark to put this instinctive feeling into words, and words led to deeds. The movement first took definite form in the ever radical State of South Carolina. In 1854 a grand jury in the Williamsburg district declared, "as our unanimous opinion, that the Federal law abolishing the African Slave Trade is a public grievance. We hold this trade has been and would be, if re-established, a blessing to the American people, and a benefit to the African himself."<sup>189</sup> This attracted only local

185. Cf. editorial in Niles's Register, XXII. 114. Cf. also the following instances of pardons: —

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON: March 1, 1808, Phillip M. Topham, convicted for "carrying on an illegal slave-trade" (pardoned twice). PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9.

PRESIDENT MADISON: July 29, 1809, fifteen vessels arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, with 666 white persons and 683 negroes. Every penalty incurred under the Act of 1807 was remitted. (Note: "Several other pardons of this nature were granted.") PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179.

Nov. 8, 1809, John Hopkins and Lewis Le Roy, convicted for importing a slave. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 184-5.

Feb. 12, 1810, William Sewall, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 194, 235, 240.

May 5, 1812, William Babbit, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 248.

PRESIDENT MONROE: June 11, 1822, Thomas Shields, convicted for bringing slaves into New Orleans. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 15.

Aug. 24, 1822, J.F. Smith, sentenced to five years' imprisonment and \$3000 fine; served twenty-five months and was then pardoned. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 22.

July 23, 1823, certain parties liable to penalties for introducing slaves into Alabama. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 63.

Aug. 15, 1823, owners of schooner "Mary," convicted of importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 66.

PRESIDENT J.Q. ADAMS: March 4, 1826, Robert Perry; his ship was forfeited for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 140.

Jan. 17, 1827, Jesse Perry; forfeited ship, and was convicted for introducing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 158.

Feb. 13, 1827, Zenas Winston; incurred penalties for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 161. The four following cases are similar to that of Winston: —

Feb. 24, 1827, John Tucker and William Morbon. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 162.

March 25, 1828, Joseph Badger. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 192.

Feb. 19, 1829, L.R. Wallace. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 215.

PRESIDENT JACKSON: Five cases. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 225, 270, 301, 393, 440.

The above cases were taken from manuscript copies of the Washington records, made by Mr. W.C. Endicott, Jr., and kindly loaned me.

186. See SENATE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 60, 66, 340, 341, 343, 348, 352, 355; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 59, 76, 123, 134, 156, 169, 173, 279, 634, 641, 646, 647, 688, 692.

187. STATUTES AT LARGE, VI. 376.



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attention; but when, in 1856, the governor of the State, in his annual message, calmly argued at length for a reopening of the trade, and boldly declared that "if we cannot supply the demand for slave labor, then we must expect to be supplied with a species of labor we do not want,"<sup>190</sup> such words struck even Southern ears like "a thunder clap in a calm day."<sup>191</sup> And yet it needed but a few years to show that South Carolina had merely been the first to put into words the inarticulate thought of a large minority, if not a majority, of the inhabitants of the Gulf States.

188. Among interesting minor proceedings in this period were two Senate bills to register slaves so as to prevent illegal importation. They were both dropped in the House; a House proposition to the same effect also came to nothing: SENATE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, pages 147, 152, 157, 165, 170, 188, 201, 203, 232, 237; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 63, 74, 77, 202, 207, 285, 291, 297; HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, page 332; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 303, 305, 316; 16th Congress 1st session, page 150. Another proposition was contained in the Meigs resolution presented to the House, Feb. 5, 1820, which proposed to devote the public lands to the suppression of the slave-trade. This was ruled out of order. It was presented again and laid on the table in 1821: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227; 16th Congress 2d session, page 238.

189. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1854-5, page 1156.

190. Cluskey, POLITICAL TEXT-BOOK (14th edition), page 585.

191. De Bow's Review, XXII. 223; quoted from Andrew Hunter of Virginia.

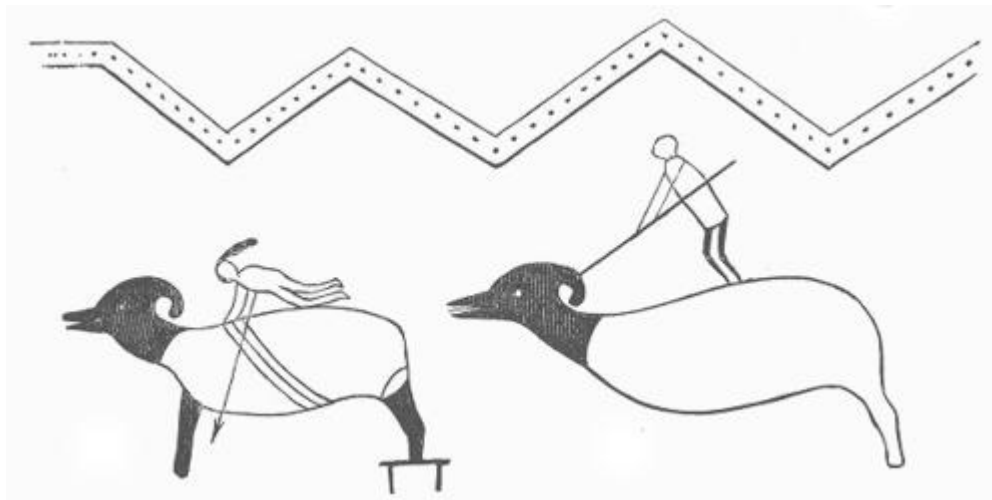


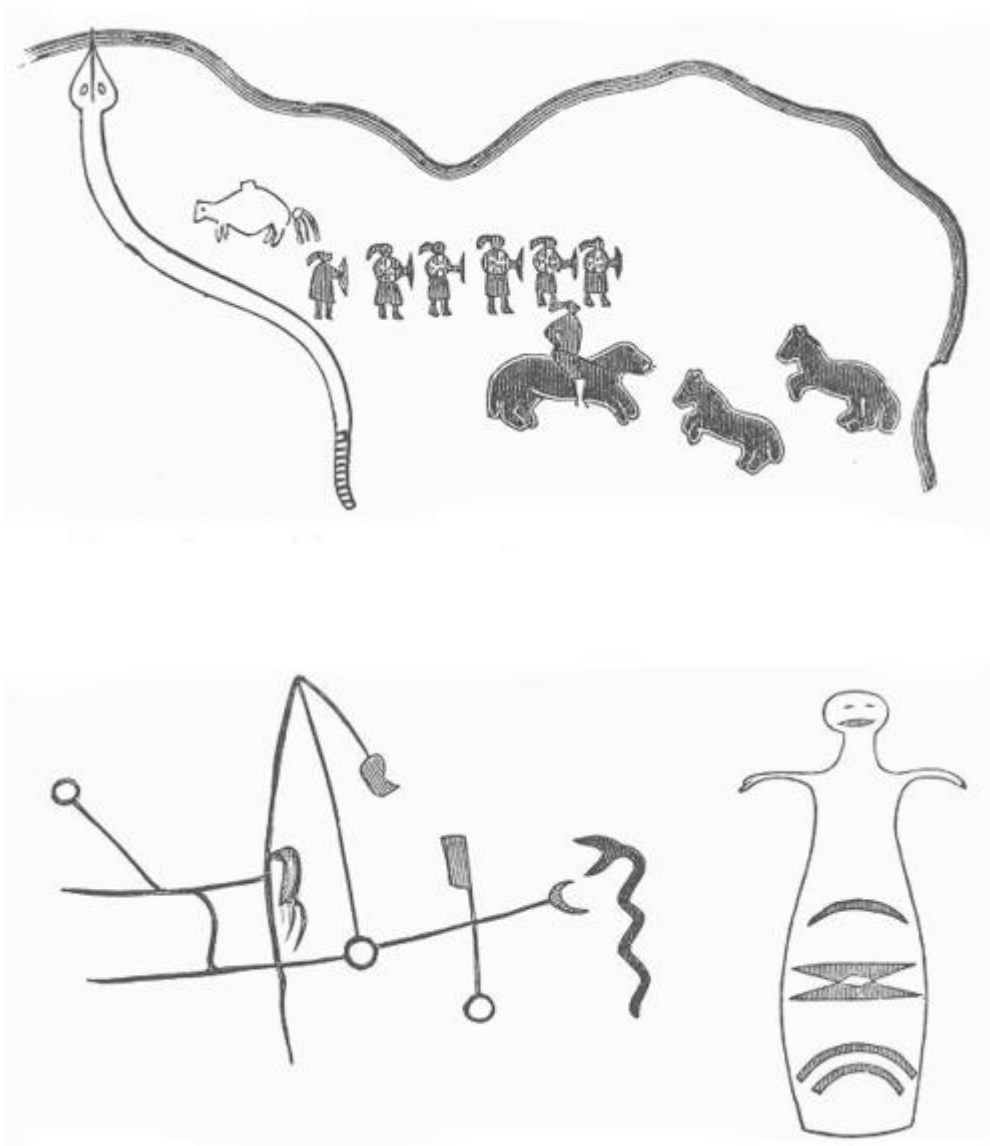
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When President [Franklin Pierce](#) upped the ante and offered Spain \$130,000,000 for [Cuba](#), Spain again turned us down. President Pierce then got into trouble with his Ostend Manifesto, which was considered to be a threat aimed at Spain that the US would “go ahead” and seize this island anyway. (These various attempts to buy or forcibly annex the island by invasion would end with the American Civil War, but the lust to annex the island to the American empire is to this day undiminished.)

When Pierce had become President [John Russell Bartlett](#) had of course been replaced as a United States Commissioner for the survey of the boundary between the United States and [Mexico](#). He published A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF EXPLORATIONS AND INCIDENTS IN TEXAS, NEW MEXICO, CALIFORNIA, SONORA AND CHIHUAHUA (2 volumes) which included sketches of native petroglyphs.





February 28, Tuesday: At a meeting called in Ripon WI to oppose the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the decision was reached to launch a new political party to take membership away from the Whigs. The host of this meeting, Alvan Bovay, motioned that the new party be denominated the Republican Party (the old Republican Party, also known as “Jeffersonian Republicans,” having withered away after losing power in 1825 and had divided into the group that had become known as “Whigs” versus a group of “Democratic Republicans” who had during the regime of President Andrew Jackson assumed the name “Democratic Party”) — and so it was. 

In [Havana](#), Spanish police boarded an American merchant ship, the *Black Warrior*, and imprisoned her crew under a charge of “violating customs regulations.”<sup>192</sup>



## CUBA

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April: The US circuit court for the district of Missouri was holding session in a small back room over a Main Street store in St. Louis. Preliminary skirmishing was taking place before Judge Robert M. Wells in the case of Dred Scott v Sandford.

In [Havana](#), a number of influential slave owners met with US Consul William H. Robertson to urge that he persuade President [Franklin Pierce](#) to send American troops to [Cuba](#) — in order to prevent slave [emancipation](#).

August 29, Tuesday: Louis Moreau Gottschalk gave the 1st of 4 concerts in Santiago de [Cuba](#).

An advertisement for [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) appeared in the [Boston Daily Advertiser](#):  
**[following screen]**

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

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

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## Life in the Woods.

**TICKNOR & FIELDS**

Have just published in 1 vol., 16mo., price \$1,

**Mr. Henry D. Thoreau's New Book,**

# WALDEN;

OR,

## Life in the Woods.

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"When I wrote the following pages, or rather the bulk of them, I lived alone, in the woods, a mile from any neighbor, in a house which I had built myself, on the shore of Walden Pond, in Concord, Massachusetts, and earned my living by the labor of my hands only."

### Contents :

ECONOMY,	THE PONDS,
WHERE I LIVED, AND	BAKER FARM,
WHAT I LIVED FOR,	HIGHER LAWS,
READING,	BRUTE NEIGHBORS,
SOUNDS,	HOUSE WARMING,
SOLITUDE,	FORMER INHABITANTS,
VISITORS,	WINTER VISITORS,
THE BEAN-FIELD,	THE POND IN WINTER,
THE VILLAGE,	SPRING,
	CONCLUSION.

This strikingly original and interesting book has been widely commended by the Press. A few extracts from notices are given below.

"This book was written because the author had something to say. 'Walden' may be pronounced a live book—a sincere, hearty production."—[Philadelphia Register.

"Full of eloquent thought and interest from beginning to end."—[New York Tribune.

"A remarkable book. There is nothing like it in literature. Strikingly original, singular, and most interesting."—[Salem Register.

"'Walden' is a prose poem. It is a book to be read, and re-read, and read again."—[Worcester Palladium.

"Thoreau writes almost as many *thoughts* as *words*. Indeed, his pages are more full of ideas than commas."—[Newark Advertiser.

"This is a remarkable history of remarkable experiences."—[New Bedford Mercury.

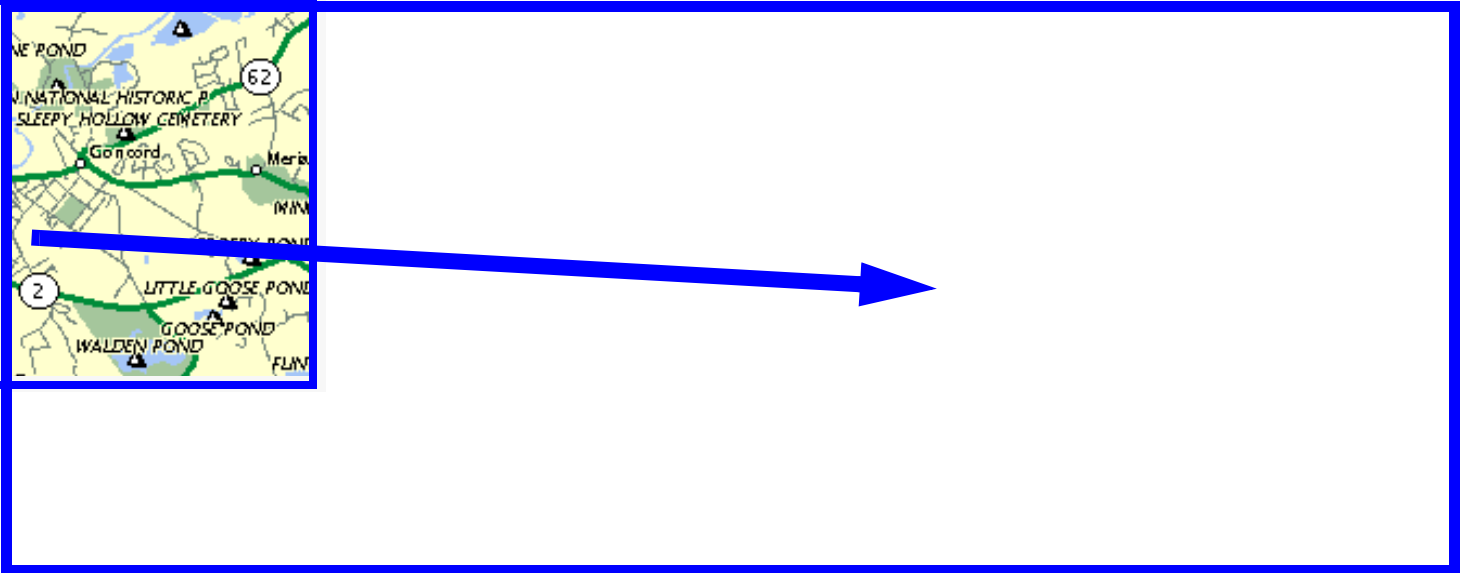
"This is one of the most singular, as well as one of the best of works."—[Lowell Courier.

august26

SatTu&Th

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In the afternoon Henry Thoreau went to the Derby's Bridge (Gleason F4) neighborhood



and the front of D. Tarbell's place (Gleason G4). Bronson Alcott and Thoreau dined together. What was the "threshing" process which Thoreau referred to in his journal on this day? It appears he was currently splitting "Walking, or the Wild" and adding journal entries in order to produce from this lecture a set of lectures which he would be able to deliver successively. He had selected a few passages about walking at night and about moonlight on the landscape to use as seed material for a new lecture about walking at night in the moonlight, and had assigned as a working title "The Moon."<sup>193</sup> Thoreau wrote two paragraphs in his journal (JOURNAL 6:486-7) that eventually found their way into the MH copy-text for an early version of the "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" lecture as paragraphs 1-2 (see facsimile transcriptions of the manuscripts in Dean, Bradley P., MA thesis "The Sound of a Flail: Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early 'Life without Principle' Lectures," pages 327-29, 330-32),<sup>194</sup> but which he removed from that lecture while revising it for "LIFE

Moonlight

193.Four of the leaves of this work product are now in the Harkness Collection in the Manuscript Division of New York Public Library (Manuscript #21), one is at University of Virginia (File Access 6345-e), and another is at Middlebury College in Vermont.  
 194.Isn't "The Sound of a Flail" wonderfully descriptive for this work about the manner in which Thoreau prepared his materials?





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MISSPENT”:

[Paragraph 1] Early for several mornings I have heard the sound of a flail. It leads me to ask, if I have spent as industrious a spring and summer as the farmer, and gathered as rich a crop. If so, the sound of my flail also will be heard, by those who have ears to hear it,<sup>1</sup> separating the kernel from the chaff all the fall and winter, and I trust that it will be a sound no less cheering than the former. If the drought has destroyed the corn let not all harvests fail.

[Paragraph 2] The lecturer must commence his threshing as early as August, that his fine flour may be ready for his winter customers. To him also fall rains will come to make full springs and raise his streams sufficiently to grind his grist. His flail will be heard early and late, even when farmers sleep. It must be made of tougher material than hickory, and tied together with resolution stronger than an eel-skin. For him, when he comes to deal with his native grain—his Indian wheat, there is no husking bee, but he works alone at evening, by lamp light, with the barn door shut, and only the pile of husks behind him for warmth. For him too, I fear, there is no patent corn-sheller, but he does his work, as it were, by hand, ear by ear, on the edge of a shovel over a bushel, on his hearth, often taking up a handful of the yellow grain, and letting it fall again while he blows out the chaff.

1. MATTHEW 11:15 MATTHEW 11:15 MATTHEW 13:9 MARK 4:9 MARK 4:23 LUKE 8:8 LUKE 8:8 LUKE 14:35

Brad Dean's Commentary

Thoreau decided to “winnow” material from his journals for lectures such as “What Shall It Profit?”:

Have you commenced to thresh your grain? The lecturer must commence his threshing as early as August, that his fine flour may be ready for his winter customers. (JOURNAL 6:486)

Brad Dean's Commentary

WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS was reviewed on the 2d page of the Richmond, Virginia Enquirer.

WALDEN Print H

WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS was reviewed on the 2d page of the Boston Herald.

WALDEN Print H

WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS was reviewed under the heading “Notices of Books” in the New York Commercial Advertiser, 2:4.

WALDEN Print H

Mr Thoreau is an eccentric genius who removed into the woods near the shore of Walden Pond, in Concord, Massachusetts, and there built, with his own hands, a little hut, in which he lived solitarily two years and two months, avoiding all intercourse with his fellow-men as far as possible, and subsisting upon fish, berries and such other food as he could procure in the woods. During this period of solitude he wrote the essays which compose the interesting volume before us. Although so fond of solitude, he is by no means misanthropical, and he manifests an ardent love of nature, but he seems to have a remarkable contempt for the bustle and turmoil of life. See the following semi-serious passage about the popular eagerness for news:—

**[Reprints “Where I Lived, and What I Lived For,” pages 93.24-94.29.]**

October 18, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#)'s plan for his "Course of Lectures" changed when he received the letter from [Asa Fairbanks](#) asking him to permit his name to appear in a program of reform lectures scheduled to commence in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on November 1st. Fairbanks advised Thoreau that:

*every Lecturer will choose his own Subject, but we expect all, whether Antislavery or what else, will be of a reformatory Character*



After a week of meetings in Belgium, the American ambassadors to Great Britain, France and Spain issued the Ostend Manifesto urging their government to annex [Cuba](#) if Spain was unwilling to cede it.

[Hector Berlioz](#) wrote Chapter 59 of his Mémoires, which included a description of Harriet Smithson's death and funeral.

La nonne sanglante, an opéra by Charles Gounod to words of Scribe and Delavigne after Lewis, was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opéra. This would ultimately fail.

1855

February 23, Friday: After a year of concertizing in [Cuba](#), Louis Moreau Gottschalk boarded a British steamer in [Havana](#) bound for Mobile and New Orleans.



February 23. Clear, but a very cold north wind. I see great cakes of ice, a rod or more in length and one foot thick, lying high and dry on the bare ground in the low fields some ten feet or more beyond the edge of the thinner ice, which were washed up by the last rise (the 18th), which was some four inches higher than the former one [Vide the 26th.]. Some of these great cakes, when the water going down has left them on a small mound, have bent as they settled, and conformed to the surface  
Saw at Walden this afternoon that that grayish ice which had formed over the large square where ice had been taken out for Brown's ice-house had a decided pink or rosaceous tinge. I see no cracks in the ground this year yet. Mr. Loring says that he and his son George fired at white swans in Texas on the water, and, though G. shot two with ball and killed them, the others in each case gathered about them and crowded them off out of their reach.

March 3, Saturday: [Ice hockey](#) was played by Paine's Bridge (predating the arrival of the Royal Canadian Rifles in Kingston, Ontario later in that year).

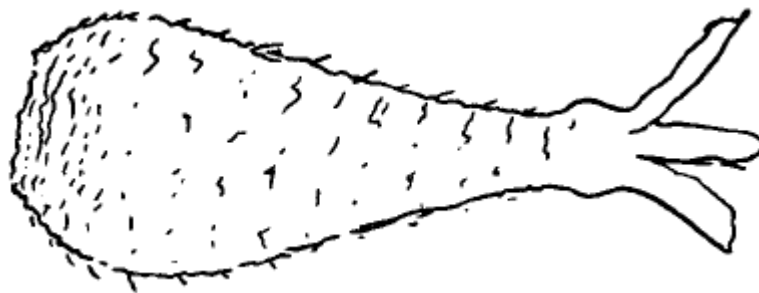
The Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House of Representatives published the documents of the Ostend Manifesto regarding US attempts to gain control of [Cuba](#).



March 3. *Saturday*. P.M. — To Conantum. This afternoon it is somewhat overcast for the first time since February 18th inclusive. I see a dirty-white miller fluttering about over the winter-rye patch next to Hubbard's Grove.  
A few rods from the broad pitch pine beyond, I find a cone which was probably dropped by a squirrel in the fall, for I see the marks of its teeth where it was cut off; and it has probably been buried by the snow till now, for it has apparently just opened, and I shake its seeds out. Not only is this cone, resting upright on the ground, fully blossomed, a very beautiful object, but the winged seeds which half fill my hand, small triangular black seeds with thin and delicate fleshcolored wings, remind me of fishes, — alewives, perchance, — their tails more or less curved.



I do not show the curve of the tail. I see, in another place under a pitch pine, many cores of cones which the squirrels have completely stripped of their scales, excepting the (about) three at extremity which cover no seeds, cutting them off regularly at the seeds or close to the core, leaving it in this form, or more regular: —



From some partially stripped I see that they begin at the base. These you find left on and about stumps where they have sat, and under the pines. Most fallen pitch pine cones show the marks of squirrels' teeth, showing they were cut off.

Day before yesterday there was good skating, and it was a beautiful warm day for it. Yesterday the ice began to be perceptibly softened. To-day it is too soft for [skating](#).

I might have said on the 2d that though it is warm there is no trouble about getting on to the river, for, the water

having fallen about six feet on the South Branch, the ice, about a foot thick, slopes upward in many places half a dozen rods or more on to the upland, like the side of an earthen milk-pan, and you do not know when you have passed the water-line.

Also I noticed yesterday that the ice, along the river-edge at the Great Meadows, still clinging to the alders and maples three or four feet from the ground, was remarkably transparent and solid, or without bubbles, like purest crystal, not rotted; probably because the rays of the sun passed through it, and there was no surface beneath to reflect them back again and so rot the ice. Of this I made my burning-glass.

I think it was yesterday morning that I first noticed a frost on the bare russet grass. This, too, is an early spring phenomenon. I am surprised to see that the radical johnswort leaves, which have been green all winter, are now wilted and blackened by it, and where a wood was cut off this winter on a hillside, all the rattlesnake-plantain has suffered in like manner.

Again I observe the river breaking up (from the bank). The thin and rotted ice, saturated with water, is riddled with oblong open places, whose prevailing form is curving *commonly* up-stream, though not always, — i.e.



southerly *here*. Has this anything to do with the direction of the prevailing winds of winter, which make the waves bend southerly? Since the cold of a week ago — they may be of older date — I see many tracks in the earth, especially in plowed fields, which are cracked up into vast cakes in some places, apparently on the same principle that ice is.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**CUBA****CUBA****1856**

The Elliott family of Beaufort, South Carolina had had extensive dealings with a swashbuckling [Cuban](#), “General” Ambrosio José Gonzales (38 years of age, who actually had been working in Washington DC as a mere patent clerk), and in this year he shaved off his beard and got one of this prominent Southern family’s



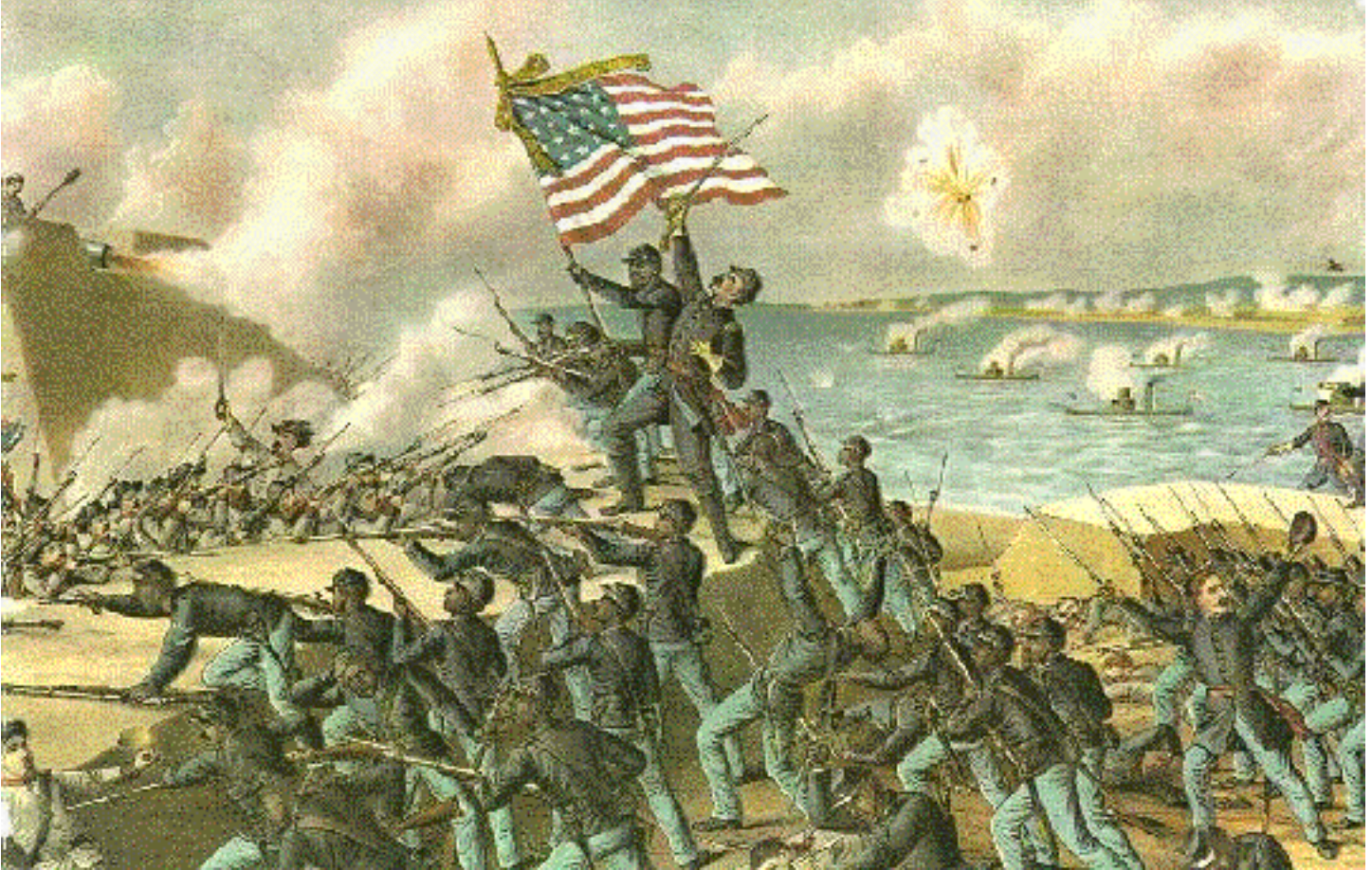
prizes, [William Elliott](#)’s 15-year-old Harriett Rutledge Elliott, to tumble head over heels for him. Gonzales, who was forever insisting that in [Cuba](#) he had been a General, would be serving in the army of the Confederate States of America for the duration of the US Civil War as a local “Chief of Artillery,” while forever struggling through Elliott family influence to rise to the coveted rank of CSA Brigadier General. President Jefferson Davis would in fact be denying –six times in succession!– petitions for a promotion to such a high-society rank. As a mere Chief of Artillery, however, Gonzales would make himself useful in the defense of Fort Wagner against the black horde of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment — at first by the use of mines and then



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with a cadre of 60 local white men specially armed for closeup slaughter with double-barrelled shotguns.<sup>195</sup>



(In the famous illustration above, it does not at all seem to be made clear that the lads in gray uniforms were blasting holes in the lads in blue uniforms, by the employment of specially-provided-for-that-moment double-barreled shotguns.)

ROBERT GOULD SHAW

US CIVIL WAR

A 2d edition of [William Elliott](#)'s CAROLINA SPORTS BY LAND AND WATER: INCLUDING DEVIL-FISHING, WILD-CAT, DEER AND BEAR HUNTING, &C (Burgess and James, 1846).

## CAROLINA SPORTS

195. These double-barreled shotguns that would prove so useful in the us-white-men defense of Fort Wagner against the all-black onslaught of the 54th Massachusetts were also employed by the Texas Rangers, and by United States cavalymen of the Wild West — and Comanche braves are reported to have had double-barreled shotguns, barrels sawed off, strapped across their saddle pommels. (The most popular caliber was a truly enormous 8-gauge, firing a shell all of .835 inches in diameter, while British dragoons in South Africa chose to rely on double-barreled weapons that were merely 12-gauge, finding these to be more easily reloadable while nevertheless still capable of blowing a man or a horse apart at a range that left powder scorches around the entry wound).



“What was my surprise at beholding the Devil-Fish, though now released, still keeping company with us, swimming close to the boat, and following us with his horns projected on each side of the stern.”—PAGE 89.



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December 26, Saturday: Sigismund Thalberg and Louis Moreau Gottschalk performed a joint farewell concert in Niblo's Saloon, New-York. Thalberg was leaving for New England while Gottschalk was about to begin a concert tour of [Cuba](#). They premiered a Grand Duo di bravura on Il Trovatore.

The [Louis A. Surette](#), a 65-ton schooner, was sailing from [Boston](#) to Eel Brook on the coast of Nova Scotia with a cargo of oats when it ran aground off Cranberry Head. Two died in this wreck.





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1857

In a series of articles in Russell's Magazine, [William Elliott](#) would be describing his "Trip to [Cuba](#)."

Henry A. Murray's LANDS OF THE [SLAVE](#) AND THE FREE: [CUBA](#), THE UNITED STATES, AND [CANADA](#).

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

Professor [Henry Youle Hind](#)'s ESSAY ON THE INSECTS AND DISEASES INJURIOUS TO THE WHEAT CROPS ([Toronto](#)).

February 7, Saturday: Louis Moreau Gottschalk departed from New-York for [Havana](#) and a concert tour of [Cuba](#). He would spend the following 5 years in the Caribbean.



February 23, Friday: King Frederick VI of Denmark appointed the Reverends [William Carey](#), [Joshua Marshman](#), and [William Ward](#) as members of the first Council of Serampore College in India, an educational institution which the monarch incorporated under Danish authority. Continually supporting the cause of education in India, the Reverend [Joshua Marshman](#) would accept a position as an official translator in India for the British government and in doing so create bad feelings among his fellow missionaries. In 1852, under this barrage of criticism, he would resign and return to Great Britain, where he would stand for a seat in the Parliament on three different occasions (1857, 1859, and 1861), but would lose all three elections. He would die on July 8, 1877 in London.



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1858

[Frederick Townsend Ward](#) returned from wherever he had been at sea and from whatever he had been doing on land for the previous ten years (he had had some adventures, he could tell you), to a desk job as a ship broker working for his father in New-York. (He would find this altogether too dull and would sail again for [China](#).)

John Landis Mason of New-York patented a reusable glass jar (which would become known as the Mason Jar). Invention of the Mason jar would stimulate use of large quantities of [white sugar](#) for preserves, reducing traditional reliance on maple sugar and molasses for home cooking. Usage of white sugar in the United States would double between 1880 (when the tariff on imported sugar was lowered) and 1915.

August 14, Saturday: The following advertisement appeared:

**A TLANTIC TELEGRAPH.—A slice of the CABLE, set as a Charm in gold or silver gilt, is now ready, forming an elegant appendage and lasting memento of this wonderful achievement of science, size of a sovereign, including the mounting. Silver gilt, 12s. 6d, Gold, 21s., post-free upon receipt of order. Address EDWARDS and JONES, 161, Regent-street, W.**

The New Orleans Bee encouraged the extension of slavery through the annexation of [Cuba](#):

There is no earthly use in seeking to plant slavery in Northern territory; climactic influences are against us there, and slavery will not flourish where white labor can compete with it successfully. But southward we have almost a boundless field of enterprise lying before us. There is Cuba.... Slave labor there already gives rich returns, and annexation to the Union would introduce superior American management in that island and raise the productivity of the individual slave laborers... Let the people of the South cease an unavailing effort to force slavery into ungenial climes, and strive to plant it where it would naturally tend....



August 14: P.M.—To the one-arched bridge.

Hardhacks are probably a little past prime.

Stopped by the culvert opposite the centaurea, to look at the sagittaria leaves. Perhaps this plant is in its prime (?). Its leaves vary remarkably in form. I see, in a thick patch six or eight feet in diameter, leaves nearly a foot long of this form:





and others, as long or longer, of this form:



with all the various intermediate ones. The very narrow ones, perhaps, around the edge of the patch, being also of a darker green, are not distinguished at first, but mistaken for grass.

Suggesting to C. an Indian name for one of our localities, he thought it had too many syllables for a place so near the middle of the town, — as if the more distant and less frequented place might have a longer name, less understood and less alive in its syllables.

The Canada thistle down is now begun to fly and I see the goldfinch [American Goldfinch, **C**arduleis tristis] upon it. Carduelis. Often when I watch one go off, he flies at first one way, rising and falling, as if skiing close over unseen billows, but directly makes a great circuit as if he had changed his mind, and disappears in the opposite direction, or is seen to be joined there by his mate.

We walked a little way down the bank this side the Assabet bridge. The broad-leaved panic grass, with its hairy sheaths or collars, attracts the eye now there by its perfectly fresh broad leaf. We see from time to time many bubbles rising from the sandy bottom, where it is two or more feet deep, which I suspect to come from clams there letting off air. I think I see the clams, and it is often noticed there.

I see a pickerel nearly a foot long in the deep pool under the wooden bridge this side the stone one, where it has been landlocked how long?



There is brought me this afternoon *Thalictrum Cornuti*, of which the club-shaped filaments (and sepals?) and seed-vessels are a bright purple and quite showy.

To speak from recollection, the birds which I have chanced to hear of late are (running over the whole list):—

- The squealing notes of young hawks.
- Occasionally a red-wing's tchuck.
- The link of bobolinks.
- The chickadee and pheebe note of the chickadees, five or six together occasionally.
- The fine note of the cherry-bird, pretty often.
- The twitter of the kingbird, pretty often.
- The wood pewee, with its young, peculiarly common and prominent.
- Only the peep of the robin.
- The pine warbler, occasionally.
- The bay-wing [Vesper Sparrow, **C**ooecetes gramineus], pretty often.
- The seringo, pretty often.
- The song sparrow, often.
- The field sparrow, often.
- The goldfinch, a prevailing note, with variations into a fine song.
- The ground-robin, once of late.
- The flicker's cackle, once of late.
- The nighthawk, as usual.

I have not been out early nor late, nor attended particularly to the birds. The more characteristic notes would appear to be the wood pewee's [Eastern Wood-Pewee, **C**ontopus virens] and the goldfinch's [American Goldfinch, **C**arduleis tristis], with the squeal of young hawks. These might be called the pewee-days.



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December 6, Monday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Report of the Secretary of the Navy.” –HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35 Cong. 2 sess. II. pt. 4, No. 2, pt. 4, pp. 5, 13-4.

President James Buchanan reported to the houses of Congress:

The truth is, that [Cuba](#) in its existing colonial condition, is a constant source of injury and annoyance to the American people. It is the only spot in the civilized world where the African slave trade is tolerated; and we are bound by treaty with Great Britain to maintain a naval force on the coast of Africa, at much expense both of life and treasure, solely for the purpose of arresting slavers bound to that island. The late serious difficulties between the United States and Great Britain respecting the right of search, now so happily terminated, could never have arisen if Cuba had not afforded a market for slaves. As long as this market shall remain open, there can be no hope for the civilization of benighted Africa....

It has been made known to the world by my predecessors that the United States have, on several occasions, endeavored to acquire Cuba from Spain by honorable negotiation. If this were accomplished, the last relic of the African slave trade would instantly disappear. We would not, if we could, acquire Cuba in any other manner. This is due to our national character.... This course we shall ever pursue, unless circumstances should occur, which we do not now anticipate, rendering a departure from it clearly justifiable, under the imperative and overruling law of self-preservation (HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 2d session, II. No. 2, pages 14-5. See also HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 2d session, II. No. 2, pages 31-3).

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) in [New Bedford](#) that he would like to bring Thomas Cholmondeley to his home “Brooklawn” for a visit.

*Concord Dec 6<sup>th</sup> 1858  
Friend Ricketson,  
Thomas Cholmondeley,  
my English acquaintance,  
is here, on his way to the  
West Indies. He wants to  
see New Bedford, a whaling  
town. I tell him that  
I would like to introduce  
him to you there, thinking  
more of his seeing you than  
New Bedford. So we propose  
to come your way to-morrow.  
Excuse this short notice,  
for the time is short. If, on  
any account, it is in-  
convenient to see us, you  
will treat us accordingly.  
Yrs truly  
Henry D. Thoreau*



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Page 2  
Address: *Daniel Ricketson Esq*  
*New Bedford*  
*Mass*  
*Please forward*  
*immediately*



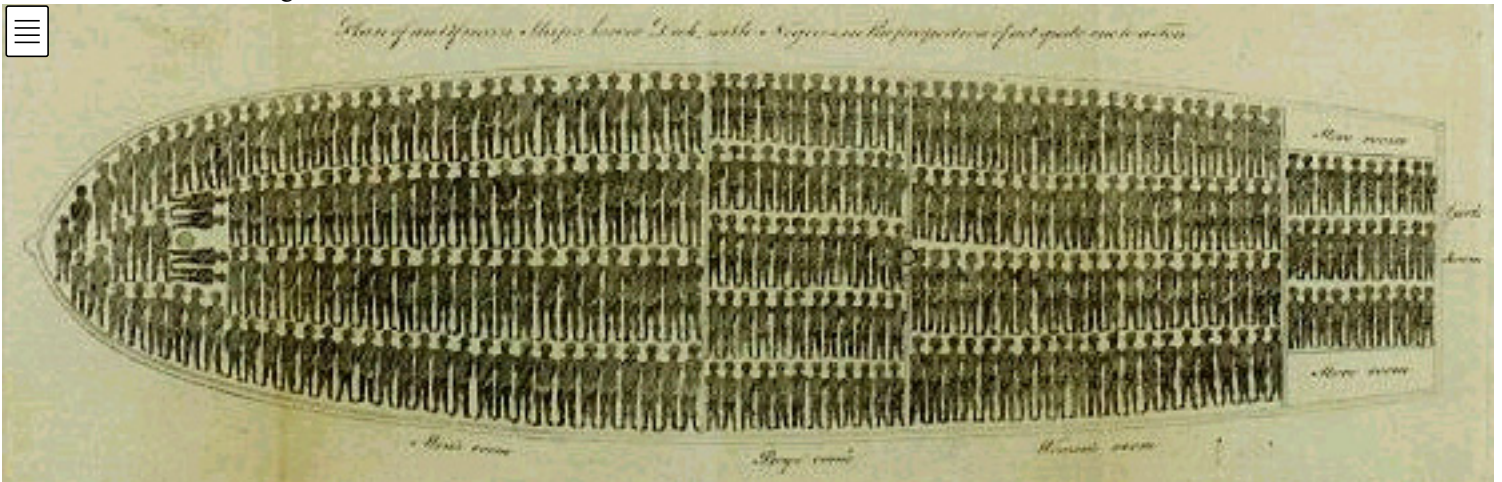
Go out at 9 A.M. to see the glaze. It is already half fallen, melting off. The dripping trees and wet falling ice will wet you through like rain in the woods. It is a lively sound, a busy tinkling, the incessant brattling and from time to time rushing, crashing sound of this falling ice, and trees suddenly erecting themselves when relieved of their loads. It is now perfect only on the north sides of woods which the sun has not touched or affected. Looking at a dripping tree between you and the sun, you may see here or there one or another rainbow color, a small brilliant point of light. Yesterday it froze as it fell on my umbrella, converting the cotton cloth into a thick stiff glazed sort of oilcloth, so that it was impossible to shut it.

1859

Over the following 4 years, Dr. Martin Robison Delany's BLAKE; OR, THE HUTS OF AMERICA: A TALE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, AND CUBA, a novel involving black insurrectionism, would be being serialized.



During this year the last known [negrero](#) was arriving in this nation which had supposedly outlawed the import of [slaves](#) without ever having convicted anyone of violation of said law: this was in Mobile Bay, Alabama, and this negrero was named the *Clothilde*.



But during this year and the next Dr. Martin Robison Delany would be leading a party of exploration, back to West Africa, to check out the delta of the Niger River as a suitable location for repatriation of American blacks.



Have you ever wondered what happened to people who got freed from slave ships? The anti-[international slave trade](#) squadron of the American Navy that was patrolling off the African coast at this point was beefed up with an additional four steam gunboats so it could set up a similar patrol off the destination end of the passage, the [Cuban](#) coast. Three American-owned slavers, the *Wildfire* of New-York, the *William* of [Baltimore](#), and the *Bogota* of New-York, were captured enroute to [Cuba](#) from the Congo River and from Ouidah by the *USS*

*Mohawk*, the *USS Wyandott*, and the *USS Crusader*, and brought into the port of Key West, Florida.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Some 294 of the 1,432 Africans aboard died at Key West from illnesses brought on by their confinement in the holds and were buried on a local beach. After some 80 days in America, the survivors would depart Key West for Liberia, transported by the American Colonization Society with financial support from the U.S. Government. Hundreds more of them would perish before again sighting the shores of Africa, and be consigned to the waves. Key West, because of the power of the Union Navy, would remain in Northern hands, and a couple of years later Union soldiers would construct a fortification, West Martello Tower, atop the beach graves. The strip of sand would be doing service as a public beach during our current era, when some local historian would inspect an 1863 map and notice “African Cemetery” clearly marked on it.



This was reported to have been the scene on the deck of the *Wildfire*.<sup>196</sup>



W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: A somewhat more sincere and determined effort to enforce the slave-trade laws now followed; and yet it is a significant fact that not until Lincoln's administration did a slave-trader suffer death for violating the laws of the United States. The participation of Americans in the trade continued, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860. The development of a vast internal slave-trade, and the consequent rise in the South of vested interests strongly opposed to slave smuggling, led to a falling off in the illicit introduction of Negroes after 1825, until the fifties; nevertheless, smuggling never entirely ceased, and large numbers were thus added to the plantations of the Gulf States. Monroe had various constitutional scruples as to the execution

196. There are a number of images of this sort available at <<http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery>>.



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of the Act of 1819;<sup>197</sup> but, as Congress took no action, he at last put a fair interpretation on his powers, and appointed Samuel Bacon as an agent in Africa to form a settlement for recaptured Africans. Gradually the agency thus formed became merged with that of the Colonization Society on Cape Mesurado; and from this union Liberia was finally evolved.<sup>198</sup>

Meantime, during the years 1818 to 1820, the activity of the slave-traders was prodigious. General James Tallmadge declared in the House, February 15, 1819: "Our laws are already highly penal against their introduction, and yet, it is a well known fact, that about fourteen thousand slaves have been brought into our country this last year."<sup>199</sup> In the same year Middleton of South Carolina and Wright of Virginia estimated illicit introduction at 13,000 and 15,000 respectively.<sup>200</sup> Judge Story, in charging a jury, took occasion to say: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the slave-trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."<sup>201</sup> The following year, 1820, brought some significant statements from various members of Congress. Said Smith of South Carolina: "Pharaoh was, for his temerity, drowned in the Red Sea, in pursuing them [the Israelites] contrary to God's express will; but our Northern friends have not been afraid even of that, in their zeal to furnish the Southern States with Africans. They are better seamen than Pharaoh, and calculate by that means to elude the vigilance of Heaven; which they seem to disregard, if they can but elude the violated laws of their country."<sup>202</sup> As late as May he saw little hope of suppressing the traffic.<sup>203</sup> Sergeant of Pennsylvania declared: "It is notorious that, in spite of the utmost vigilance that can be employed, African negroes are clandestinely brought in and sold as slaves."<sup>204</sup> Plumer of New Hampshire stated that "of the unhappy beings, thus in violation of all laws transported to our shores, and thrown by force into the mass of our black population, scarcely one in a hundred is ever detected by the officers of the General Government, in a part of the country, where, if we are to believe the statement of Governor Rabun, 'an officer who would perform his duty, by attempting to enforce the law [against the slave trade] is, by many, considered as an officious meddler, and treated with derision and contempt;' ... I have been told by a gentleman, who has attended particularly to this subject, that ten thousand slaves were in one year smuggled into the United States; and that, even for the last year, we must count the number not by hundreds, but by thousands."<sup>205</sup> In 1821 a committee of Congress

197. Attorney-General Wirt advised him, October, 1819, that no part of the appropriation could be used to purchase land in Africa or tools for the Negroes, or as salary for the agent: OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, I. 314-7. Monroe laid the case before Congress in a special message Dec. 20, 1819 (HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, page 57); but no action was taken there.

198. Cf. Kendall's Report, August, 1830: SENATE DOCUMENT, 21st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 211-8; also see below, Chapter X.

199. Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1819, page 18; published in Boston, 1849.

200. Jay, INQUIRY INTO AMERICAN COLONIZATION (1838), page 59, note.

201. Quoted in Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (ed. 1841), pages 7-8.

202. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 270-1.

203. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 698.

204. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1207.

205. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1433.



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characterized prevailing methods as those "of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government."<sup>206</sup> Another committee, in 1822, after a careful examination of the subject, declare that they "find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the slave trade by the laws above mentioned, and the seizures under them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations." They then state the suspicious circumstance that, with the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic, "the trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations." They complain of the spasmodic efforts of the executive. They say that the first United States cruiser arrived on the African coast in March, 1820, and remained a "few weeks;" that since then four others had in two years made five visits in all; but "since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is, under orders for that service."<sup>207</sup> The United States African agent, Ayres, reported in 1823: "I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas, and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruizers, their short stay and seldom appearance had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system to gain intelligence of any cruiser being on the coast."<sup>208</sup>

Even such spasmodic efforts bore abundant fruit, and indicated what vigorous measures might have accomplished. Between May, 1818, and November, 1821, nearly six hundred Africans were recaptured and eleven American slavers taken.<sup>209</sup> Such measures gradually changed the character of the trade, and opened the international phase of the question. American slavers cleared for foreign ports, there took a foreign flag and papers, and then sailed boldly past American cruisers, although their real character was often well known. More stringent clearance laws and consular instructions might have greatly reduced this practice; but nothing was ever done, and gradually the laws became in large measure powerless to deal with the bulk of the illicit trade. In 1820, September 16, a British officer, in his official report, declares that, in spite of United States laws, "American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are

206. Referring particularly to the case of the slaver "Plattsburg." Cf. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 10.

207. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 2. The President had in his message spoken in exhilarating tones of the success of the government in suppressing the trade. The House Committee appointed in pursuance of this passage made the above report. Their conclusions are confirmed by British reports: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, III. page 44. So, too, in 1823, Ashmun, the African agent, reports that thousands of slaves are being abducted.

208. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 24, 1823; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 31.

209. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 5-6. The slavers were the "Ramirez," "Endymion," "Esperanza," "Plattsburg," "Science," "Alexander," "Eugene," "Mathilde," "Daphne," "Eliza," and "La Pensée." In these 573 Africans were taken. The naval officers were greatly handicapped by the size of the ships, etc. (cf. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), pages 33-41). They nevertheless acted with great zeal.



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unquestionably engaged in the trade, though under other colours and in disguise."<sup>210</sup> The United States ship "Cyane" at one time reported ten captures within a few days, adding: "Although they are evidently owned by Americans, they are so completely covered by Spanish papers that it is impossible to condemn them."<sup>211</sup> The governor of Sierra Leone reported the rivers Nunez and Pongas full of renegade European and American slave-traders;<sup>212</sup> the trade was said to be carried on "to an extent that almost staggers belief."<sup>213</sup> Down to 1824 or 1825, reports from all quarters prove this activity in slave-trading.

The execution of the laws within the country exhibits grave defects and even criminal negligence. Attorney-General Wirt finds it necessary to assure collectors, in 1819, that "it is against public policy to dispense with prosecutions for violation of the law to prohibit the Slave trade."<sup>214</sup> One district attorney writes: "It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders after the negroes have been landed in the state."<sup>215</sup> Again, it is asserted that "when vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruisers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the freedom to these captives which the laws of the United States have decreed for them."<sup>216</sup> In some cases, one man would smuggle in the Africans and hide them in the woods; then his partner would "rob" him, and so all trace be lost.<sup>217</sup> Perhaps 350 Africans were officially reported as brought in contrary to law from 1818 to 1820: the absurdity of this figure is apparent.<sup>218</sup> A circular letter to the marshals, in 1821, brought reports of only a few well-known cases, like that of the "General Ramirez;" the marshal of Louisiana had "no information."<sup>219</sup>

There appears to be little positive evidence of a large illicit importation into the country for a decade after 1825. It is hardly possible, however, considering the activity in the trade, that slaves were not largely imported. Indeed, when we note how the laws were continually broken in other respects, absence of evidence of petty smuggling becomes presumptive evidence that collusive or tacit understanding of officers and citizens allowed the trade to some extent.<sup>220</sup> Finally, it must be noted that during all this time scarcely a man suffered for participating in the trade, beyond the loss of the Africans and, more rarely, of his ship. Red-handed slavers, caught in the act and convicted, were too often, like La Coste of South Carolina, the subjects of executive clemency.<sup>221</sup> In certain cases there were those who even had the effrontery to ask Congress to cancel their own laws. For instance, in 1819 a Venezuelan privateer, secretly fitted out and manned by Americans in Baltimore,

210. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, page 76. The names and description of a dozen or more American slavers are given: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 18-21.

211. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 15-20.

212. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 119, page 13.

213. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, Vol. XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 10-11.

214. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, V. 717.

215. R.W. Habersham to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1821; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 47.

216. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

217. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 43.

218. Cf. above, pages 126-7.

219. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

220. A few accounts of captures here and there would make the matter less suspicious; these, however, do not occur. How large this suspected illicit traffic was, it is of course impossible to say; there is no reason why it may not have reached many hundreds per year.



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succeeded in capturing several American, Portuguese, and Spanish slavers, and appropriating the slaves; being finally wrecked herself, she transferred her crew and slaves to one of her prizes, the "Antelope," which was eventually captured by a United States cruiser and the 280 Africans sent to Georgia. After much litigation, the United States Supreme Court ordered those captured from Spaniards to be surrendered, and the others to be returned to Africa. By some mysterious process, only 139 Africans now remained, 100 of whom were sent to Africa. The Spanish claimants of the remaining thirty-nine sold them to a certain Mr. Wilde, who gave bond to transport them out of the country. Finally, in December, 1827, there came an innocent petition to Congress to *cancel this bond*.<sup>222</sup> A bill to that effect passed and was approved, May 2, 1828,<sup>223</sup> and in consequence these Africans remained as slaves in Georgia. On the whole, it is plain that, although in the period from 1807 to 1820 Congress laid down broad lines of legislation sufficient, save in some details, to suppress the African slave trade to America, yet the execution of these laws was criminally lax. Moreover, by the facility with which slavers could disguise their identity, it was possible for them to escape even a vigorous enforcement of our laws. This situation could properly be met only by energetic and sincere international co-operation....<sup>224</sup>

221. Cf. editorial in Niles's Register, XXII. 114. Cf. also the following instances of pardons: —  
PRESIDENT JEFFERSON: March 1, 1808, Phillip M. Topham, convicted for "carrying on an illegal slave-trade" (pardoned twice). PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9.  
PRESIDENT MADISON: July 29, 1809, 15 vessels arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, with 666 white persons and 683 negroes. Every penalty incurred under the Act of 1807 was remitted. (Note: "Several other pardons of this nature were granted.") PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179.  
Nov. 8, 1809, John Hopkins and Lewis Le Roy, convicted for importing a slave. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 184-5.  
Feb. 12, 1810, William Sewall, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 194, 235, 240.  
May 5, 1812, William Babbit, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 248.  
PRESIDENT MONROE: June 11, 1822, Thomas Shields, convicted for bringing slaves into New Orleans. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 15.  
Aug. 24, 1822, J.F. Smith, sentenced to five years' imprisonment and \$3000 fine; served twenty-five months and was then pardoned. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 22.  
July 23, 1823, certain parties liable to penalties for introducing slaves into Alabama. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 63.  
Aug. 15, 1823, owners of schooner "Mary," convicted of importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 66.  
PRESIDENT J.Q. ADAMS: March 4, 1826, Robert Perry; his ship was forfeited for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 140.  
Jan. 17, 1827, Jesse Perry; forfeited ship, and was convicted for introducing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 158.  
Feb. 13, 1827, Zenas Winston; incurred penalties for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 161. The four following cases are similar to that of Winston: —  
Feb. 24, 1827, John Tucker and William Morbon. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 162.  
March 25, 1828, Joseph Badger. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 192.  
Feb. 19, 1829, L.R. Wallace. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 215.  
PRESIDENT JACKSON: Five cases. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 225, 270, 301, 393, 440.  
The above cases were taken from manuscript copies of the Washington records, made by Mr. W.C. Endicott, Jr., and kindly loaned me.  
222. See SENATE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 60, 66, 340, 341, 343, 348, 352, 355; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 59, 76, 123, 134, 156, 169, 173, 279, 634, 641, 646, 647, 688, 692.  
223. STATUTES AT LARGE, VI. 376.





January: The Weekly Anglo African Magazine began weekly publication of 25 installments of Martin Robison Delany's BLAKE; OR, THE HUTS OF AMERICA: A TALE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, AND CUBA, a novel involving black insurrectionism which, according to Floyd Miller, amounted to "the first novelistic offering of a black writer to be published in the United States." (The series would complete in July.)



February: During arguments for the annexation of Cuba, Senator James Mason of Virginia called again for payment of Spain's La Amistad claim.

[Of course, the schooner in question did not belong to Spain, or to any Spaniard or Spaniards. It was a prize vessel, and it belonged to the surviving 35 of the black privateers of the mutiny who had been sent back to Africa aboard the bark *Gentleman*, who had been sent home as mere charity wards with nobody ever thinking to return to them their conquest which they had won fair and square with their blood, sweat, and tears, admittedly worth \$70,000. For sure, had it been 35 surviving free white privateers, they would not have been denied this booty which belonged to them, but because they were instead free blacks, it had never even **occurred** to any of the white players in this legal drama, such as the collective wit of the seven Supreme Court justices involved in puzzling out this puzzle, to give them their prize schooner back! One of the open issues of this drama, therefore, is: what actually had happened to the schooner *La Amistad*? **Where had this valuable piece of property gone to? Which American white men had been allowed to profit from it?** Our history books are, of course, silent, this being a question which it has never ever occurred to us to pose.]



"There is only one way to accept America and that is in hate; one must be close to one's land, passionately close in some way or other, and the only way to be close to America is to hate it; it is the only way to love America."



— Lionel Trilling

February: In Brooklyn, New York, The Reverend Henry Ward Beecher wrote to Charles Wesley Slack seeking a list of the lecturers in the Lyceum course and also mentioning the fact that the Reverend Theodore Parker was no longer welcome to lecture at the Boston Lyceum on account of his "peculiar moral doctrines." Meanwhile, the Reverend and Mrs. Parker were seen off by the Reverend George Ripley, as they departed by steamship, accompanied on this leg of their quest for health by their friends and co-conspirators Doctor and Mrs. Samuel Gridley Howe (Samuel Gridley Howe and Julia Ward Howe), for the warmer climes of Cuba and Santa Cruz never to return.

224. Among interesting minor proceedings in this period were two Senate bills to register slaves so as to prevent illegal importation. They were both dropped in the House; a House proposition to the same effect also came to nothing: SENATE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, pages 147, 152, 157, 165, 170, 188, 201, 203, 232, 237; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 63, 74, 77, 202, 207, 285, 291, 297; HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, page 332; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 303, 305, 316; 16th Congress 1st session, page 150. Another proposition was contained in the Meigs resolution presented to the House, Feb. 5, 1820, which proposed to devote the public lands to the suppression of the slave-trade. This was ruled out of order. It was presented again and laid on the table in 1821: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227; 16th Congress 2d session, page 238.



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February 12, Saturday: In New-York, R.H. Macy's department store at the corner of 14th Street and 6th Avenue was advertising its wares:

**S**PRING RIBBONS now Opening every day.  
SPRING FLOWERS just received from Paris.  
JUST RECEIVED, an invoice of Linen Handkerchiefs.  
JUST RECEIVED, an invoice of New Lace Goods.  
JUST RECEIVED, an invoice of Hosiery and Gloves.  
JUST RECEIVED, Spring Styles Housekeeping Dry Goods.  
LADIES' CORSETS, 6s., 7s., and 10s., Good Styles.  
LADIES' KID GLOVES, 63c., all colors and sizes.  
ALL KINDS EMBROIDERIES, very cheap, to close.  
OUR GREAT SALE is still on the INCREASE. Ladies please call. We sell good Goods, Corner 14th Street and 6th Av. R. H. MACY.

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) departed for a vacation in [Cuba](#). He would be away until March 17th.

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#).

*Concord Feb 12<sup>th</sup> 1859*

*Friend Ricketson,*

*I thank you for your kind letter. I sent you the notice of my Father's death as much because you knew him, as because you know me. I can hardly realize that he is dead. He had been sick about two years, and at last declined rather rapidly though steadily. Till within a week or ten days before he died, he was hoping to see another spring; but he then discovered that this was a vain expectation, and thinking that he was dying he took his leave of us several times within a week before his departure. Once or twice he expressed a slight impatience at the delay. He was quite conscious to the last, and his death was so easy, that though we had all been sitting around the bed for an hour or more, expecting that event, as we had sat before, he was gone at last almost before we were aware of it.*

*I am glad to read what you say about his social nature. I think I may say that he was wholly unpretending; and there was this peculiarity in his aim, that, though he had pecuniary difficulties to contend with the greater part of his life, he always studied merely how to make a good article, pencil or other, (for he practised various arts) and was never satisfied with what he had produced,— nor was he ever in the least disposed to put off a poor one for the sake of pecuniary gain;— as if he labor ed for a higher end.*

*Though he was not very old, and was not a native of Concord, I think that he was, on the whole, more identified with Concord street than any man now alive, having come here when he was about twelve years old, and set up for himself as a merchant here at the age of 21, fifty years ago.*

*As I sat in a circle the other evening with my mother and Sister, my Mother's two sisters & my Father's two sisters, it occurred to me that my Father, though 71 belonged to the youngest four of the eight who recently composed our family.*

*How swiftly, at last, but unnoticed, a generation passes away! Three*

*years ago I was called with my Father to be a witness to the signing of our neighbor Mr Frost's will. Mr Samuel Hoar, who was there writing it, also signed it. I was lately required to go to Cambridge to testify to the genuineness of the will, being the only one of the four who could be there; and now I am the only one alive.*

*My Mother & Sister thank you heartily for your sympathy. The latter in particular agrees with you in thinking, that it is communion with still living & healthy nature alone which can restore to sane and cheerful views.*

*I thank you for your invitation to New Bedford— but I feel somewhat confined here for the present. I did not know but we should see you the day after Alger was here. It is not too late for a winter walk in Concord*

*It does me good to hear of spring birds, and singing ones too, for spring seems far away from Concord yet.*

*I am going to Worcester to read a parlor lecture on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, and shall see Blake & Brown. What if you were to meet me there! or go with me from here! You would see them to good advantage.*

*Cholmondeley has been here again, after going as far south as Virginia, and left for Canada about three weeks ago. He is a good soul, and I am afraid that I did not sufficiently recognize him.*

*Please remember me to Mrs Ricketson, and to the rest of your family.*

*Yrs*

*Henry D. Thoreau*



February 12, Saturday: You may account for that ash by the Rock having such a balanced and regular outline by the fact that in an open place their branches are equally drawn toward the light on all sides, and not because of a mutual understanding through the trunk. For there is Cheney's abele, which stands just south of a large elm. It grows wholly southward, and in form is just half a tree.



So with the tupelos under the Hill shore, east of Fairhaven Pond. They terminate abruptly like a bull's horn, having no upward leading shoot, and bend off over the water,—are singularly one-sided.



In short, trees appear to grow regularly because the sky and diffusion of light are commonly regular. There is a peculiarly drooping elm at George Prescott's great gate just north of his house, very different from the common or upright stiff-branched ones near by it.

April: In this month or the next [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) published TO [CUBA](#) AND BACK.

## CUBA

## CUBA

July: The Weekly Anglo African Magazine completed its weekly publication of the initial 25 installments of Martin Robison Delany's *BLAKE; OR, THE HUTS OF AMERICA: A TALE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, AND CUBA*, a novel involving black insurrectionism which, according to Floyd Miller, amounted to "the first novelistic offering of a black writer to be published in the United States," serialization of which had begun in January.

Choosing not to join up with Captain John Brown and his raiders at Harpers Ferry, Dr. Martin Robison Delany departed for an investigation of the suitability of the shore of Africa for a colonization effort by American blacks.<sup>225</sup>



August 28/29: As the sky became dark on this evening, it began to intrude on people's attentions that something truly strange was going on in the heavens. There were aurora borealis displays visible even as far south as the island of Cuba. The logs of ships sailing near the equator would reveal, when later collected together, entries having to do with crimson lights reaching halfway up the sky from the horizon toward the zenith. In Baltimore, telegraph operators contended with such unexplained currents in their equipment that it took them two full hours, from 8PM to 10PM, to transmit a press report containing a mere 400 words. It would require a few days for scientists to begin to recognize the cause of this activity: intense sunspots. Caleb G. Forshey made sketches of the skies over Rutersville, Texas and described how "the whole sky, from Ursa Major to the zodiac in the east, was occupied by the streams or spiral columns ... over the same extent, was an exquisite roseate tint which faded and returned" and that "a stupendous pyramid of white light" was surrounded on either side by "a pyramid of rosy light."<sup>226</sup>

ASTRONOMY



August 29. I hear in the street this morning a goldfinch sing part of a sweet strain. It is so cool a morning that for the first time I move into the entry to sit in the sun. But in this cooler weather I feel as if the fruit of my summer were hardening and maturing a little, acquiring color and flavor like the corn and other fruits in the field. When the very earliest ripe grapes begin to be scented in the cool nights, then, too, the first cooler airs of autumn begin to waft my sweetness on the desert airs of summer. Now, too, poets nib their pens afresh. I scent their first-fruits in the cool evening air of the year. By the coolness the experience of the summer is condensed and matured, whether our fruits be pumpkins or grapes. Man, too, ripens with the grapes and apples. I find that the water-bugs (Gyrinus) keep amid the pads in open spaces along the sides of the river all day, and, at dark only, spread thence all over the river and gyrate rapidly. For food I see them eating or sucking at the wings and bodies of dead devil's-needles which fall on the water, making them too gyrate in a singular manner. If one gets any such food, the others pursue him for it. There was a remarkable red aurora all over the sky last night. P. M.—To Easterbrooks Country. The vernonia is one of the most conspicuous flowers now where it grows, — a very rich color. It is somewhat past its prime; perhaps about with the red eupatorium. Botrychium lunarioides now shows its fertile frond above the shorn stubble in low grounds, but not shedding pollen. See the two-leaved Solomon's-seal berries, many of them ripe; also some ripe mitchella berries, contrasting with their very fresh green leaves. White cohush berries, apparently in prime, and the arum fruit. The now drier and browner (purplish-brown) looking rabbit's clover, whose heads collected would make a soft bed, is an important feature in the landscape; pussies some call them;

225. **DR. MARTIN ROBISON DELANY**'s treaty with the *Alake* of Abeokuta for land to establish this colony would be annulled by the middle of 1861, as it seems that tribal headmen did not really have authority for such alienation of tribal real estate.  
 226. Elias Loomis's "The Great Auroral Exhibition of Aug. 28th to Sept. 4th, 1859," American Journal of Science, 2d Series, XXIX (March 1860) and XXX (November 1860).



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more puffed up than before. The thorn bushes are most sere and yellowish-brown bushes now. I see more snakes of late, methinks, both striped and the small green. The slate-colored spots or eyes—fungi—on several kinds of goldenrods are common now. The knife-shaped fruit of the ash has strewn the paths of late.

September 1, Thursday/2, Friday night: At the Royal Observatory in Greenwich, London, England, Richard C. Carrington (1826-1875) and R. Hodgson were timing the drift of sunspots on a projected image of the [sun](#) at 11:18AM Greenwich Mean Time, when “two patches of intensely bright and white light broke out” and persisted for some five minutes (this was not only the initial recorded observation of a solar flare, but also the initial observation of a solar flare of this peculiar white-light variety).<sup>227</sup> In the skies over [Texas](#) on that night, an auroral display great magnificence was being viewed by [Caleb G. Forshey](#), and his observations would be published in the [American Journal of Science](#), along with accounts by Lieutenant Albert Miller Lea at Corpus Christi, Major Benjamin Franklin Rucker at Washington-on-the-Brazos, Francis Kellogg at Wheelock, and Dr. William Henry Gantt at Union Hill, in addition to a report from Dallas by its Mayor, John McClannahan Crockett.

What was happening all over the earth would need to be described as a magnetic storm. When the pulse of energy arrived from the sun, it interrupted telegraph service and created visible Aurora Borealis as far south as [Havana](#), Hawaii, and Rome. Similar events occurred in the skies of the Southern Hemisphere. In the state of their knowledge at the time, these scientists of course refrained from instantly leaping to a causal relationship — but we now have a much better estimate of the major sun event that had just happened.

SUNSPOTS

SKY EVENT




September 1: P.M.—To Saw Mill Brook and Flint’s Pond.

That reach in the road this side Britton’s Camp might be called Nabalus Road, they are so abundant there. Some of them are fully six feet high, — a singularly tall and slender plant.

See, I think, my first tobacco-pipe this afternoon, now that they are about done, and have seen no pinesap this year, abundant as both the above were last year. Like fungi, these plants are apparently scarce in a dry year, so that you might at first think them rare plants. This is a phenomenon of drought.

I see in different places small grubs splitting leaves now, and so marking them curiously with light brown or whitish on the green. Here are two at work in a Rhus Toxicodendron leaf. They appear to have been hatched within the leaf at the apex, and each has eaten upward on its own side of the midrib and equally fast, making a light-colored figure shaped like a column of smoke in the midst of the green. They perfectly split the leaf, making no visible puncture in it, even at the ribs or veins. Some creatures are so minute that they find food enough for them between the two sides of a thin leaf, without injuring the cuticle. The ox requires the meadows to be shorn for him, and cronches both blade and stalk, even of the coarsest grass, as corn; but these grubs do their browsing in narrower pastures, pastures not so wide as their own jaws, between fences (inviolable to them) of their own establishing, or along narrow lanes. There, secure from birds, they mine, and no harm can they do now that the green leaf has so commonly done its office.

If you would study the birds now, go where their food is, i. e. the berries, especially to the wild black cherries, elder-berries, poke berries, mountain-ash berries, and ere long the barberries, and for pigeons the acorns. In the sprout-land behind Britton’s Camp, I came to a small black cherry full of fruit, and then, for the first time for a long while, I see and hear cherry-birds [[Cedar Waxwing](#)  [Bombycilla cedrorum](#)] — their shrill and fine seringo — and the note of robins, which of late are scarce. We sit near the tree and listen to the now unusual sounds of these birds, and from time to time one or two come dashing from out the sky toward this tree, till, seeing us, they whirl, disappointed, and perhaps alight on some neighboring twigs and wait till we are gone. The cherry-birds and robins seem to know the locality of every wild cherry in the town. You are as sure to find them on them now, as bees and butterflies on the thistles. If we stay long, they go off with a fling, to some other cherry tree, which they know of but we do not. The neighborhood of a wild cherry full of fruit is now, for the notes of birds, a little spring come back again, and when, a mile or two from this, I was plucking a basketful of elder-berries (for which it was rather early yet), there too, to my surprise, I came on a flock of golden robins and of bluebirds, apparently feeding on them. Excepting the vacciniums, now past prime and drying up, the cherries and elderberries are the two prevailing fruits now. We had remarked on the general scarcity and silence of the birds, but when we came to the localities of these fruits, there again we found the berry-eating birds assembled, — young (?) orioles and bluebirds at the elder-berries.

227. Richard C. Carrington’s “Description of a Singular Appearance seen in the Sun on September 1, 1859,” [Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society](#), XX (November 11, 1859), 13-15.





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Green white pine cones are thrown down. An unusual quantity of these have been stripped for some time past, and I see the ground about the bases of the trees strewn with them.

The spikenard berries in the shade at Saw Mill have but just begun to turn. The *Polygonatum biflorum* with its row of bluish-green berries (the blue a bloom), pendulous from the axils of the recurved stem, apparently now in its prime. Red choke-berry ripe. Smooth sumach probably hardly ripe yet generally.

The fruit of the arum is the most remarkable that I see this afternoon, such its brilliancy, color, and form; perhaps in prime now. It is among the most easily detected now on the floor of the swamp, its bright-scarlet cone above the fallen and withered leaves and amid its own brown or whitish and withering leaves. Its own leaves and stem perhaps soft and decaying, while it is perfectly fresh and dazzling. It has the brightest gloss of any fruit I remember, and this makes the green ones about as remarkable as the scarlet. With, perchance, a part of the withered spathe still investing and veiling it. The scarlet fruit of the arum spots the swamp floor.

Now, also, bright-colored fungi of various colors on the swamp floor begin to compete with these fruits. I see a green one.

The elder-berry cyme, held erect, is of very regular form, four principal divisions drooping toward each quarter around an upright central one. Are said to make a good dye. They fill your basket quickly, the cymes are so large and lie up so light.

The autumnal dandelion is a prevailing flower now, but since it shuts up in the afternoon it might not be known as common unless you were out in the morning or in a dark afternoon. Now, at 11 A. M., it makes quite a show, yet at 2 P. M. I do not notice it.

Bought a pair of shoes the other day, and, observing that as usual they were only wooden-pegged at the toes, I required the seller to put in an extra row of iron pegs there while I waited for them. So he called to his boy to bring those zinc pegs, but I insisted on iron pegs and no zinc ones. He gave me considerable advice on the subject of shoes, but I suggested that even the wearer of shoes, of whom I was one, had an opportunity to learn some of their qualities. I have learned to respect my own opinion in this matter. As I do not use blacking and the seller often throws in a box of blacking when I buy a pair of shoes, they accumulate on my hands.

Saw this afternoon, on a leaf in the Saw Mill woodpath, a very brilliant beetle a quarter or a third of an inch in length with brilliant green and copper reflections. [Vide June 28th 1860.] The same surface, or any part of the upper surface, of the bug was green from one point of view and burnished copper from another. Yet there was nothing in its form to recommend this bug.

You must be careful not to eat too many nuts. I one winter met a young man whose face was broken out into large pimples and sores, and when I inquired what was the matter, he answered that he and his wife were fond of shagbarks, and therefore he had bought a bushel of them, and they spent their winter evenings eating them, and this was the consequence.

September 2, night: On the night of this day gas street lighting was being introduced to the Hawaiian Islands. Did the attention being paid to this new gas lighting interfere at all with the local experience of an unusual event, the aurora borealis? On this night the aurora borealis Northern Lights were being seen as far south as Rome and [Cuba](#) — and there are reports from Hawaii (there were similar effects around the South Pole). Despite the fact that the telegraph, as an invention, was only 15 years old, and thus the number of wires stretched across the landscape was still really minimal, telegraph lines were shorting out both in the United States and in Europe, and causing wildfires. What had happened was “the perfect space storm” — the strongest by far of which we presently have any knowledge, three times more powerful than any we have recently had the opportunity to measure. The sun had erupted and sent charged particles racing outward at an exceptionally high speed, in an expanding bubble of hot gas plasma, and the coronal mass ejection had been aimed straight at the earth. The magnetic field was exceptionally intense, and happened in this case to be aligned in such a manner as not to be neutralized at all by the earth’s normal magnetic field. Although your typical solar storm that we have been able to study using modern instruments needs 3 or 4 days to move from the sun to Earth, in this case the solar wind of plasma particles arrived very soon indeed after a strange powerful event involving numerous sunspots had been observed to be taking place on the surface of the sun on August 28th. Between August 28th and September 2d several solar flares had been observed, and then on September 1st, there was this truly massive flare. The amount of light normally put out in that region on the sun’s surface actually, for one minute, doubled.



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Since light itself takes about 8 minutes to make the 93,000,000-mile journey from the sun, we calculate that the hot plasma particles made the journey in but 17 hours and 40 minutes! In March 1989 a relatively minor such bubble of sun plasma has shut down the Hydro-Quebec power to an entire Canadian province for more than 9 hours. In 1994 a solar storm caused two of our communications satellites to malfunction in a major way, disrupting newspaper, network television, and nationwide radio service throughout Canada. Other such storms have disrupted cellphone service and GPS systems. We have no grasp of how extensive the damage would be, in our present era of interconnectedness, should such a perfect storm occur again now, nor do we have any theoretical framework by which we might guesstimate either the occurrence or the magnitude of such solar events. All we know for sure is that an event of this magnitude is possible — because one such has already occurred.

AURORA BOREALIS

SKY EVENT

November 26, Saturday: Louis Moreau Gottschalk arrived back in [Havana](#) aboard the English steamer Trent after a concert tour of several Caribbean islands.


From his cell in Charles Town, [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), who had remained entirely silent throughout his trial for the Harpers Ferry treason, wrote his parents:<sup>228</sup>

*DEAR PARENTS,— my fate as far as man can seal it is sealed but let this not occasion you any misery for remember the cause in which I was engaged, remember that it was a "Holy Cause," one in which men who in every point of view better than I am have suffered and died, remember that if I must die I die in trying to liberate a few of my poor and oppress people from my condition of servitude which God in his Holy Writ has hurled his most bitter denunciations against and in which men who were by the color of their faces removed from the direct injurious affect, have already lost their lives and still more remain to meet the same fate which has been by man decided that I must meet.*

228. Letter later in the possession of his sister, Miss Mary Copeland of Oberlin, Ohio.

The Reverend Andrew T. Foss, who been holding to the nonviolent principles of [William Lloyd Garrison](#) and the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) when he took part in the attempt to rescue Anthony Burns in the streets of Boston, had at some later point entered into an alliance with Charles Lenox Remond and ceased to be a Nonresistant. He explained that although he would not press the slaves toward rebellion, “when it comes, God knows, I will pray that the slave may be victorious.” At a meeting of an antislavery society in Worcester County, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) proposed that they reaffirm their original Declaration of Sentiments of December 4,



1833,  inclusive of its words “Our principles forbid the doing of evil that good may come.” Charles Lenox Remond responded that he had never supposed, in joining that society, that he had committed himself to such a thing! In fact “I should be glad if a National Vigilance Committee was formed to hang upon every tree and lamppost every slaveholder.”



[Abby Kelley Foster](#) joined with this challenge to the Reverend Ballou. Then [Stephen Symonds Foster](#) declared that although he was a nonresistant, he claimed also “not to be a fool.”



In response, the Reverend Ballou pointed out the very real scenario, that if America’s blacks freed themselves by means of a bloody massacre, this would render them psychically incompetent to collaborate with whites for many generations, and fill whites with such horror that they also would be animated by loathing and a lust for vengeance: “It may seem hard to wait, but if we do not wait, we shall do worse.” However, the Reverend Ballou’s resolution reaffirming its Declaration of Sentiments, which had been adopted at its founding and which had included the words “Our principles forbid the doing of evil that good may come,” was voted down, and the assembly embraced instead this Charles Lenox Remond/Andrew T. Foss viewpoint.

[Stephen Symonds Foster](#) tried to organize a new political party which favored “revolution” over “dissolution” of the union, to be named the New England Political Anti-Slavery Society:

“I claim to be a Non-Resistant, but not to be a fool. John Brown has shown himself a **man**, in comparison with the Non-Resistants.”

A contrasting attitude was taken, however, by the Russian Minister, Edouard de Stoeckl, who reported to the government of the Tzar that

When the sad results of this foray became known, John Brown was proclaimed from the very roof-tops as the equal of our Savior. I quote these facts to point out how far Puritan fanaticism can go. Little by little, the extreme doctrines of New England have spread throughout the land.



November 26, Saturday: P.M.—Walk over the Colburn Farm wood-lot south [OF] the road. I find, sometimes, after I have been lotting off a large wood-lot for auction, that I have been cutting new paths to walk in. I cut lines an inch [SIC] or two long in arbitrary directions, in and around some dense woodlot which perhaps is not crossed once a month by any mortal, nor has been for thirty or fifty years, and thus I open to myself new works [SIC],—enough in a lot of forty acres to occupy me for an afternoon. A forty-acre wood-lot which otherwise would not detain a walker more than half an hour, being thus opened and carved out, will entertain him for half a day. In this case there was a cultivated field here some thirty years ago, but, the wood being suffered to spring up, from being open and revealed this part of the earth became a covert and concealed place. Excepting an occasional hunter who crossed it maybe once in several months, nobody has walked there, nobody has penetrated its recesses. The walker habitually goes round it, or follows the single cart-path that winds through it. Woods, both the primitive and those which are suffered to spring up in cultivated fields, thus preserve the mystery of nature. How private and sacred a place a grove thus becomes!—merely because its denseness

excludes man. It is worth the while to have these thickets on various sides of the town, where the rabbit lurks and the jay builds its nest.

When I ran out the boundary lines of this lot, I could commonly distinguish the line, not merely by the different growth of wood, but often by a kind of ditch which I think may have been produced by the plow, which heaped up the soil along the side of the field when it was cultivated. I could also detect trees variously bent and twisted, which probably had made part of a hedge fence when young, and others which were scarred by the fencing-stuff that had been fastened to them.

The chickadee is the bird of the wood the most unfailing. When, in a windy, or in any, day, you have penetrated some thick wood like this, you are pretty sure to hear its cheery note therein. At this season it is almost their sole inhabitant.

I see here to-day one brown creeper [*Certhia americana*] busily inspecting the pitch pines. It begins at the base, and creeps rapidly upward by starts, adhering close to the bark and shifting a little from side to side often till near the top, then suddenly darts off downward to the base of another tree, where it repeats the same course.

This has no black cockade, like the nuthatch.

In the midst of this wood there occur less valuable patches, of an eighth of an acre or more, where there is much grass, and cladonia, shrub oaks, and lichen-covered birches, and a few pitch pines only,—places of a comparatively sterile character, as if the soil had been run out. The birches will have much of the birch fungus on them, and their fallen dead tops strew the ground.



PER MABEE, PAGES 322-4: Even among those who still considered themselves nonviolent Garrisonians, Brown's raid brought excited speculation that slave revolts might sharply increase if abolitionists encouraged them. Becoming uneasy over this speculation and the acceptance of violence it implied, [Adin Ballou](#) once president of the Nonresistance Society and still the leader of the nonresistant community at [Hopedale](#), Massachusetts, brought the issue out into the open. While Brown was still in a Virginia jail, at a meeting of a Garrisonian Worcester County antislavery society Ballou proposed a resolution reaffirming the Declaration of Sentiments, which had been adopted at the founding of the American Antislavery Society, including the words, "Our principles forbid the doing of evil that good may come." Ballou interpreted the declaration as a nonresistance pledge.

The Salem Negro Charles Remond —who at the 1843 Negro national convention opposed Garnet's calling for slave insurrection but recently had been calling for it himself—grew excited. "I never supposed on becoming a member of this society," Remond told Ballou, "that I committed myself to the nonresistant sentiments to which you have referred. For whenever I have heard the





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question asked, 'What constitutes a member of the American Antislavery Society?' the only answer I have heard given was this: that a man who believed that the immediate, unconditional emancipation of the slave was right ... is a member of this society." And then Remond made clear the extent to which he had become willing to accept violence: "I should be glad if a National Vigilance Committee was formed," he said, "to hang upon every tree and lamppost every slaveholder. They would be doing a glorious work!" "I am not contending," replied Ballou evenly, "that ... a man cannot be a member of this society unless he is a nonresistant.... What the society should be, as a society, is one thing, and what its individual members should be outside of the society is another thing. In respect to the measures of the society, as a society, it is bound by its declarations.... As a society we are pledged not to resort to ... violence." The Quaker come-outer, Abby Kelley Foster, put Ballou on the spot. She said she would rejoice if the North had gone so far up the moral scale as to point its guns not at slaves, as was then the case, but at slaveholders instead. Would you? she asked Ballou bluntly. Ballou was cautious. "I should rejoice with trembling and sorrow," he replied. Abby's husband, the doughty Stephen S. Foster, spoke up. "I claim to be nonresistant," he said, "but not to be a fool." The audience laughed. "Every man is bound to use the most formidable weapons in his power," Foster continued. "Why should I use the sword when I can do better without it? But," he admitted, "Brown has shown himself a man in comparison with the nonresistants." Foster explained, I want to act more like a man myself. Since slave insurrections are coming in the South, "I want to go down South and guide an insurrection, to preserve it from those excesses which Brother Ballou so much deprecates." Evidently Foster considered that slave revolt by nonviolent methods -such as Birney had hinted at in 1835- was hopeless. He was proposing to be an adviser to slave insurrectionists with the hope of keeping them from the excesses of violence only. Ballou ridiculed Foster's notion that he could guide an insurrection. "How pretty he would look," said Ballou, "undertaking to regulate myriads of raging insurrectionists scattered over the Southern country! A rebellion once started would involve all the outrages in the calendar of crime." Besides, if the slaves were freed by rebellion, Ballou added with prescience, "what is to be done with them for the next hundred years? It would take at least a century to educate them out of the ferocity engendered by such conflict. How are they to be employed, trained for liberty, and organized into well ordered communities? And above all how is this work to be accomplished with the great mass of the whites in the country full of horror, loathing, and revenge toward them? ... Can't we wait the operations of a more peaceful process? Can't we content ourselves with holy efforts to bring about a change of public sentiment, so that this thing may be accomplished, without resorting to such horrible measures? It may seem hard to wait, but if we do not wait, we shall do worse." The New Hampshire abolitionist agent, Andrew T. Foss, a long-time Baptist minister, said that he had held to the nonviolent principles of Garrison and Ballou as recently as when he took part in the attempt to rescue Burns in the streets of Boston. But since then he had ceased to be a nonresistant. Indicating Ballou, Foss said, "I do not say that he is not higher than I am. I have an



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impression, a sort of instinct, that he is. [But] I ask the privilege of working on this platform in my own way.... I don't undertake to justify rebellion [by slaves], but when it comes, God knows, I will pray that the slave may be victorious." The crowd cheered. "Men will come to see," added Foss, "that if our fathers had a right to strike for their liberty, then John Brown had a right to strike for the liberty of the slave." Why did so many abolitionists forget, Ballou replied later in a prophetic statement, "the vast differences between a people trained for liberty and self-government through a century and a half, and millions of long crushed slaves, schooled to servility and studiously kept in ignorance? Such a people need all the help and benefit of a peaceful emancipation." But the meeting accepted the Remond-Foss view. It voted down Ballou's resolution reaffirming the American Society's tradition of nonviolence. Even among Garrisonians, John Brown was reducing faith in nonresistance.

December 22, Thursday: Pyotr Il'yich Tchaikovsky was made junior assistant to the head of his administrative department in the Russian Ministry of Justice, St. Petersburg.

Murmures éoliens op46 for piano by Louis Moreau Gottschalk was performed for the initial time, in [Havana](#), by the composer.

The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) delivered an oration before the Reverend Theodore Parker's Fraternity in the Boston Music Hall, entitled "The historic purchase of freedom." (This would soon be published in Boston by the firm of Walker, Wise & Company as THE HISTORIC PURCHASE OF FREEDOM: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE FRATERNITY, IN THE MUSIC HALL, BOSTON, DEC. 22, 1859, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.)

A country doctor and astronomy buff named Lescarbault of the village of Orgères in France notified astronomical authorities that he had seen a round black spot, a planet, cross the upper one-fourth of the diameter of the face of the sun, on an upward-slanting path, for over an hour and a quarter. (The doctor would be awarded the French Legion of Honor and the new planet would be given the name Vulcan. There is not, however, such a planet.)

SKY EVENT



December 22: Another fine winter day.  
P.M.—To Flint's Pond.

C. is inclined to walk in the road, it being better walking there, and says: "You don't wish to see anything but the sky to-day and breathe this air. You could walk in the city to-day, just as well as in the country. You only wish to be out." This was because I inclined to walk in the woods or by the river.

As we passed under the elm beyond George Heywood's, I looked up and saw a fiery hangbird's nest dangling over the road. What a reminiscence of summer, a fiery hangbird's nest dangling from an elm over the road when perhaps the thermometer is down to -20 (?), and the traveller goes beating his arms beneath it! It is hard to recall the strain of that bird then.

We pause and gaze into the Mill Brook on the Turnpike bridge. C. says that in Persia they call the ripple-marks on sandy bottoms "chains" or "chain-work." I see a good deal of cress there, on the bottom, for a rod or two, the only green thing to be seen. No more slimy than it usually is beneath the water in summer. Is not this the plant which most, or most conspicuously, preserves its greenness in the winter? Is it not now most completely in its summer state of any plant? So far as the water and the mud and the cress go, it is a summer scene. It is green as ever, and waving in the stream as in summer.

How nicely is Nature adjusted! The least disturbance of her equilibrium is betrayed and corrects itself. As I looked down on the surface of the brook, I was surprised to see a leaf floating, as I thought, up the stream, but I was mistaken. The motion of a particle of dust on the surface of any brook far inland shows which way the earth declines toward the sea, which way lies the constantly descending route, and the only one.

I see in the chestnut woods near Flint's Pond where squirrels have collected the small chestnut burs left on the trees and opened them, generally at the base of the trunks on the snow. These are, I think, all small and imperfect burs, which do not so much as open in the fall and are rejected then, but, hanging on the tree, they have this use at least, as the squirrels' winter food.

Three men are fishing on Flint's Pond, where the ice is seven or eight inches thick. I look back to the wharf rock shore and see that rush (cladium I have called it), the warmest object in the landscape, – a narrow line of warm yellow rushes – for they reflect the western light, – along the edge of the somewhat snowy pond and next the snow-clad and wooded shore. This rush, which is comparatively inconspicuous in the summer, becomes thus in the winter afternoons a conspicuous and interesting object, lit up by the westering sun.

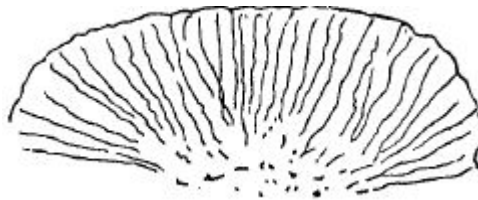
The fisherman stands erect and still on the ice, awaiting our approach, as usual forward to say that he has had no luck. He has been here since early morning, and for some reason or other the fishes won't bite. You won't catch him here again in a hurry. They all tell the same story. The amount of it is he has had "fisherman's luck," and if you walk that way you may find him at his old post to-morrow. It is hard, to be sure, – four little fishes to be divided between three men, and two and a half miles to walk; and you have only got a more ravenous appetite for the supper which you have not earned. However, the pond floor is not a bad place to spend a winter day.

On what I will call Sassafras Island, in this pond, I notice the largest and handsomest high blueberry bush that I ever saw, about ten feet high. It divides at the ground into four stems, all very large and the largest three inches in diameter (one way) at three feet high, and at the ground, where they *seem* to form one trunk (at least *grown* together), nine inches in diameter. These stems rise upward, spreading a little in their usual somewhat zigzag manner, and are very handsomely clothed with large gray and yellow lichens with intervals of the (*smoothish?* and) finely divided bark. The bark is quite reddish near the ground. The top, which is spreading and somewhat flattish or corymbose, consists of a great many fine twigs, which give it a thick and dark appearance against the sky compared with the more open portion beneath. It was perfectly sound and vigorous.

In a (apparently kingbird's?) nest on this island I saw three cherry-stones, as if it had carried home this fruit to its young. It was, outside, of gnaphalium and saddled on a low limb. Could it have been a cherry-bird?

The cladium (?) retains its seeds over the ice, little conical, sharp-pointed, flat-based, dark-brown, shining seeds. I notice some seeds left on a large dock, but see none of parsnips or other umbelliferous plants.

The furrows in the snow on the hillsides look somewhat like this:–



1860

According to the Congressional Globe for the 1st session of the 36th Congress, Republican Congressman Cadwallader C. Washburn of Wisconsin quite agreed with his Democrat colleague, that the Negro citizen whether slave or free was very much out of place whenever and wherever he is in contact with the white citizen:

Because he is so out of place, we propose keeping him out of the free Territories, and not allowing him, with his unpaid labor, to come in contact with white men and white labor.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color - the superficial fact about a human being. Who could want such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



- Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY? 1976, page 141

In accordance with this sentiment, that there ought in a well-ordered world be no contact whatever between white human beings and black human beings, the 9th plank of the Republican Party's national platform vowed to bring US participation in the international slave trade finally to an end:

We brand the recent re-opening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age, and we call upon congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

During this year the negrero Erie, carrying 897 slaves, was captured by a United States ship (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 36th Congress, 2d session I, Number 1, pages 41-4).



The negrero William, carrying 550 slaves, and the negrero Wildfire, carrying 507 slaves, were captured along the coast of Cuba (SENATE JOURNAL, 36th Congress, 1st session pages 478-80, 492, 543, etc.; SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 36th Congress, 1st session XI, Number 44; HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 36th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 83; 36th Congress, 2d session V, Number 11; HOUSE REPORTS, 36th Congress, 1st session IV, Number 602).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: A somewhat more sincere and determined effort to enforce the slave-trade laws now followed; and yet it is a significant fact that not until Lincoln's administration did a slave-trader suffer death for violating the laws of the United States. The participation of Americans in the trade continued, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860. The development of a vast internal slave-trade, and the consequent rise in the South of vested interests strongly opposed to slave smuggling, led to a falling off in the illicit introduction of Negroes after 1825, until the fifties; nevertheless, smuggling never entirely ceased, and large numbers were thus added to the plantations of the Gulf States.



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Monroe had various constitutional scruples as to the execution of the Act of 1819;<sup>229</sup> but, as Congress took no action, he at last put a fair interpretation on his powers, and appointed Samuel Bacon as an agent in Africa to form a settlement for recaptured Africans. Gradually the agency thus formed became merged with that of the Colonization Society on Cape Mesurado; and from this union Liberia was finally evolved.<sup>230</sup> Meantime, during the years 1818 to 1820, the activity of the slave-traders was prodigious. General James Tallmadge declared in the House, February 15, 1819: "Our laws are already highly penal against their introduction, and yet, it is a well known fact, that about fourteen thousand slaves have been brought into our country this last year."<sup>231</sup> In the same year Middleton of South Carolina and Wright of Virginia estimated illicit introduction at 13,000 and 15,000 respectively.<sup>232</sup> Judge Story, in charging a jury, took occasion to say: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the slave-trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."<sup>233</sup> The following year, 1820, brought some significant statements from various members of Congress. Said Smith of South Carolina: "Pharaoh was, for his temerity, drowned in the Red Sea, in pursuing them [the Israelites] contrary to God's express will; but our Northern friends have not been afraid even of that, in their zeal to furnish the Southern States with Africans. They are better seamen than Pharaoh, and calculate by that means to elude the vigilance of Heaven; which they seem to disregard, if they can but elude the violated laws of their country."<sup>234</sup> As late as May he saw little hope of suppressing the traffic.<sup>235</sup> Sergeant of Pennsylvania declared: "It is notorious that, in spite of the utmost vigilance that can be employed, African negroes are clandestinely brought in and sold as slaves."<sup>236</sup> Plumer of New Hampshire stated that "of the unhappy beings, thus in violation of all laws transported to our shores, and thrown by force into the mass of our black population, scarcely one in a hundred is ever detected by the officers of the General Government, in a part of the country, where, if we are to believe the statement of Governor Rabun, 'an officer who would perform his duty, by attempting to enforce the law [against the slave trade] is, by many, considered as an officious meddler, and treated with derision and contempt;' ... I have been told by a gentleman, who has attended particularly to this subject, that ten thousand slaves were in one year smuggled into the United States; and that, even for the last year, we must count the number not by

229. Attorney-General Wirt advised him, October, 1819, that no part of the appropriation could be used to purchase land in Africa or tools for the Negroes, or as salary for the agent: OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, I. 314-7. Monroe laid the case before Congress in a special message Dec. 20, 1819 (HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, page 57); but no action was taken there. 230. Cf. Kendall's Report, August, 1830: SENATE DOCUMENT, 21st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 211-8; also see below, Chapter X.

231. Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1819, page 18; published in Boston, 1849.

232. Jay, INQUIRY INTO AMERICAN COLONIZATION (1838), page 59, note.

233. Quoted in Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (ed. 1841), pages 7-8.

234. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 270-1.

235. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 698.

236. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1207.





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hundreds, but by thousands."<sup>237</sup> In 1821 a committee of Congress characterized prevailing methods as those "of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government."<sup>238</sup> Another committee, in 1822, after a careful examination of the subject, declare that they "find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the slave trade by the laws above mentioned, and the seizures under them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations." They then state the suspicious circumstance that, with the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic, "the trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations." They complain of the spasmodic efforts of the executive. They say that the first United States cruiser arrived on the African coast in March, 1820, and remained a "few weeks;" that since then four others had in two years made five visits in all; but "since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is, under orders for that service."<sup>239</sup> The United States African agent, Ayres, reported in 1823: "I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas, and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruisers, their short stay and seldom appearance had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system to gain intelligence of any cruiser being on the coast."<sup>240</sup>

Even such spasmodic efforts bore abundant fruit, and indicated what vigorous measures might have accomplished. Between May, 1818, and November, 1821, nearly six hundred Africans were recaptured and eleven American slavers taken.<sup>241</sup> Such measures gradually changed the character of the trade, and opened the international phase of the question. American slavers cleared for foreign ports, there took a foreign flag and papers, and then sailed boldly past American cruisers, although their real character was often well known. More stringent clearance laws and consular instructions might have greatly reduced this practice; but nothing was ever done, and gradually the laws became in large measure powerless to deal with the bulk of the illicit trade. In 1820, September 16, a British officer, in his

237. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1433.

238. Referring particularly to the case of the slaver "Plattsburg." Cf. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 10.

239. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 2. The President had in his message spoken in exhilarating tones of the success of the government in suppressing the trade. The House Committee appointed in pursuance of this passage made the above report. Their conclusions are confirmed by British reports: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, III. page 44. So, too, in 1823, Ashmun, the African agent, reports that thousands of slaves are being abducted.

240. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 24, 1823; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 31.

241. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 5-6. The slavers were the "Ramirez," "Endymion," "Esperanza," "Plattsburg," "Science," "Alexander," "Eugene," "Mathilde," "Daphne," "Eliza," and "La Pensée." In these 573 Africans were taken. The naval officers were greatly handicapped by the size of the ships, etc. (cf. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), pages 33-41). They nevertheless acted with great zeal.



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official report, declares that, in spite of United States laws, "American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are unquestionably engaged in the trade, though under other colours and in disguise."<sup>242</sup> The United States ship "Cyane" at one time reported ten captures within a few days, adding: "Although they are evidently owned by Americans, they are so completely covered by Spanish papers that it is impossible to condemn them."<sup>243</sup> The governor of Sierra Leone reported the rivers Nunez and Pongas full of renegade European and American slave-traders;<sup>244</sup> the trade was said to be carried on "to an extent that almost staggers belief."<sup>245</sup> Down to 1824 or 1825, reports from all quarters prove this activity in slave-trading.

The execution of the laws within the country exhibits grave defects and even criminal negligence. Attorney-General Wirt finds it necessary to assure collectors, in 1819, that "it is against public policy to dispense with prosecutions for violation of the law to prohibit the Slave trade."<sup>246</sup> One district attorney writes: "It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders after the negroes have been landed in the state."<sup>247</sup> Again, it is asserted that "when vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruizers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the freedom to these captives which the laws of the United States have decreed for them."<sup>248</sup> In some cases, one man would smuggle in the Africans and hide them in the woods; then his partner would "rob" him, and so all trace be lost.<sup>249</sup> Perhaps 350 Africans were officially reported as brought in contrary to law from 1818 to 1820: the absurdity of this figure is apparent.<sup>250</sup> A circular letter to the marshals, in 1821, brought reports of only a few well-known cases, like that of the "General Ramirez;" the marshal of Louisiana had "no information."<sup>251</sup>

There appears to be little positive evidence of a large illicit importation into the country for a decade after 1825. It is hardly possible, however, considering the activity in the trade, that slaves were not largely imported. Indeed, when we note how the laws were continually broken in other respects, absence of evidence of petty smuggling becomes presumptive evidence that collusive or tacit understanding of officers and citizens allowed the trade to some extent.<sup>252</sup> Finally, it must be noted that during all this time scarcely a man suffered for participating in the trade, beyond the loss of the Africans and, more rarely, of his ship. Red-handed slavers, caught in the act and convicted, were too often, like La Coste of South Carolina, the subjects of executive clemency.<sup>253</sup> In certain cases there were those who even had the effrontery to ask Congress to cancel

242. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, page 76. The names and description of a dozen or more American slavers are given: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 18-21.

243. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 15-20.

244. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 119, page 13.

245. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, Vol. XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 10-11.

246. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, V. 717.

247. R.W. Habersham to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1821; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 47.

248. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

249. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 43.

250. Cf. above, pages 126-7.

251. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

252. A few accounts of captures here and there would make the matter less suspicious; these, however, do not occur. How large this suspected illicit traffic was, it is of course impossible to say; there is no reason why it may not have reached many hundreds per year.



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their own laws. For instance, in 1819 a Venezuelan privateer, secretly fitted out and manned by Americans in Baltimore, succeeded in capturing several American, Portuguese, and Spanish slavers, and appropriating the slaves; being finally wrecked herself, she transferred her crew and slaves to one of her prizes, the "Antelope," which was eventually captured by a United States cruiser and the 280 Africans sent to Georgia. After much litigation, the United States Supreme Court ordered those captured from Spaniards to be surrendered, and the others to be returned to Africa. By some mysterious process, only 139 Africans now remained, 100 of whom were sent to Africa. The Spanish claimants of the remaining thirty-nine sold them to a certain Mr. Wilde, who gave bond to transport them out of the country. Finally, in December, 1827, there came an innocent petition to Congress to *cancel this bond*.<sup>254</sup> A bill to that effect passed and was approved, May 2, 1828,<sup>255</sup> and in consequence these Africans remained as slaves in Georgia. On the whole, it is plain that, although in the period from 1807 to 1820 Congress laid down broad lines of legislation sufficient, save in some details, to suppress the African slave trade to America, yet the execution of these laws was criminally lax. Moreover, by the facility with which slavers could disguise their identity, it was possible for them to escape even a vigorous enforcement of our laws. This situation could properly be met only by energetic and sincere international co-operation....<sup>256</sup>

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The long and open agitation for the reopening of the slave-trade, together with the fact that the South had been more or less familiar with violations of the laws since 1808, led to such a remarkable increase of illicit traffic and actual importations in the decade 1850-1860, that the movement may almost be termed a reopening of the slave-trade.

253. Cf. editorial in Niles's Register, XXII. 114. Cf. also the following instances of pardons: —  
PRESIDENT JEFFERSON: March 1, 1808, Phillip M. Topham, convicted for "carrying on an illegal slave-trade" (pardoned twice). PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9.  
PRESIDENT MADISON: July 29, 1809, fifteen vessels arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, with 666 white persons and 683 negroes. Every penalty incurred under the Act of 1807 was remitted. (Note: "Several other pardons of this nature were granted.") PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179.  
Nov. 8, 1809, John Hopkins and Lewis Le Roy, convicted for importing a slave. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 184-5.  
Feb. 12, 1810, William Sewall, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 194, 235, 240.  
May 5, 1812, William Babbit, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 248.  
PRESIDENT MONROE: June 11, 1822, Thomas Shields, convicted for bringing slaves into New Orleans. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 15.  
Aug. 24, 1822, J.F. Smith, sentenced to five years' imprisonment and \$3000 fine; served twenty-five months and was then pardoned. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 22.  
July 23, 1823, certain parties liable to penalties for introducing slaves into Alabama. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 63.  
Aug. 15, 1823, owners of schooner "Mary," convicted of importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 66.  
PRESIDENT J.Q. ADAMS: March 4, 1826, Robert Perry; his ship was forfeited for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 140.  
Jan. 17, 1827, Jesse Perry; forfeited ship, and was convicted for introducing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 158.  
Feb. 13, 1827, Zenas Winston; incurred penalties for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 161. The four following cases are similar to that of Winston: —  
Feb. 24, 1827, John Tucker and William Morbon. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 162.  
March 25, 1828, Joseph Badger. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 192.  
Feb. 19, 1829, L.R. Wallace. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 215.  
PRESIDENT JACKSON: Five cases. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 225, 270, 301, 393, 440.  
The above cases were taken from manuscript copies of the Washington records, made by Mr. W.C. Endicott, Jr., and kindly loaned me.  
254. See SENATE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 60, 66, 340, 341, 343, 348, 352, 355; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 59, 76, 123, 134, 156, 169, 173, 279, 634, 641, 646, 647, 688, 692.  
255. STATUTES AT LARGE, VI. 376.



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In the foreign slave-trade our own officers continue to report "how shamefully our flag has been used;"<sup>257</sup> and British officers write "that at least one half of the successful part of the slave trade is carried on under the American flag," and this because "the number of American cruisers on the station is so small, in proportion to the immense extent of the slave-dealing coast."<sup>258</sup> The fitting out of slavers became a flourishing business in the United States, and centred at New York City. "Few of our readers," writes a periodical of the day, "are aware of the extent to which this infernal traffic is carried on, by vessels clearing from New York, and in close alliance with our legitimate trade; and that down-town merchants of wealth and respectability are extensively engaged in buying and selling African Negroes, and have been, with comparatively little interruption, for an indefinite number of years."<sup>259</sup> Another periodical says: "The number of persons engaged in the slave-trade, and the amount of capital embarked in it, exceed our powers of calculation. The city of New York has been until of late [1862] the principal port of the world for this infamous commerce; although the cities of Portland and Boston are only second to her in that distinction. Slave dealers added largely to the wealth of our commercial metropolis; they contributed liberally to the treasuries of political organizations, and their bank accounts were largely depleted to carry elections in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut."<sup>260</sup> During eighteen months of the years 1859-1860 eighty-five slavers are reported to have been fitted out in New York harbor,<sup>261</sup> and these alone transported from 30,000 to 60,000 slaves annually.<sup>262</sup> The United States deputy marshal of that district declared in 1856 that the business of fitting out slavers "was never prosecuted with greater energy than at present. The occasional interposition of the legal authorities exercises no apparent influence for its suppression. It is seldom that one or more vessels cannot be designated at the wharves, respecting which there is evidence that she is either in or has been concerned in the Traffic."<sup>263</sup> On the coast of Africa "it is a well-known fact that most of the Slave ships which visit the river are sent from New York and New Orleans."<sup>264</sup>

The absence of United States war-ships at the Brazilian station enabled American smugglers to run in cargoes, in spite of the

256. Among interesting minor proceedings in this period were two Senate bills to register slaves so as to prevent illegal importation. They were both dropped in the House; a House proposition to the same effect also came to nothing: SENATE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, pages 147, 152, 157, 165, 170, 188, 201, 203, 232, 237; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 63, 74, 77, 202, 207, 285, 291, 297; HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, page 332; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 303, 305, 316; 16th Congress 1st session, page 150. Another proposition was contained in the Meigs resolution presented to the House, Feb. 5, 1820, which proposed to devote the public lands to the suppression of the slave-trade. This was ruled out of order. It was presented again and laid on the table in 1821: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227; 16th Congress 2d session, page 238.
257. Gregory to the Secretary of the Navy, June 8, 1850: SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31 Congress, 1st session, XIV. No. 66, page 2. Cf. SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31 Congress, 2d session, II. No. 6.
258. Cumming to Commodore Fanshawe, Feb. 22, 1850: SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31 Congress, 1st session, XIV. No. 66, page 8.
259. New York Journal of Commerce, 1857; quoted in 24TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 56.
260. "The Slave-Trade in New York," in the Continental Monthly, January, 1862, page 87.
261. New York Evening Post; quoted in Lalor, CYCLOPÆDIA, III. 733.
262. Lalor, CYCLOPÆDIA, III. 733; quoted from a New York paper.
263. FRIENDS' APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE COLOURED RACES (1858), Appendix, page 41; quoted from the Journal of Commerce.
264. 26TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, pages 53-4; quoted from the African correspondent of the Boston Journal. From April, 1857, to May, 1858, twenty-one of twenty-two slavers which were seized by British cruisers proved to be American, from New York, Boston, and New Orleans. Cf. 25TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 122. De Bow estimated in 1856 that forty slavers cleared annually from Eastern harbors, clearing yearly \$17,000,000: De Bow's Review, XXII. 430-1.



prohibitory law. One cargo of five hundred slaves was landed in 1852, and the Correio Mercantil regrets "that it was the flag of the United States which covered this act of piracy, sustained by citizens of that great nation."<sup>265</sup> When the Brazil trade declined, the illicit Cuban trade greatly increased, and the British consul reported: "Almost all the slave expeditions for some time past have been fitted out in the United States, chiefly at New York."<sup>266</sup>

February 17, Friday: Bronson Alcott came home from Boston with a copy of the March issue of Atlantic Monthly, containing Louisa May Alcott's article "Love and Self-Love."

"Escenas campestres," a 1-act opera by Louis Moreau Gottschalk to anonymous words, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro di Tacón of Havana. Also premiered were two orchestral works by Gottschalk: "Marcha Triunfal y Final de Opera" and "La nuit des tropiques."

Professor William Henry Harvey read a "serio-comic squib" on Darwinism, before the Dublin University Zoological and Botanical Association. This would subsequently be printed for private circulation as A GUESS AS TO THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN ANIMAL CONSIDERED BY THE LIGHT OF MR DARWIN'S THEORY OF NATURAL SELECTION, AND IN OPPOSITION TO LAMARCK'S NOTION OF A MONKEY PARENTAGE. Charles Darwin, who had a great admiration for Harvey's work, would display a remarkable forbearance:

I am not sorry for a natural opportunity of writing to Harvey, just to show that I was not piqued at his turning me and my book into ridicule, not that I think it was a proceeding that I deserved, or worthy of him.



Feb. 17. P. M.—Cold and northwest wind, drifting the snow. 3 P. M., thermometer 14°.

A perfectly clear sky except one or two little cloud-flecks in the southwest, which, when I look again after walking forty rods, have entirely dissolved. When the sun is setting the light reflected from the snow-covered roofs is quite a clear pink, and even from white board fences.

Grows colder yet at evening, and frost forms on the windows.

I hear that some say they saw a bluebird and heard it sing last week!! It was probably a shrike.

Minott says that he hears that Heard's testimony in regard to Concord River in the meadow case was that "it is dammed at both ends and cursed in the middle," i. e. on account of the damage to the grass there.

We cannot spare the very lively and lifelike descriptions of some of the old naturalists. They sympathize with the creatures which they describe. Edward Topsell in his translation of Conrad Gesner, in 1607, called "The History of Four-footed Beasts," says of the antelopes that "they are bred in India and Syria, near the river Euphrates," and then—which enables you to realize the living creature and its habitat—he adds, "and delight much to drink of the cold water thereof." The beasts which most modern naturalists describe do not delight in anything, and their water is neither hot nor cold. Reading the above makes you want to go and drink of the Euphrates yourself, if it is warm weather. I do not know how much of his spirit he owes to Gesner, but he proceeds in his translation to say that "they have horns growing forth of the crown of their head, which are very long and sharp; so that Alexander affirmed they pierced through the shields of his soldiers, and fought with them very irefully: at which time his company slew as he travelled to India, eight thousand five hundred and fifty, which great slaughter may be the occasion why they are so rare and seldom seen to this day."

Now here something is described at any rate; it is a real account, whether of a real animal or not. You can plainly see the horns which "grew forth" from their crowns, and how well that word "irefully" describes a beast's fighting! And then for the number which Alexander's men slew "as he travelled to India," — and what a travelling was that, my hearers! — eight thousand five hundred and fifty, just the number you would have guessed after the thousands were given, and [AN] easy one to remember too. He goes on to say that "their horns are great and made like a saw, and they with them can cut asunder the branches of osier or small trees, whereby it cometh to pass that many times their necks are taken in the twists of the falling boughs, whereat the beast with repining cry, bewrayeth himself to the hunters, and so is taken." The artist too has done his part equally well, for you are presented with a drawing of the beast with serrated horns, the tail of a lion, a cheek tooth (canine?) as big as a boar's, a stout front, and an exceedingly "ireful" look, as if he were facing all Alexander's army.

GEORGE MINOTT

CONRAD GESNER

EDWARD TOPSELL

265. SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 33d Congress, 1st session, VIII. No. 47, page 13.

266. HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34th Congress, 1st session, XII. No. 105, page 38.



Though some beasts are described in this book which have no existence as I can learn but in the imagination of the writers, they really have an existence there, which is saying not a little, for most of our modern authors have not imagined the actual beasts which they presume to describe. The very frontispiece is a figure of “the gorgon,” which looks sufficiently like a hungry beast covered with scales, which you may have dreamed of, apparently just fallen on the track of you, the reader, and snuffing the odor with greediness.

These men had an adequate idea of a beast, or what a beast should be, a very *bellua* (the translator makes the word *bestia* to be “*a vastando*”); and they will describe and will draw you a cat with four strokes, more beastly or beast-like to look at than Mr. Ruskin’s favorite artist draws a tiger. They had an adequate idea of the wildness of beasts and of men, and in their descriptions and drawings they did not always fail when they *surpassed* nature.

Gesner says of apes that “they are held for a subtil, ironical, ridiculous and unprofitable beast, whose flesh is not good for meat as a sheep, neither his back for burthen as an asses, nor yet commodious to keep a house like a dog, but of the Grecians termed gelotopoios, made for laughter.” As an evidence of an ape’s want of “discretion,” he says: “A certain ape after a shipwreck, swimming to land, was seen by a countryman, who thinking him to be a man in the water gave him his hand to save him, yet in the mean time asked him what countryman he was, to which he answered that he was an Athenian: Well, said the man, dost thou know Piraeus (a port in Athens)? Very well, said the ape, and his wife, friends and children. Whereat the man being moved, did what he could to drown him.” “They are best contented to sit aloft although tied with chains.... They bring forth young ones for the most part by twins, whereof they love the one and hate the other; that which they love they bear on their arms, the other hangeth at the dam’s back, and for the most part she killeth that which she loveth, by pressing it too hard: afterward, she setteth her whole delight upon the other.”





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July 11, Wednesday: Lord John Russell suggested a plan of cooperation between the governments of Great Britain and of the United States of America in the suppression of the [international slave trade](#):

"1st. A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of [Cuba](#) by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States.

"2d. Laws of registration and inspection in the Island of [Cuba](#), by which the employment of slaves, imported contrary to law, might be detected by the Spanish authorities."<sup>267</sup>

"3d. A plan of emigration from [China](#), regulated by the agents of European nations, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities."<sup>268</sup> HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 36th Congress, 2d session, IV. No. 7, pages 441-3, 446-8.



July 11. Heavy rain in the night [of the] 10th-11th. An unusual quantity of rain within a week past; too much now for our garden. The lower leaves of vines yellowed.

To-day and yesterday are cool and comfortable days, with a breeze. Thermometer at 2 P. M., 70 to 77.

2 P.M.—To Pine Hill.

Herd's-grass and red-top in prime. I often notice them growing in parallel rows of reddish and green, the seed apparently having fallen so.

Haying is now generally under way.

As I go along the railroad causeways, I am interested now, and of late, by those patches a rod or two over—amid the red-top, herd's-grass, etc., of A. Wheeler's meadow—of *Agrostis scabra*, that exceedingly fine slender-branched grass drooping and waving in the wind. It gives a pale pinkish(?)—purple sheen to those parts, completely monopolizing (apparently) the ground there. It makes the most purple impression of any grass. Call it early purple grass, as compared with the *Eragrostis pectinacea*. Probably it is not quite in prime. It is the most finely branched and slender-culmed for its size, and near at hand the most invisible of any grass at present, and less noticeable close at hand than in a favorable light at a distance. You will see, thus, scattered over a meadow, little flecks and patches of it, almost like a flat purplish cobweb of the morning, and it seems to recline on the other grasses. It is the finest hair that waves in the fields now; Proserpine's hair.

Find a yellow butterfly about dead, probably in consequence of the heavy rain of last night.

In the pool in Laurel Glen, *Glyceria acutiflora* almost. [Out long since and now going to seed generally and very abundant, in wettest part of Great Meadows, about Holt.]

I look at a young fox at Derby's. You would say from his step and motions that his legs were as elastic as india-rubber,—all springs, ready at any instant to bound high into the air. Gravity seems not enough to keep him in contact with the earth. There seems to be a peculiar principle of resiliency constantly operating in him.

River at 7 P.M. eight and a half inches above summer level.

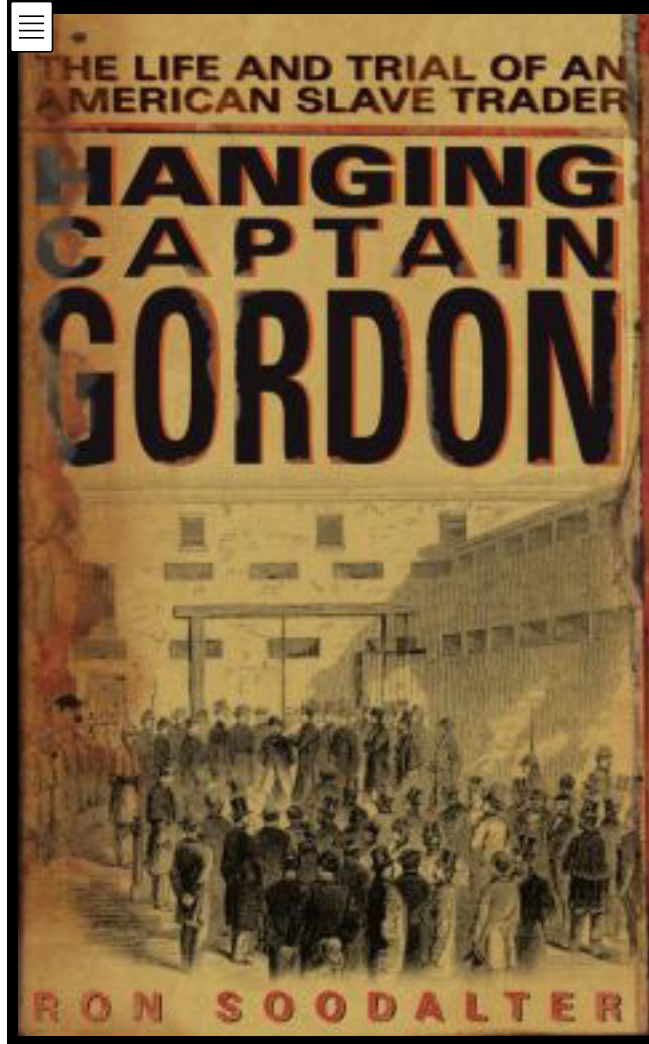
267. By the way, in this year in the last Spanish census of [Cuba](#), both native American slaves imported from Mexico, and [Chinese](#) "coolie" laborers, were being enumerated as "white."

268. President James Buchanan would decline to co-operate in such a plan.



April: The 500-ton *Erie*, a [negrero](#) unquestionably registered in the United States of America, cleared [Havana](#) harbor unquestionably under the command of Captain [Nathaniel Gordon](#), who was unquestionably 5 feet and 5 inches of US citizen as he had been born and bred in the state of Maine.<sup>269</sup>

RACE SLAVERY



Louisa May Alcott wrote:

War has been declared with the South. Our Concord company has gone to Washington. A busy time getting them ready, and a sad day seeing them off. At the station the scene was very dramatic, as the brave boys went away perhaps never to come back again. I've often longed to see a war, and now I have my wish. Everyone is boiling over with excitement. When quiet Concord does get stirred up, it is a sight to behold. All the young men and boys drill with all their might, the women and girls sew and prepare to become nurses, the old folks settle the fate of the Nation in groves of newspapers, and the children make the streets hideous with distracted drums and fifes.

269. Well, there is this one nagging historical question: was this Captain Nathaniel Gordon the son of another Captain Nathaniel Gordon, who had previously been convicted of engaging in the [international slave trade](#) — and who had not been required to pay the death penalty?

Henry James, Sr. would term this Civil War “[Sanborn](#)’s war.”

Here is a picture of Captain Gordon’s pretty home in Maine, which although it had been paid for of course in blood, does not seem to have been painted scarlet:



W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Early in December 1856, the subject reached Congress; and although the agitation was then new, fifty-seven Southern Congressmen refused to declare a re-opening of the slave-trade “shocking to the moral sentiment of the enlightened portion of mankind,” and eight refused to call the reopening even “unwise” and “inexpedient.”<sup>270</sup> Three years later, January 31, 1859, it was impossible, in a House of one hundred and ninety-nine members, to get a two-thirds vote in order even to consider Kilgore’s resolutions, which declared “that no legislation can be too thorough in its measures, nor can any penalty known to the catalogue of modern punishment for crime be too severe against a traffic so inhuman and unchristian.”<sup>271</sup> Congressmen and other prominent men hastened with the rising tide.<sup>272</sup> Dowdell of Alabama declared the repressive acts “highly offensive;” J.B. Clay of Kentucky was “opposed to all these laws;”<sup>273</sup> Seward of Georgia declared them “wrong, and a violation of the Constitution;”<sup>274</sup> Barksdale of Mississippi agreed with this sentiment; Crawford of Georgia threatened a reopening of the trade; Miles of South Carolina was for “sweeping away” all restrictions;<sup>275</sup> Keitt of South Carolina wished to withdraw the African squadron, and to cease to brand slave-trading as piracy;<sup>276</sup> Brown of Mississippi “would repeal the law

270. HOUSE JOURNAL, 34th Congress, 3d session, pages 105-10; CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 34th Congress, 3d session, pages 123-6; Cluskey, POLITICAL TEXT-BOOK (14th edition), page 589.

271. HOUSE JOURNAL, 35th Congress, 2d session, pages 298-9. Cf. 26TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 45.

272. Cf. REPORTS OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, especially the 26th, pages 43-4.

273. 26TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 43. He referred especially to the Treaty of 1842.

274. 26TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 43; CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 35th Congress, 2d session, Appendix, pages 248-50.

275. 26TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 44.





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instantly;<sup>277</sup> Alexander Stephens, in his farewell address to his constituents, said: "Slave states cannot be made without Africans.... [My object is] to bring clearly to your mind the great truth that without an increase of African slaves from abroad, you may not expect or look for many more slave States."<sup>278</sup> Jefferson Davis strongly denied "any coincidence of opinion with those who prate of the inhumanity and sinfulness of the trade. The interest of Mississippi," said he, "not of the African, dictates my conclusion." He opposed the immediate reopening of the trade in Mississippi for fear of a paralyzing influx of Negroes, but carefully added: "This conclusion, in relation to Mississippi, is based upon my view of her *present* condition, *not* upon any *general theory*. It is not supposed to be applicable to Texas, to New Mexico, or to any *future acquisitions* to be made south of the Rio Grande."<sup>279</sup> John Forsyth, who for seven years conducted the slave-trade diplomacy of the nation, declared, about 1860: "But one stronghold of its [i.e., slavery's] enemies remains to be carried, to *complete its triumph* and assure its welfare, — that is the existing prohibition of the African Slave-trade."<sup>280</sup> Pollard, in his *BLACK DIAMONDS*, urged the importation of Africans as "laborers." "This I grant you," said he, "would be practically the re-opening of the African slave trade; but ... you will find that it very often becomes necessary to evade the letter of the law, in some of the greatest measures of social happiness and patriotism."<sup>281</sup>

October 23, Tuesday: Louis Moreau Gottschalk conducted an opera for the initial time, *Les Martyrs* of Gaetano Donizetti, in the Teatro Principal, [Havana](#). Reviewers deemed the performance "abysmal," although they did not fault its conductor.

Effram Nute, Jr. wrote from Medford, Massachusetts to Charles Wesley Slack, accepting an invitation to speak. He planned to provide his audience with his reminiscences of [Italy](#) (especially [Rome](#) and Firenze).



October 23. Anthony Wright tells me that he cut a pitch pine on Damon's land between the Peter Haynes road and his old farm, about '41, in which he counted two hundred and seventeen rings, which was therefore older than Concord, and one of the primitive forest. He tells me of a noted large and so-called primitive wood, Inches Wood, between the Harvard turnpike and Stow, sometimes called Stow Woods, in Boxboro and Stow. Also speaks of the wood north of Wetherbee's mill near Annursnack and belonging to W., as large and old, if not cut.

Melvin thinks that a fox would not on an average weigh more than ten pounds. Says that he saw a flock of brant yesterday by day. (Rarely seen by day or even by night here.) He says that Hildreth collects moss (probably *cladonia*) from the rocks for kindling.

There is no such mortality in nobler seeds—seeds of living creatures, as eggs of birds, for instance—as I have noticed in white oak acorns. What if the eggs of any species of bird should be added to this extent, so that it should be hard to find a sound one? In Egypt, where they hatch eggs artificially in an oven, they can afford to return one chicken for every two eggs they receive (and do so) and yet find it profitable. It is true one third of human infants are said to die before they are five years old, but even this is a far less mortality than that of the acorns. The oak is a scarce bearer, yet it lasts a good while.

More or less rain to-day and yesterday.

276. 26TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 44; 27TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, pages 13-4.

277. 26TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 44.

278. Quoted in Lalor, *CYCLOPÆDIA*, III. 733; Cairnes, *THE SLAVE POWER* (New York, 1862), page 123, note; 27TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 15.

279. Quoted in Cairnes, *THE SLAVE POWER*, page 123, note; 27TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 19.

280. 27TH REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, page 16; quoted from the [Mobile Register](#).

281. Edition of 1859, pages 63-4.





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The [negrero](#) *Augusta*, in spite of the efforts of officials, was able to start on her slaving voyage (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 37th Congress, 2d session V, Number 40; New-York [Tribune](#), November 26, 1861).



The [negrero](#) *Storm King*, of [Baltimore](#), landed 650 [slaves](#) in [Cuba](#) (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 38th Congress, 1st session Number 56, page 3).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

March 18, Monday: At the invitation of the government of Santo Domingo, Spain re-annexed its former colony. Spanish troops from [Cuba](#) entered the country.

A state convention in Arkansas turned down secession 39-35 but allowed for a plebiscite.

Governor [Sam Houston](#) of [Texas](#), having declined to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States of America, was deposed and retired.

Concord's annual exhibition was held in the new town hall. An announcement was made that [Mr. Thoreau](#) could not be present due to illness, but was still at work, hopefully, on the natural history of Concord that was to be used in the public schools there. Since the celebration that year was honoring [Bronson Alcott](#) as the Concord superintendent of schools, [Louisa May Alcott](#) had written a poem which, in the 2d verse, mentioned



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John Brown.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

An attempt was made to have this reference suppressed but the attempt was defeated, largely through the intervention of [Waldo Emerson](#). We have a letter briefly and unenthusiastically mentioning the program, from the 23-year-old daughter of [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#), Annie Bartlett, to her soldier brother [Edward Jarvis "Ned" Bartlett](#) to whom she was writing religiously every Sunday:



*Mr. Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Franklin B. Sanborn spoke in the Hall about education, but I did not trouble them.*

FRANKLIN B. SANBORN

In about this timeframe [Thoreau](#) was copying from [HERODOTUS](#). A NEW AND LITERAL VERSION FROM THE TEXT OF BAEHR. WITH A GEOGRAPHICAL AND GENERAL INDEX. BY HENRY CARY, M.A., WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD (London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1845) into his Indian Notebook #12 and Commonplace Book #2.

HERODOTUS' HISTORIES



March 18. Tree sparrows have warbled faintly for a week.

When I pass by a twig of willow, though of the slenderest kind, rising above the sedge in some dry hollow early in December, or in midwinter above the snow, my spirits rise as if it were an oasis in the desert. The very name "sallow" (salix, from the Celtic sal-lis, near water) suggests that there is some natural sap or blood flowing there. It is a divining wand that has not failed, but stands with its root in the fountain.

The fertile willow catkins are those green caterpillar-like ones, commonly an inch or more in length, which develop themselves rapidly after the sterile yellow ones which we had so admired are fallen or effete. Arranged around the bare twigs, they often form green wands eight to eighteen inches long. A single catkin consists of from twenty-five to a hundred little pods, more or less ovate and beaked, each of which is closely packed with cotton, in which are numerous seeds so small that they are scarcely discernible by ordinary eyes.

I do not know what they mean who call this the emblem of despairing love! "The willow, worn by forlorn paramour!" It is rather the emblem of love and sympathy with all nature. It may droop, –it is so lithe, supple, and pliant,– but it never weeps. The willow of Babylon blooms not the less hopefully with us, though its other half is not in the New World at all, and never has been. It droops, not to represent David's tears, but rather to snatch the crown from Alexander's head. (Nor were poplars ever the weeping sisters of Phaëton, for nothing rejoices them more than the sight of the Sun's chariot, and little reck they who drives it.)

Ah, willow! willow! Would that I always possessed thy good spirits.

No wonder its wood was anciently in demand for bucklers, for, take the whole tree, it is not only soft and pliant but tough and resilient (as Pliny says?), not splitting at the first blow, but closing its wounds at once and refusing



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to transmit its hurts.

I know of one foreign species which introduced itself into Concord as [a] withe used to tie up a bundle of trees. A gardener stuck it in the ground, and it lived, and has its descendants.

[Herodotus](#) says that the Scythians divined by the help of willow rods. I do not know any better twigs for this purpose.

How various are the habits of men! Mother says that her father-in-law, Captain Minott, not only used to roast and eat a long row of little wild apples, reaching in a semicircle from jamb to jamb under the andirons on the reddened hearth (I used to buy many a pound of Spanish brown at the stores for mother to redden the jambs and hearth with), but he had a quart of new milk regularly placed at the head of his bed, which he drank at many draughts in the course of the night. It was so the night he died, and my grandmother discovered that he was dying, by his not turning over to reach his milk. I asked what he died of, and mother answered apoplexy! at which I did not wonder. Still this habit may not have caused it.

I have a cousin, also, who regularly eats his bowl of bread and milk just before going to bed, however late. He is a very stirring man.

You can't read any genuine history –as that of [Herodotus](#) or the Venerable Bede– without perceiving that our interest depends not on the subject but on the man, — on the manner in which he treats the subject and the importance he gives it. A feeble writer and without genius must have what he thinks a great theme, which we are already interested in through the accounts of others, but a genius –a Shakespeare, for instance– would make the history of his parish more interesting than another's history of the world.

Wherever men have lived there is a story to be told, and it depends chiefly on the story-teller or historian whether that is interesting or not. You are simply a witness on the stand to tell what you know about your neighbors and neighborhood. Your account of foreign parts which you have never seen should by good rights be less interesting.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

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October 11, Friday midnight: The steamer *Gordon* departed in the rain and dark from [Charleston](#) harbor in order to slip Confederate emissaries James Mason and Slidell past the Union blockade and carry them to [Havana](#), where they could board the regular, fast British mail packet ship heading across the Atlantic.



Arriving in Heidelberg, [Professor Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the “Swiss [Thoreau](#),” jotted in his *JOURNAL INTIME*: “After eleven days journey, here I am under the roof of my friends, in their hospitable house on the banks of the Neckar, with its garden climbing up the side of the Heiligenberg.... Blazing sun; my room is flooded with light and warmth. Sitting opposite the Geisberg, I write to the murmur of the Neckar, which rolls its green waves, flecked with silver, exactly beneath the balcony on which my room opens. A great barge coming from Heilbron passes silently under my eyes, while the wheels of a cart which I cannot see are dimly heard on the road which skirts the river. Distant voices of children, of cocks, of chirping sparrows, the clock of the Church of the Holy Spirit, which chimes the hour, serve to gauge, without troubling, the general tranquility of the scene. One feels the hours gently slipping by, and time, instead of flying, seems to hover. A peace beyond words steals into my heart, an impression of morning grace, of fresh country poetry which brings back the sense of youth, and has the true German savor.... Two decked barges carrying red flags, each with a train of flat boats filled with coal, are going up the river and making their way under the arch of the great stone bridge. I stand at the window and see a whole perspective of boats sailing in both directions; the Neckar is as animated as the street of some great capital; and already on the slope of the wooded mountain, streaked by the smoke-wreaths of the town, the castle throws its shadow like a vast drapery, and traces the outlines of its battlements and turrets. Higher up, in front of me, rises the dark profile of the Molkenkur; higher still, in relief against the dazzling east, I can distinguish the misty forms of the two towers of the Kaiserstuhl





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and the Trutzheinrich.

But enough of landscape. My host, Dr. George Weber, tells me that his manual of history is translated into Polish, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, and French, and that of his great “Universal History” — three volumes are already published. What astonishing power of work, what prodigious tenacity, what solidity! O deutscher Fleiss!”

During this day [Henry Thoreau](#) had been in the process of writing from Concord to the Reverend James M. Stone,<sup>282</sup> secretary of the Boston [Emancipation](#) League, about a request he had just received from the wealthy lead pipe manufacturer and clandestine supporter of John Brown’s mission, the Reverend George Luther Stearns, to write upon the subject of [emancipation](#). His health, he reported, was no longer up to such a task:

*Concord Oct 11<sup>th</sup> 1861*

*Mr James M. Stone,*

*Dear Sir,*

*I have just received a letter from Mr. Stearns, on the subject of emancipation, and would say, briefly, that I heartily sympathise with you in your enterprise, and hope that you may succeed; but, I am sorry to add, such is the state of my health, and has been for ten months past, preventing all literary employment, that I cannot promise you the least aid.*

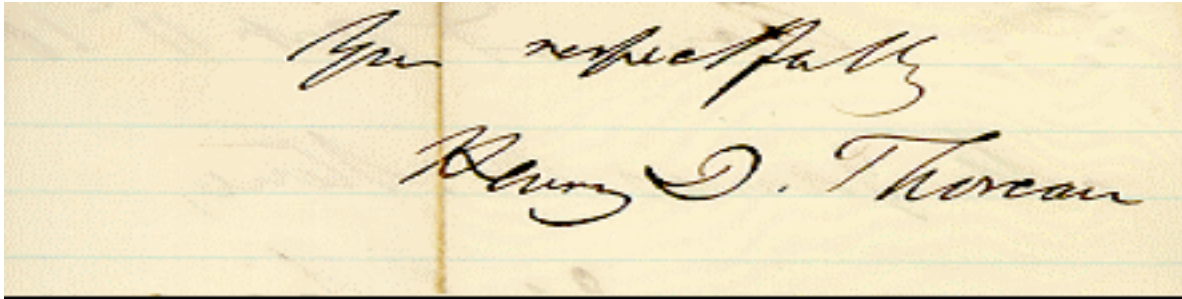
*Yours respectfully*

*Henry D. Thoreau*

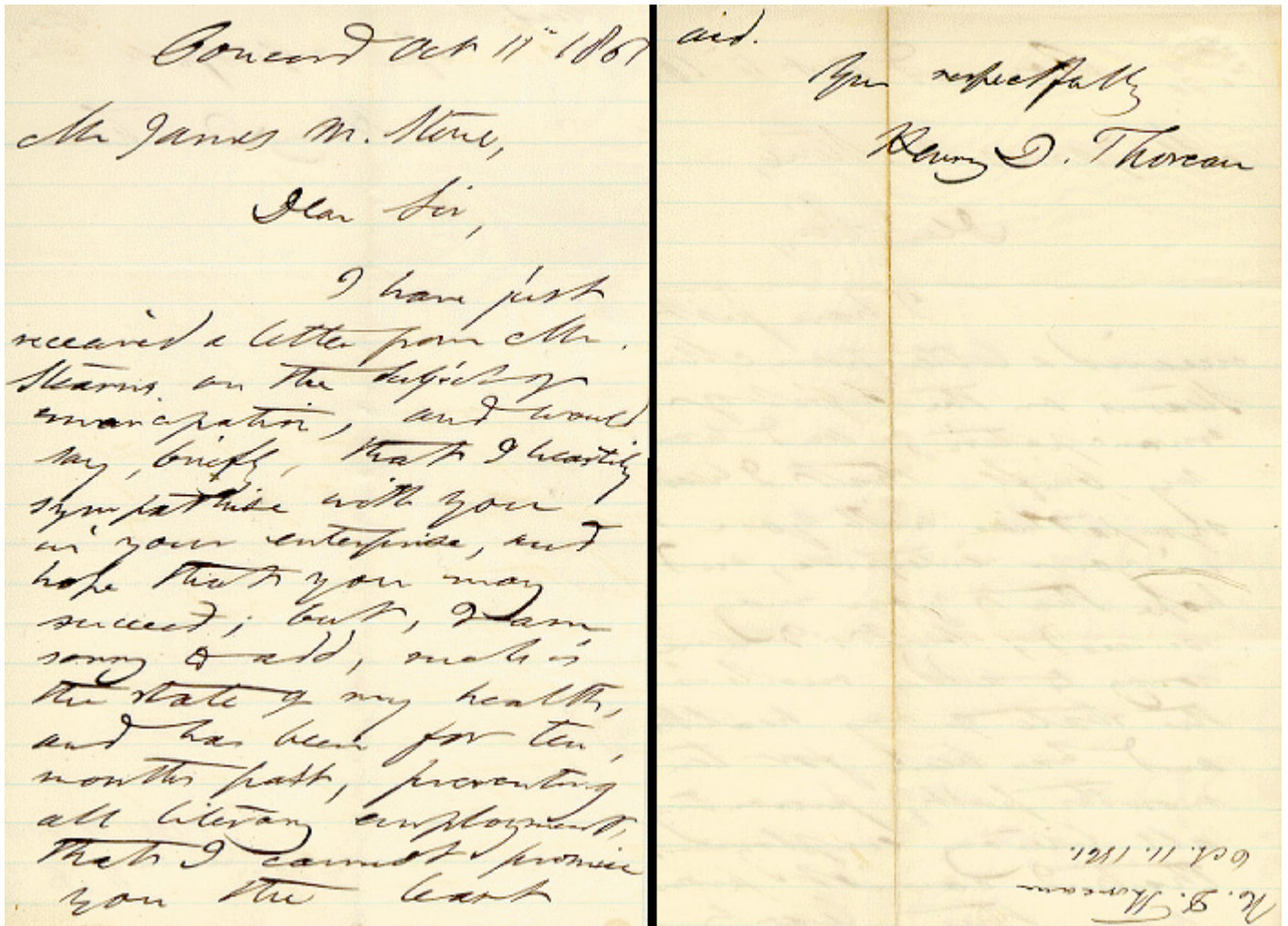
{written upside down at the bottom of the page:

H.D. Thoreau

Oct. 11. 1861.}



Autograph Letter Signed; 2 pages; 20.2 centimeters; published in American Literature 51 (March 1979):98-100 — see following screens for an image of the letter, which has been donated to Kent State University's Special Collections & Archives by Charles Wesley Slack's great-grandson Paul C. Kitchin:



October 16, Tuesday: Confederate emissaries James Mason and Slidell arrived at [Havana](#).

Count N.P. Ignatyev, a Russian diplomat, persuaded the government of [Peking](#) to surrender to the combined British and French force that was besieging it.



October 16. P.M.—To White Pond and neighborhood.

As a consequence of the different manner in which trees which have winged seeds and those which have not are planted,—the [FORMER] being blown together in one direction by the wind, the latter being dispersed irregularly by animals,—I observe that the former, as pines (which (the white) are said in the primitive wood to grow in communities), white birches, red maples, alders, etc., often grow in more or less regular rounded or oval or conical patches, as the seeds fell, while oaks, chestnuts, hickories, etc., simply form woods of greater or less extent whether by themselves or mixed; i. e., they do not naturally spring up in an oval form (or elliptical) unless they derive it from the pines under which they were planted.

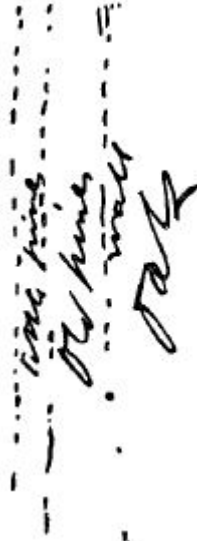
For example, take this young white pine wood half a dozen years old, which has sprung up in a pasture adjacent to a wood of oaks and pines mixed. It has the form of a broad crescent, or half-moon, with its diameter resting on the old wood near where a large white pine stood. It is true most such groves are early squared by our plows and fences, for we square these circles every day in our rude practice. And in the same manner often they fall in a sprout-land amid oaks, and I, looking from a hilltop, can distinguish in distant old woods still, of pine and oak mixed, these more exclusive and regular communities of pine, a dozen or more rods wide, while it is the oak commonly that fills up the irregular crevices, beside occupying extensive spaces itself. So it happens that, as the pines themselves and their fruit have a more regularly conical outline than deciduous trees, the groves they form also have.

Our wood-lots, of course, have a history, and we may often recover it for a hundred years back, though we do not. A small pine lot may be a side of such an oval, or a half, or a square in the inside with all the curving sides cut off by fences. Yet if we attended more to the history of our lots we should manage them more wisely.

Looking round, I observe at a distance an oak wood-lot some twenty years old, with a dense narrow edging of pitch pines about a rod and a half wide and twenty-five or thirty years old along its whole southern side, which is straight and thirty or forty rods long, and, next to it, an open field or pasture. It presents a very singular appearance, because the oak wood is broad and has no pines within it, while the narrow edging is perfectly straight and dense, and pure pine. It is the more remarkable at this season because the oak is all red and yellow and the pine all green. I understand it and read its history easily before I get to it. I find, as I expected, a fence separating the pines from the oaks, or that they belong to different owners. I also find, as I expected, that eighteen or twenty years ago a pitch pine wood had stood where the oaks are, and was then cut down, for there are their old stumps. But before they were cut, their seeds were blown into the neighbor's field, and the little pines came up all along its edge, and they grew so thickly and so fast that that neighbor refrained at last from plowing them up or cutting them off, for just this rod and a half in width, where they were thickest, and moreover, though there are no sizable oaks mixed with these pines, the whole surface even of this narrow strip is as usual completely stocked with little seedling oaks less than a foot high. But I ask, if the neighbor so often lets this narrow edging grow up, why not often, by the same rule, let them spread over the whole of his field? When at length he sees how they have grown, does he not often regret that he did not do so? Or why be dependent, even to this extent, on these windfalls from our neighbors' trees, or an accident? Why not control our own woods and destiny more? (This was north from the lane beyond Conant's handsome wood.) There are many such problems in forest geometry to be solved.

Again, I read still further back a more varied story. Take the line between Rice and Conant (?) or Garfield (?). Here is a green strip of dense pitch and white pine some thirty or forty rods long by four wide and thirty years old. On the east side is a large red and yellow [SIC] oak wood-lot, the nearest part of it some dozen or more years old, and on the west a strip three rods wide of little white and pitch pines four to ten feet high that have sprung up in the open land, and next to these is an open field occasionally cultivated. Given these facts, to find

the wall. If you think a moment you will know with out my telling you that it is between the pine wood and



the oak. Some dozen or more years ago there was a large pine wood extending up to the wall on the west, and then an open field belonging, to another man. But, as before, the pine seed had blown over the wall and taken so well that for four rods in width it was suffered to grow, or rather may be said to have defended itself and crowded the farmer back (no thanks to him). But when, some fifteen years ago, the old pine wood was cut by its owner, the other was not ready to cut his younger one. This is now about thirty years old and for many years it has been endeavoring to spread into the open land by its side, as its parents did, but for a long time the proprietor, not taking the hint, blind to his own interests, plowed quite up to the edge of the wood, as I noticed,—and got a few beans for his pains. But the pines (which he did not plant) grew while he slept, and at length, one spring, he gave up the contest and concluded at last to plow only within three rods of the wood, the little pines were so thick and promising. He concluded not to cut his own fingers any more, i. e. not further than up to the last joint, and hence this second row of little pines. They would have covered the half or perhaps the whole of his barren field before this if he had let them.

I examined these pine lots. The strip of little pines contained also a little white birch, much sweet-fern, and thin open sod, but scarcely one oak, and that very small. The strip of large pines contained countless oaks of various kinds,—white, red, black, and shrub oak,—which had come from the young oak lot, many little pines of both kinds, and little wild cherry,—white [SIC],—and some hazel and high blueberry. (It was rather elevated as well as dry soil.)

I dug up some of the little oaks to see how old they were and how they had fared. The largest in the lot were about one foot high. First, a red or scarlet oak, apparently four years old. The acorn was about one inch below the surface of the pine leaves. It rose five inches above the leaves, and the root extended about one foot below the surface. It had died down once.

The second was a black oak which rose six inches above the leaves (or eight, measured along the stem). It was apparently four years old. It was much branched, and its tops had been cut off by rabbits last year. The root ran straight down about one inch, then nearly horizontally five or six inches, and when I pulled it up it broke off where less than one eighth inch thick, at sixteen inches below the surface. This tree was one fourth of an inch in diameter at the surface and nearly three fourths of an inch in diameter at five inches below (along the root). At the same height above the surface it was hardly one fifth of an inch in diameter.

The third was a white oak ten inches high, apparently seven years old. It also had been browsed by a rabbit and put out a new shoot accordingly. Two years' growth was buried in the leaves. The root was very similar, both in direction and form, to the last, only not quite so thick.

Fourth, a shrub oak also quite similar, though less thick still and with two or more shoots from one stock. In all these cases, or especially the first three [?], there was one main, and an unexpectedly great, fusiform root, altogether out of proportion to the top, you would say, tapering both ways, but of course largest and sharpest downward, with many fine stringy fibres extending on every side from it perhaps a foot. Just as a biennial plant devotes its energies the first year to producing a stock on which it can feed the next, so these little oaks in their earliest years are forming great fusiform vigorous roots on which they can draw when they are suddenly left to seek their fortunes in a sprout-land.

Thus this double forest was advancing to conquer new (or old) land, sending forward their children on the wings of the wind, while already the oak seedlings from the oak wood behind had established themselves beneath the old pines ready to supplant them. The pines were the vanguard. They stood up to fire with their children before them, while the little oaks knelt behind and between them. The pine is the pioneer, the oak the more permanent settler who lays out his improvements. Pines are by some considered lower in the scale of trees—in





the order of development—than oaks.

While the pines were blowing into the pasture from this narrow edging, the animals were planting the acorns under the pines. Even the small pine woods are thus perfectly equipped.

There was even under these dark, dense pines, thirty years old, a pretty thick bed of blueberry and huckleberry bushes next the wall, ten feet wide, the relics of a still denser and higher one that grew there when it was an open field. The former had thus been driven back three times, first by the blueberry hedge, then by the pines of thirty years ago, and lastly by the young pines that sprang from them. Thus a wood-lot had been forced upon him, and yet perhaps he will talk of it as a creation of his own.

I have come up here this afternoon to see 's dense white pine lot beyond the pond, that was cut off last winter, to know how the little oaks look in it. To my surprise and chagrin, I find that the fellow who calls himself its owner has burned it all over and sowed winter-rye here. He, no doubt, means to let it grow up again in a year or two, but he thought it would be clear gain if he could extract a little rye from it in the meanwhile. What a fool! Here nature had got everything ready for this emergency, and kept them ready for many years,—oaks half a dozen years old or more, with fusiform roots full charged and tops already pointing skyward, only waiting to be touched off by the sun,—and he thought he knew better, and would get a little rye out of it first, which he could feel at once between his fingers, and so he burned it, and dragged his harrow over it. As if oaks would bide his time or come at his bidding. Or as if he preferred to have a pine or a birch wood here possibly half a century hence—for the land is “pine sick”—rather than an oak wood at once. So he trifles with nature. I am chagrined for him. That he should call himself an agriculturalist! He needs to have a guardian placed over him. A forest-warden should be appointed by the town. Overseers of poor husbandmen.

He has got his dollars for the pine timber, and now he wishes to get his bushels of grain and finger the dollars that they will bring; and then, Nature, you may have your way again. Let us purchase a mass for his soul. A greediness that defeats its own ends.

I examined a little lot of his about a dozen rods square just this side, cut off last winter, apparently two thirds white pine and one third white oak. Last year the white pine seed was very abundant, but there was little or no white oak seed. Accordingly I noticed twenty or more seedling white pines of this year on the barest spots, but not a single seedling oak. This suggests how much the species of the succeeding forest may depend on whether the trees were fertile the year before they were cut, or not.

I see a very large white oak acorn which has a double meat with a skin between. There is a very young grub in it. They appear to be last year's hemlock and larch cones that still hold on in great numbers!

As time elapses, and the resources from which our forests have been supplied fail, we shall of necessity be more and more convinced of the significance of the seed.

I see in a thick pitch pine wood half a dozen stout pine twigs five eighths of an inch thick that have been gnawed off with their plumes. Why?

Hear the alder locust still. Robins apparently more numerous than a month ago. See grackles in cornfields in two places to-day.

It chanced that here were two proprietors within half a mile who had done exactly the same, i. e., accepted part of a wood-lot that was forced on them, and I have no doubt that there are several more exactly similar cases within that half-mile diameter.

The history of a wood-lot is often, if not commonly, here, a history of cross-purposes,—of steady and consistent endeavor on the part of Nature, of interference and blundering with a glimmering of intelligence at the eleventh hour on the part of the proprietor. The proprietor of wood-lots commonly treats Nature as an Irishman drives a horse,—by standing before him and beating him in the face all the way across a field.

If I find any starved pasture in the midst of our woods,—and I remember many such, and they are the least valuable tracts we have,—I know that it has commonly had such a history as this wood-lot (above). It was burned over when cut, and perhaps cultivated a year or two, often because the owner thought it was what the soil needed in order that it might produce trees. In some cases there may be sense in such a course if he can afford to wait a century instead of a third of that time for a crop. It depends on what the trees are, the locality, etc. But commonly the owner who adopts this course makes a move in the dark and in ninety-nine cases in a hundred [INDECIPHERABLE WORD] his own fingers.

The time will soon come, if it has not already, when we shall have to take special pains to secure and encourage the growth of white oaks, as we already must that of chestnut.s for the most part. These oaks will become so scattered that there will be not seed enough to seed the ground rapidly and completely.

Horace Mann tells me that he found in the crop or inside of the stake-driver killed the other day one grasshopper, several thousand-legs one to one and a half inches long, and not much else.

It commonly happens in settled countries like this that the new community of pines, sprung from seeds blown off from an older one, is very youthful compared with the trees it sprang from because many successive crops of trees or seeds have been plowed up or cut before the owner allowed Nature to take her course. Naturally the pines spread more steadily and with no such abrupt descents. In the wildwood at least there are commonly only fires and insects or blight, and not the axe and plow and the cattle, to interrupt the regular progress of things.



## CUBA

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November 7, Thursday: There was fighting at Belmont.

Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) of Amesbury MA wrote to James M. Stone to inform him that he would be unable to attend a meeting. He criticized the present administration.

The British mail steamer *Trent* exited [Havana](#) harbor bound for Southampton, England, with Confederate emissaries James Mason and Slidell aboard. Unfortunately, during their dilatory 3-week layover in this [Cuban](#) port, US federal agents had learned of their plans and had dispatched the USS *San Jacinto* to intercept them on the high seas.

News arrived that the Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln had won the national election. The crippled Senator Charles Sumner stopped by [Concord](#) and visited the [Emerson](#) home.



November 7: To Cambridge and Boston. [or, is this November 7th, 1860?]

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November 8, Friday: [Charles Wilkes](#) had been allowed to return to active duty during the period of civil war, despite his having been convicted by court-martial for excessive punishment of seamen. On this day his USS *San Jacinto* intercepted at sea in the West Indies the British mail-steamer *Trent*, bound from [Havana](#) to St. Thomas and then for Southampton, England, and he sent Lieutenant Donald M. Fairfax on board to bring off Confederate commissioners John Slidell and James Mason, with their secretaries. The officials would be taken to Fort Warren in Boston harbor. This would cause him to be seen by many as a hero, and the Navy Department would award him an emphatic commendation, with the US Congress passing a resolution of thanks. However, this “Trent Affair” would cause much tension between the US and England. On the demand of the British government that Mason and Slidell should be given up, Secretary of State W.H. Seward would comply explaining in his despatch that, although the commissioners and their papers had been contraband of war, and although therefore Wilkes had acted properly in capturing them, what he should have done was take the *Trent* into port as a prize for adjudication. As he had neglected so to do, instead constituting himself as the judge in the matter, for the United States national government to approve of his act would be for it for the first time to sanction the “right of search,” a right which it had always previously refused to recognize. The prisoners would therefore be released.

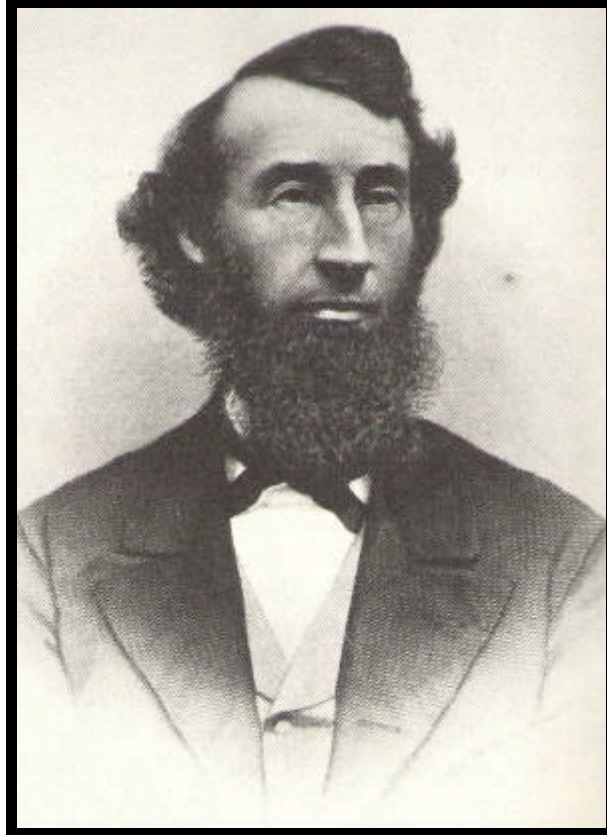


With Britain threatening to enter the war on the side of the Confederacy, Wilkes would once again face court-martial, and would again be found guilty of having gone beyond his limits, and his promotions would be rescinded. This time they would dispose of him permanently, on the retired list.

November 26, Tuesday: From this day until May 24, 1862, the remaining chapters of Martin Robison Delany’s book *BLAKE; OR, THE HUTS OF AMERICA: A TALE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, AND CUBA*, a novel involving black insurrectionism which, according to Floyd Miller, amounted to “the first novelistic offering of a black writer to be published in the United States,” would be being serialized by Robert Hamilton in his publication, [Weekly Anglo African Magazine](#).



November 30, Saturday: In [New-York](#), Captain [Nathaniel Gordon](#) was convicted of the capital offense of having engaged in the [international slave trade](#) off the coast of Africa in violation of the capital federal ordinance of May 15, 1820, and was condemned to be [hanged](#) as a [pirate](#):



### Oops, my bad

(Mmmm, this looks dreadfully like the end of the road, doesn't it? –Sentenced to be hanged by the neck until you are dead dead dead? Actually, our nation had gotten itself into this situation a number of times before, and in each and every instance the problem been dealt with by means of a straightforward and automatic Presidential pardon. –So, you might suppose that the arrogant and selfrighteous Captain Gordon would have been in fear of his life at this point, but if you suppose that, you might be in error.)

UNITED STATES v. GORDON. 25 F.Cas. 1364  
Circuit Court, S. D. New York.  
Nov. 8, 1861; Nov. 30, 1861.

This was an indictment against the defendant [[Nathaniel Gordon](#)], under the 5th section of the act of May 15, 1820 (3 Stat. 601), for forcibly confining and detaining, on the 8th of August, 1860, on waters within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States, and within the jurisdiction of this court, and out of the limits of any state or district, on board of the ship [Erie](#), owned wholly or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, a citizen or citizens of the United States, certain negroes, not having been held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negroes [slaves](#), he being, at the time of the commission of the crime, one of the ship's company of the ship, and a citizen of the United States, and the Southern district of New York being the district in which he was apprehended and



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into which he was first brought. The trial took place before NELSON, Circuit Justice, and SHIPMAN, District Judge, and a jury.

E. Delafield Smith, Dist. Atty., for the United States.  
Gilbert Dean, for defendant.

NELSON, Circuit Justice (charging jury).

The 5th section of the act of May 15, 1820, under which the prisoner is indicted, provides, "that if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel, owned wholly or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall forcibly confine or detain, or aid and abet in forcibly confining or detaining, on board such ship or vessel, any negro or mulatto not held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States," with intent to make him a slave, such person shall be adjudged a pirate, and, on conviction, shall suffer death. There are two counts in the indictment, to which we shall call your attention, and to which the observations that we shall make on the law of the case will be confined. The first count is, in substance, that the prisoner, one of the ship's company of the ship Erie, owned in whole or in part by American citizens, in the river Congo, did piratically, feloniously, and forcibly confine and detain eight hundred negroes on board, with intent to make them slaves. The third count is, that the prisoner, a citizen of the United States, one of the ship's company of the ship Erie, a foreign vessel, engaged in the slave trade, in the river Congo, did piratically and forcibly confine and detain eight hundred negroes on board such vessel, with intent to make them slaves. Under the statute which we have read to you, in order to make out the offence against the prisoner, it is necessary, on the part of the government, to prove, either that he is a citizen of the United States, or that the vessel on which he served, with which he was engaged in the slave trade, belonged, in whole or in part, to citizens of the United States. If the prisoner is a citizen of the United States, then the crime charged against him, of forcibly detaining these negroes, may be made out, if he was on board of a foreign vessel. But, if he was not a citizen of the United States, but a foreigner, then, in order to charge him with the crime, it must appear that it was committed upon an American vessel, or at least a vessel owned, in whole or in part, by citizens of the United States. Two questions, therefore, become material: 'First- Was the prisoner at the bar a citizen? Now, proof is given by two witnesses, that they knew both his father and his mother in Portland, Maine, before their marriage. They were both residents of that place. The witnesses also knew them after their marriage, in the same place, and knew the prisoner, the fruit of that marriage, when two or three years old. The question is, upon this testimony- Was the prisoner a native-born citizen, born in Portland or in the United States? It has been argued, by the counsel for the prisoner, that there is some evidence that the mother, after the marriage, was in the habit of going with her husband, who was a sea captain, upon





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foreign voyages; and it is insisted that, upon this state of facts, the prisoner may have been born abroad. Perhaps, the presumption being, upon the evidence, that he was born in Portland, a prima facie case being made out that he was born there, the burden would rest upon him, to show that he was born abroad. But we take it to be settled law, that, although he was born in a foreign country, yet if his father and mother were American citizens, and did not have the design of removing to the foreign country, but touched there in the course of a voyage which the father made as a sea captain, the child would still be regarded as an American citizen.

Next, gentlemen, as to the character of the vessel. Was she an American vessel, or owned, in whole or in part, by American citizens? It appears that she was built in the United States, and belonged to American citizens, and made a voyage from England to Havana; and, it is insisted that, after her arrival at Havana, she was sold and transferred by those American citizens. We have the account from Mr. Post, who owned three-fourths of her at the time of the sale. He states, that though he was not present at the time of the sale, yet one of the other part owners, Mr. Knudsen, was with the vessel as its master, and that he received from Havana, in March, 1860, the proceeds of the sale, and had no doubt that she had been sold and transferred. Perhaps, on this evidence, it would be difficult to deny that a sale and transfer was made of this vessel out of those American owners, so far at least as Mr. Post is concerned; and he says, also, that he accounted with the other part owners for their share of the price. The difficulty, in this part of the case, is, that it is not enough to show that the title to this vessel was conveyed by these American owners in March, 1860. That is not sufficient, because, before any change can be made in the character of a vessel, after it has been proved that she belonged to American owners, it must appear that the transfer was made to a foreigner. To whom this vessel was transferred, we have no evidence in the case. But, as I before said to you, gentlemen, it is not necessary, upon this branch of the case, that the prisoner should be a citizen, and, also, that the vessel should be an American vessel. It is sufficient, if either of these facts exists, for the commission of the crime charged in the indictment.

This brings us, gentlemen, to the merits of the case, and the question is, is the prisoner guilty or not, of forcibly confining or detaining the negroes on board of this vessel, in the Congo river, with the intent of making them slaves? This is the issue in the case, so far as the real merits are involved. Now, you have the evidence, on the part of the government, of Martin, Green, Alexander, and Hetelberg, four seamen on board of the Erie, who shipped in Havana, in April, 1860, a short time after this alleged sale and transfer. They have detailed to you the circumstances of their employment as seamen, the cargo with which the vessel was laden at that port – some 150 or more hogsheads of liquor, a number of barrels of pork and beef, bags of beans, barrels of bread and rice, and some 250 bundles of shooks, with a corresponding number of hoops, for the purpose of being subsequently manufactured into barrels or casks. Now, it may be material for you to inquire, in entering upon the consideration of this issue, whether this was a bona fide cargo, for lawful trade and commerce, or whether it was a cargo fitted





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out and intended to be used in the slave trade. The vessel was of some 500 tons. If this was a fitting out for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, and the prisoner at the bar had a knowledge of this intended service of the vessel, then that fact would accompany him to the Congo river, and will have its weight and its influence upon your minds, as to the connection that he had with the transaction that occurred there, in receiving these negroes on board and detaining them. It may undoubtedly be assumed, without any injustice, as a matter of law, the prisoner being the master of the vessel at the port of Havana, and for her voyage to the Congo river, that if this cargo was fitted out for that purpose, if it was a cargo not only proper for that purpose, but intended for that purpose, he, as master, who had the control and charge of the vessel in procuring the cargo, in stowing it, and in shipping the seamen, is chargeable with a knowledge of these facts. Now, these four witnesses, whom you have seen on the stand, have detailed the progress of the voyage from Havana to the Congo river, and the taking of these negroes on board, and the starting from the river on the return voyage to Havana. Their testimony has been so frequently referred to by counsel, and commented upon by them, that I shall not take up your time in going over it. The four concur in the account which they have given of the voyage. They state that, after they had been out some thirty days, and had discovered the provisions and freight on board, a suspicion arose, in the minds of the sailors, that the vessel might be intended for the slave trade, and that they disclosed this suspicion to the captain, assigning to him the reason and grounds of it. The captain, however, disclaimed any such purpose, rebuked the suspicion, and ordered them forward. They all concur in stating that, after the vessel arrived in the Congo river, and while the persons connected with her, and those who furnished the cargo of negroes, were engaged in putting the negroes on board, the captain continued in command of her, so far as they saw, and exercised the same control over the vessel, and her management, and the putting on board of these negroes, as he had previously exercised in the course of the voyage. They also state that, after the negroes were put on board, they were called aft, and were applied to for the purpose of ascertaining whether they would continue to serve as seamen on the return voyage, and were told that, if they would, they should be paid a dollar a head for every negro landed at [Cuba](#). They also state, especially some of them, that the prisoner gave a direction for hoisting the anchor, and directed the course of the vessel when she came out of the river. These are the material facts which have been testified to by the witnesses for the prosecution. On the part of the prisoner, you have the testimony of the first and second mates, who, in all these respects, with, perhaps, one exception, contradict these four witnesses. They state that, after the arrival of the vessel and the discharge of the cargo, the prisoner no longer exercised any control over the management of the vessel, and the control of the vessel and her navigation were passed over to the hands of another person, first, to Mr. Hill, who died, and afterwards to Mr. Manuel, whom they regarded as the captain of the vessel; and that subsequently the prisoner had no management or control of her. One of them, the mate, I think, states that he was present when the seamen were applied to, with the view of ascertaining whether they would serve on the return voyage, and



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his statement differs from the account given by the seamen in this: He says, that the prisoner applied to the seamen, on behalf of the owners of the vessel, and that, as agent, or on behalf of the owners, holding a letter in his hand at the time, which purported to be an authority, he made this offer to them, for the purpose of engaging them. This is the only discrepancy, so far as regards that fact testified to by the seamen.

Now, as I before stated to you, if the prisoner at the bar, as master of this vessel, at Havana, had a knowledge that she was fitted out, equipped, and provisioned for a voyage to the Congo river, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, then, in view of the fact of his entering upon that voyage, conducting the vessel to a foreign coast, remaining in her, and coming back with her, or starting to come back with her, before she was captured, this previous knowledge of the prisoner, and his engagement to navigate the vessel for that purpose, will have its influence as to the purpose for which he was found upon the vessel in the Congo river, at the time the negroes were put on board; and it is entitled to whatever weight you may think it deserves, in aiding or supporting the testimony of the four seamen, and will raise the question, for your consideration and decision, whether or not the transfer was a part of the original plan of carrying out this engagement of the vessel in the slave trade, and, if such, colorable and not bona fide. This, however, is a question for your consideration and determination.

Now, we have said that, in order to sustain the charge against the prisoner, it must appear that these negroes were "forcibly" confined and detained on board of that vessel, for the purpose of making them slaves - for the purpose of bringing them to [Cuba](#), or elsewhere, to make them slaves. This word "forcibly," which is a material element in the crime charged, does not mean physical or manual force. Even the crime of robbery, in which force is a peculiar element of the crime, it being the taking violently the property of another from his person, need not be accompanied with or consist of actual force. Any conduct, on the part of the robber, putting the person deprived of his goods in bodily fear and terror, is equivalent to actual force. And so in this case. These negroes were collected at the place where they were put on board, in [barracoons](#), and were there under restraint by the persons who furnished them at the ship's side. They were in bondage at the time, and under the control of those persons, who transferred them to the vessel. They came upon the deck of the vessel in that condition, and it would be strange, indeed, if it was made necessary by the law, that it should be shown that they made personal, physical resistance at the time, against being put on board and detained on board, under all these circumstances. It is sufficient that they were under moral restraint and fear - their wills controlled by this superior power exercised over their minds and bodies; and any person participating in that forcible detention, that sort of detention, is a principal, participating in the guilt of the offence.

Then, as to the intent of making them slaves. This, undoubtedly, is a question of fact for the jury. You must find it, but you can find it as an inference from the surrounding circumstances attending their being put on board and forcibly detained on board. If any other purpose, any lawful purpose, had been shown





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to you by the evidence in the case, undoubtedly it would have been pertinent and satisfactory for the purpose of rebutting such a presumption of intent. But, in the absence of any such evidence, it is for you to say whether the inference is warranted by the testimony.

These are all the observations that we deem in advisable to submit to you, but we will call back your minds to the material question, so that you may look into the case with intelligence and comprehend the real issue involved in the case, which is—Were these negroes, that were put on board of the Erie, in the Congo river, in August, 1860, forcibly detained or confined, with the intention of making them slaves, and did the prisoner, on board of that vessel, at the time, participate in that confinement and detention? If he did, he is guilty of this offence, under the statute. If he did not, he is innocent.

The jury found the defendant guilty. He subsequently made, before NELSON, Circuit Justice, and SHIPMAN, District Judge, a motion for an arrest of judgment and a motion for a new trial.

SHIPMAN, District Judge.

We have carefully considered the point submitted to us, on the motions for an arrest of judgment and for a new trial, and the arguments of counsel thereon. In disposing of these motions, we do not deem it important to discuss any exceptions taken to the form of the indictment, except such as apply to the first and third counts, inasmuch as it was upon those two counts that we put the case to the jury. If either one of those counts is good, the indictment is sufficient to support the verdict.

The only objection taken to the form of the first and third counts is, that they do not aver, in the precise words of the statute, the condition of the negroes, as "not held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States," at the time of the commission of the offence, the language of the indictment being, "not having been held to service, &c." It is argued that, if the defendant had been able to prove that they had been once held to service, at some time prior to the commission of the offence, this averment would have been negatived, and he would have been entitled to an acquittal. But this, we think, only proves that the language of the indictment, in this particular, is more comprehensive than was necessary. The indictment charges him with having forcibly confined and detained the negroes, they not having been held to service, &c., that is, not having been held to service at the time he so confined and detained them, or at any time previous. The fact that the terms of the averment are somewhat broader than those of the statute is not material, so long as they cover the offence described in the latter.

To the objection that there was no such proof that the vessel upon which the offence was committed, was "owned wholly, or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States," as would warrant a conviction on the first count, we cannot accede. The government proved that she was built in, and owned by citizens of, the United States. This fixed the national character of the vessel, and this character and ownership would be presumed to continue until they were shown to have been changed. To show such a change, the burden of proof was on the defendant. The evidence offered only tended to show



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that a sale was made of the vessel at Havana, but without showing to whom such sale was made. It is urged, by the defendant's counsel, that, inasmuch as the sale claimed to have been proved was made in a foreign country, the law will presume, until the contrary is shown, that it was made to foreigners. We think there is no foundation, in law or reason, upon which such a presumption can rest.

In support of that part of the indictment which charges that the defendant was an American citizen at the time of committing the offence, the government proved that his father and mother were residents of Portland, in the state of Maine, for many years, both before and after their marriage, and before the birth of the defendant, and while he was a small child. It also appeared, from the testimony of the same witnesses, that his father was a sea captain, and that sometimes his wife, the defendant's mother, accompanied him on his foreign voyages. The defendant's counsel claimed, that it appeared, from this evidence, that he might have been born abroad, and that, if he was, he was not a citizen of the United States, and, therefore, not amenable to those criminal laws of the United States which are limited in terms to its citizens. The court instructed the jury, however, that, even if the defendant was born during one of those voyages which the father made as a sea captain, without any intention of removing to, but merely touching at, foreign countries, he would still be regarded in law as an American citizen, although thus born abroad, provided his parents were American citizens. The defendant's counsel excepted to this part of the charge, on the ground that it did not lay down the correct rule of law applicable to children of American parents, born in foreign countries. Without here discussing the general principles of law applicable to that subject, it is a sufficient answer to the exception taken in this case, that the charge on this point, taken in connection with the facts in evidence to which it was to be applied, clearly referred to a possible birth of the defendant on board of his father's American vessel, while the latter was in a foreign country, in the course of the voyage. We are clearly of opinion, that there was no error in this part of the charge.

The only remaining objection that we deem it necessary to notice, is, that, if the Erie was a foreign vessel, even admitting the citizenship of Gordon, this court has not the jurisdiction to try him for an act committed on the river Congo, in the Portuguese dominions, and not on tide waters. There are two answers to this objection: First. There is no proof that the Erie was a foreign vessel, but the proof is clear and uncontradicted that she was an American vessel, owned by American citizens. Second. The allegation, in the indictment, that the offence was committed "in the river Congo, on the coast of Africa, on waters within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States, and within the jurisdiction of this court," is, we think, fully sustained by the proof. The proof is, that the negroes were taken on board in the Congo river, some distance from its mouth, but where it is several miles broad, and really an arm of the sea. The proof is clear and uncontradicted, that the offence of confining and detaining the negroes on board was continuous and uninterrupted, until her capture in the Atlantic Ocean, several miles from land. Of course, it was committed in the very mouth of the river, where



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its broad expanse is lost in the Atlantic, and where the jurisdiction of every nation, over its citizens or its ships, clearly extends. The other exceptions to these two counts and to the charge, are overruled.

Upon all these points, we are clearly of opinion, that there is no error in the indictment, and that none intervened on the trial, and that the jurisdiction of the court is beyond dispute. We are, therefore, constrained to deny the application for a certificate of division, which is asked for by the defendant, to enable him to carry the case to the supreme court. It is hardly necessary for me to add that these views are the result of consultation, and are fully concurred in by Mr. Justice NELSON.

Sentence of death being about to be passed on the defendant by Judge SHIPMAN, holding the court alone, in the absence of Mr. Justice NELSON, it was objected by the counsel for the defendant, that this could not be done, because the trial had taken place before both of the judges. Judge SHIPMAN stated, that he and Mr. Justice NELSON had agreed, on consultation, that it was competent for the court, when held by only one of the judges, to pass the sentence.



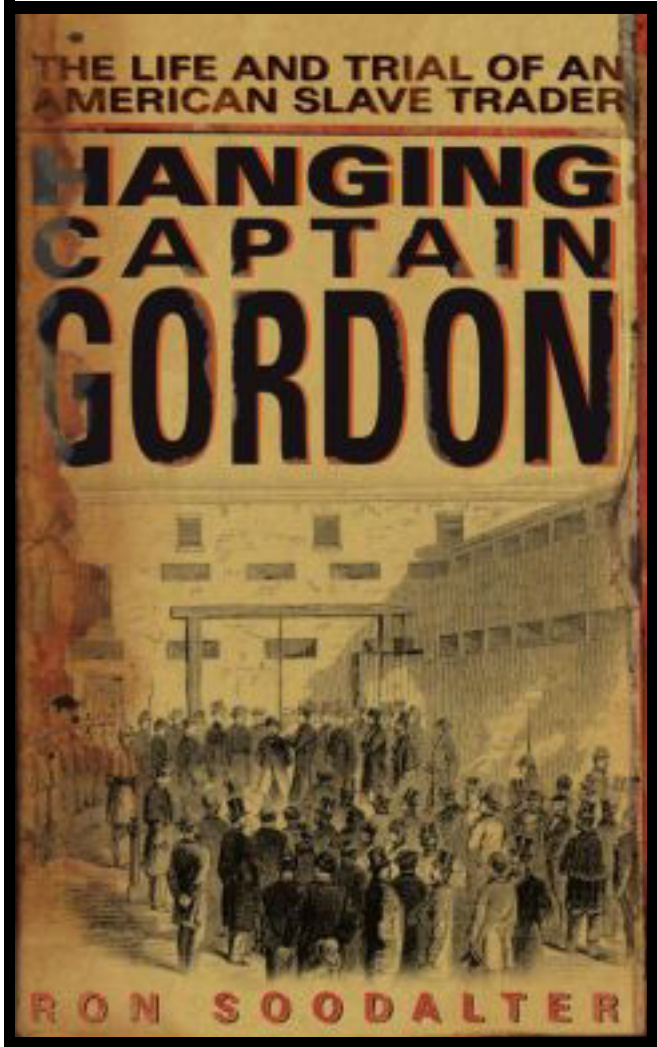
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WHAT?

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1862

The [negrero Ocilla](#), out of Mystic, Connecticut, was able to insert some fresh [slaves](#) into [Cuba](#) (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 38th Congress, 1st session Number 56, pages 8-13).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Despite its defeat in the US campaign of 1846-1848, [Mexico](#) had continued to refuse to enter into extradition treaties with the United States. It was determined to remain a place of refuge. By 1850 literally thousands of escaped US [slaves](#) had been living there, in the absence of an organized network by having made their way there either individually or in small groups. At this point the United States of America obtained an extradition treaty with [Mexico](#) — but only by specifically allowing an exception for such runaway US [slaves](#).<sup>283</sup>

[Slaves](#) were [manumitted](#) by Congress, in the District of Columbia. The [slaveholders](#), among them of course the congressmen and senators who were voting this payoff, would of course be fully compensated by the federal government out of the public coffers for their loss of goods and services.<sup>284</sup>



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”




— Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY? 1976, page 141

283. Ronnie C. Tyler. “Fugitive Slaves in Mexico,” *Journal of Negro History*, Volume 57, Issue 1 (January 1972), page 11.

284. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term “slaveholder” as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term “slaveholder” in preference to “slaveowner” not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term “slave.”

January 17, Friday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

**Old Age**  
As we live longer, it looks as if our company were picked out to die first, & we live on in a lessening minority.... I am threatened by the decays of Henry T.



The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) delivered “The Golden Hour” at the Smithsonian Institution in [Washington DC](#), and then he and the Reverend [William Henry Channing](#) walked over to the White House and met with President Abraham Lincoln. Channing was talking up the practicalities of reimbursement for emancipation, and other such real-world accommodations, and the President was responding to that, which perplexed a Conway who had only one arrow in his quiver, could only orate about absolutist principles.

Concerto for piano and orchestra no.1 op.17 by Camille Saint-Saëns was performed for the initial time, in Salle Pleyel, Paris, with the composer himself at the keyboard.

At the American Embassy in [Havana](#), Louis Moreau Gottschalk formally renounced allegiance to his home state of Louisiana and declared fidelity to the United States of America, after which he boarded ship for New-York.

May 24, Sunday: The completion of serialized publication of Martin Robison Delany’s book BLAKE; OR, THE HUTS OF AMERICA: A TALE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, AND [CUBA](#), a novel involving black insurrectionism which, according to Floyd Miller, amounted to “the first novelistic offering of a black writer to be published in the United States,” by Robert Hamilton in his Weekly Anglo African Magazine.



1864



The [negrero](#) *Huntress*, out of the harbor of [New-York](#) and under the American flag, put a fresh crew of African [slaves](#) ashore in [Cuba](#) (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 38th Congress, 1st session Number 56, pages 19-21).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



[Antonio Maceo](#) joined the Masonic Lodge of Santiago de [Cuba](#) and entered the inner revolutionary circle.





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1865

November 25, Saturday: Spain established a Colonial Reform Commission to discuss proposals to reform the island of [Cuba](#).

[Heinrich Barth](#) died in Berlin.

Epameinontas Mitrou Deligeorgis replaced Alexandros Koumoundouros as Prime Minister of Greece.

Variations on a Theme by [Paganini](#) op.35 for piano by Johannes Brahms was performed for the initial time, in Zürich, by the composer from his manuscript.

The New Haven, Connecticut [Palladium](#) waxed eloquent:

THE RECEPTION. - After many provoking delays the colored soldiers whose return has been so long looked for, arrived in Hartford yesterday, and were received in a manner that did credit to the people of that city. Upon their arrival the soldiers were invited to the City Hall, which place had been tastefully prepared for them, where a bountiful repast was provided, consisting of every delicacy that the appetite could crave, after partaking of which they were eloquently addressed by [Gov. Buckingham](#) [sic], Col. Wm. B. Wooster, and Gen Joseph R. Hawley. Our account represents the reception as enthusiastic and imposing, and one well calculated to manifest the gratitude of those who were engaged in it. The soldiers appreciated the attentions bestowed upon them, conducted themselves in a quiet and orderly manner, and presented an excellent appearance. How ineffably mean must the sneaking copperhead have felt while looking upon the war-worn veterans, in the reflection that while they were fighting to save a nation that had always oppressed them, he was seeking to destroy it, and was traducing them.





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**1866**

José Martí wrote: “The US has never looked upon [Cuba](#) as anything but an appetizing possession with no drawback other than its quarrelsome, weak and unworthy population.” He warned Cubans that “to change masters is not to be free.”






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1867

The Antipeonage Act of 1867 (14 Statutes at Large 546) made “holding of any person to service or labor under the system known as peonage” unlawful. It nullified all state or territorial laws which attempt “to establish, maintain, or enforce, directly or indirectly, the voluntary or involuntary service or labor of any persons as peons, in liquidation of any debt or obligation, or otherwise.” This [peonage](#) law would of course be unenforced as Southern whites took control again of the South, but in 1921  federal authorities concerned over Southern practices would notice this [Reconstruction](#)-Era enactment still in existence on the books and begin to attempt to employ it to harass Southern plantation managers — who had of course fallen into the habit of holding Southern black laborers to involuntary servitude because of “debt.”

In the post-Civil War era the headquarters of the Freedman’s Savings and Trust Company was relocated from New-York to [Washington DC](#). Cashiers were to be present whenever soldiers were being paid, and were to work closely with the distribution officers of The Freedmen’s Bureau —who by act of Congress of March 1867 had sole responsibility for distributing the back pay and bounties of black soldiers— to secure whatever portion they could of a soldier’s cash. In a number of bank branches —Vicksburg, Mobile, Charleston, Jacksonville, Norfolk, and Louisville— Freedman’s cashiers doubled as Freedmen’s distributing officers. Cashiers were not the only bank officials who held dual positions at both Freedman’s Bank and The Freedmen’s Bureau. The Reverend John W. Alvord served as the company’s president while being also the general superintendent of education of The Freedmen’s Bureau. This close relationship with The Freedmen’s Bureau added to the depositors’ belief that Freedman’s was a federal rather than a private bank. Branches not only solicited the deposits of black adult civilians and soldiers, but encouraged schoolchildren to make deposits of five to twenty-five cents and routinely “preached” to them about the importance of work and saving. Black churches, private businesses, and beneficial societies also maintained accounts. These institutions often were the driving force behind getting many new individual depositors. In less than a decade, an estimated 70,000 depositors had had accounts, and bank deposits were totaling more the \$57,000,000.00. When Freedman’s collapsed, many of these institutions, particularly the churches and beneficial societies, had to suspend or curtail services.<sup>285</sup>

The Spanish government in Madrid dismissed the “Junta de Información,” a 22-member [Cuban](#) delegation asking for reforms, and imposed a new tax on the island of Cuba ranging from 6% to 12% on real estate, incomes, and all types of business. (This was on top of the enormous customs duties about which islanders had continuously been complaining.)

June 5, Wednesday: [Joel Hawes](#) died in Gilead, Connecticut.

Aboard the ship *Louisiana* anchored in [Havana](#) harbor, Louis Berlioz, son of [Hector Berlioz](#), succumbed to [yellow fever](#).

June 28, Friday: Albrecht replaced Friedrich Günther as Prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.

When [Hector Berlioz](#) learned that his son Louis had 3 weeks earlier succumbed to [yellow fever](#) aboard a ship in [Havana](#) harbor, he spent the remainder of the day on his bed in silence. Early during the following month he would go to the Conservatoire and burn the contents of a trunk that contained programs, press clippings, and the like.

September 1, Sunday: After recuperation and after an extended visit at home, John Muir set out on a 1000-mile walk to Florida and [Cuba](#), establishing South America as his ultimate goal.

285. Flemming, Walter L. THE FREEDMAN’S SAVINGS BANK: A CHAPTER IN THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE (1927), pages 33-34.



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1868

John Muir sailed to [California](#) via New-York, [Cuba](#), and the Isthmus of Panama.

[Bishop William Ingraham Kip](#)'s THE UNNOTICED THINGS OF SCRIPTURE (New York: A. Roman & Company, Publishers. San Francisco: 417 and 419 Montgomery Street).

### UNNOTICED THINGS OF SCR...

August 4, Tuesday: At a coordinating meeting for revolutionary activities on a farm named San Miguel de Rompe, in Las Tunas, [Cuba](#), Carlos Manuel de Céspedes made a passionate plea for immediate action, ending with the words: "Gentlemen, the hour is solemn and decisive. The power of Spain is decrepit and worm-eaten; if it still appears great and strong to us, it is because for more than three centuries we have contemplated it from our knees."

→ October 1, Thursday, 1868: Anton Bruckner took up duties as teacher of theory and organ at the Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

The metric system became standard in Portugal.

Part I of [LITTLE WOMEN](#), OR, MEG, JO, BETH AND AMY by [Louisa May Alcott](#) was published by Roberts Brothers of Boston.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

"[Christmas](#) won't be Christmas without any presents," grumbled Jo, lying on the rug.  
"It's so dreadful to be poor!" sighed Meg, looking down at her old dress.  
"I don't think it's fair for some girls to have lots of pretty things, and other girls nothing at all," added little Amy, with an injured sniff.  
"We've got father and mother and each other, anyhow," said Beth contentedly, from her corner.



Jo Marsh = [Louisa May Alcott](#), portrayed by Katherine Hepburn in the magnificent 1933 → movie of George Cukor titled [LITTLE WOMEN](#).

Meg March = [Anna Bronson Alcott](#), portrayed by Frances Dee, who married John Brook (=John Bridge Pratt), portrayed by John Davis Lodge.

Amy March = [Abby May Alcott](#) (Mrs. Ernest Niericker), portrayed by Joan Bennett.

Mr. March = [Bronson Alcott](#), portrayed by Samuel S. Hinds.

Marmee March = "[Abba](#)" [Abigail May Alcott](#), portrayed by Spring Byington.

Beth March = "Lizzie" [Elizabeth Sewall Alcott](#), the eldest daughter, portrayed by Jean Parker.



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Although in a later timeframe the Reverend [Frederick Llewellyn Hovey Willis](#) would seize upon an opportunity to publicize himself (something he was extraordinarily good at) by alleging that it had been he who had been the original of the “Laurie” character, actually while Louisa was in Europe in 1865 she had met a Polish musician, Ladislav “Laddie” Wisniewski, and had spent two weeks alone with him in Paris. Louisa’s biographer Harriet Reisen alleges this to have been the origin of the “Laurie” character in [LITTLE WOMEN](#). Louisa crossed out the section of her diary relating to this romantic fling in Paris, with the marginal notation “couldn’t be.”

Early during this month a telegram from General Lersundi to Colonel Udaeta, governor of Bayamo, would be intercepted by a telegrapher friendly to the revolutionaries. This telegram read: “[Cuba](#) belongs to Spain and for Spain she must be kept no matter who is governing. Send to prison D. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, Francisco Vicente Aguilera, Pedro Figueredo, Francis Maceo Osorio, Bartolomé Masó, Francisco Javier de Céspedes....”



October 10, Saturday: From his plantation, La Demajagua, near Yara, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, in the historic *Grito de Yara* proclaimed [Cuban](#) independence, initiating a decade of conflict. Joined by 37 other planters, he liberated his slaves and incorporated them into a rebel army.

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October 12, Monday: The 1st clash of the [Cuban](#) rebels with Spanish troops, at Yara. At this point, Spain had only 7,000 regular soldiers on the island of Cuba. It would be a force of Cuban volunteers armed with 90,000 Remington rifles they had purchased in the USA, that would allow the Spaniards to contain the rebel army, known as the mambises, until reinforcements arrived. These mambises consisted initially of 147 volunteers who did not even possess a total of 147 weapons. Their arms consisted of 45 fowling pieces, 4 rifles, and a few pistols and machetes. The rebels ate supper at the Maceo house in Majabuabo. After the meal, Marcos Maceo contributed to the cause four ounces of gold, a dozen good machetes, two revolvers, four shotguns, and a blunderbuss. [Antonio Maceo](#) and José Maceo, with their half-brother Juste Regüeyferes Grajales, joined the rebellion.

The choral version of Sängerslust op.328, a polka française by Johann Strauss, was performed for the initial time, in the Sophiensaal, Vienna.

October 18, Sunday: In [Cuba](#), rebel forces captured the town of Bayamo.



The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) delivered a discourse on “The abuses and uses of church-going” at the 1st service of the Music-Hall Society in Boston.

Walt Whitman wrote again from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to Peter Doyle, who had written him on the 15th:

Dear boy & comrade,  
I sent off a letter to you yesterday noon, but towards evening



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Mr. Davis brought me up from the p.o. yours of the 15th, which I was so glad to get that you shall have an answer right off. After the flurry of snow I told you of yesterday morning, we had a pleasant clear afternoon. I took a long walk, partly through the woods, and enjoyed it much. The weather was pretty cold & sharp, & remains so yet. As I left my overcoat in Washington, I have been compelled to get something here –so I have bought me a great iron-grey shawl, which I find very acceptable. I always had doubts about a shawl, but have already got used to mine, & like it first rate. In the evening, I went by invitation to a party of ladies & gentlemen – mostly ladies. We had a warm, animated talk, among other things about Spiritualism. I talked too, indeed went in like a house afire. It was good exercise – for the fun of the thing. I also made love to the women, & flatter myself that I created at least one impression – wretch & gay deceiver that I am. Then away late –lost my way –wandered over the city, & got home after one o'clock.

The truth is, Peter, that I am here at present times mainly in the midst of female women, some of them young & jolly – & meet them most every evening in company – & the way in which this aged party comes up to the scratch & cuts out the youthful parties & fills their hearts with envy is absolutely a caution. You would be astonished, my son, to see the brass & coolness, & the capacity of flirtation & carrying on with the girls – I would never have believed it of myself. Brought here by destiny, surrounded in this way – & as I in self defence would modestly state – sought for, seized upon & ravingly devoured by these creatures – & so nice & smart some of them are, & handsome too – there is nothing left for me –is there– but to go in. Of course, young man, you understand, it is all on the square. My going in amounts to just talking & joking & having a devil of a jolly time, carrying on – that's all. They are all as good girls as ever lived. I have already had three or four such parties here – which, you will certainly admit, considering my age & heft, to say nothing of my reputation, is doing pretty well.

I go about quite a good deal – this is as handsome a city, as I ever saw. Some of the streets run up steep hills. Except in a few of the business streets, where the buildings are compact – in nine-tenths of the city, every house stands separate, & has a little or quite a deal of ground about it, for flowers, & for shade or fruit trees, or a garden. I never saw such a prosperous looking city – but of course no grand public buildings like Washington.

This forenoon I have been out away down along the banks of the river & cove, & making explorations generally. All is new to me, & I returned quite tired. I have eat a hearty dinner. Then I thought I would come up & sit a while in my room. But as I did not feel like reading, I concluded to write this precious screed. Fortunate young man, to keep getting such instructive letters – aint you? It is now four o'clock & bright & cool, & I have staid in long enough. I will sally forth, on a walk, & drop this in the P.O. before supper. So long, dear Pete – & my love to you as always, always.

W



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October 24, Saturday: A group of 80 distinguished [Cuban](#) citizens and prominent Spaniards held a meeting with Lersundi to ensure the continuing hostile policy against the insurgents. Lersundi re-emphasized his continued loyalty to the Queen of Spain (who, in fact, had been exiled).

A white mob fired on a Republican parade in New Orleans killing and wounding several blacks. They then attacked white Republicans and policemen and laid siege to the police station. 63 people were killed.

October 28, Wednesday: Ten days after capturing the city of Bayamo, the Revolutionary Municipal Council of Bayamo petitioned Céspedes to proclaim the immediate abolition of human slavery on the island of [Cuba](#).

# CUBA

# CUBA

November: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) unsuccessfully opposed Benjamin Franklin Butler for election to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. During this year he had earned large retainers for admiralty work and so, for reasons of health, he was able to go off on a brief European vacation. The Danas moved their residence to 361 Beacon Hill, [Boston](#).

Hull's stone giant was transported by rail and wagon to Cardiff, [New York](#), and buried on Stub Newell's farm.

In [Cuba](#), the rebel army had come to amount to 12,000 men. At the battle of "El Cristo" and "El Cobre," Antonio Maceo showed exceptional courage, initiative, and leadership. He was quickly promoted to sergeant, and then to captain.



In Bayamo he achieves a victory that his commander, Colonel Pio Rosado, had considered impossible. He was praised by General Mármol.







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1869

An earthquake tremor was felt on [St. Helena](#).

In [Cuba](#), Spain's finest officers were arriving to command 35,000 veteran soldiers, plus thousands of soldiers who were not nearly so adequately prepared. Spain was also sending, through December of this year, 14 warships and a train of artillery equipped with the latest model of Krupp cannons. This island would not free itself of its colonial master without the most painful struggle.

January 4, Monday: General Don Domingo Dulce (a former Captain General with a liberal reputation) arrived in [Cuba](#) to replace Lersundi. Among his more liberal changes was the granting of freedom of the press and of assembly.

January 7, Thursday: Wendell Phillips. To Charles Wesley Slack. A letter of introduction for an acquaintance.  
Autograph Letter Signed. 4 pages, 20.4 cm<sup>286</sup>

Spanish General Valmaseda outmaneuvered Marmól and surprised [Cuban](#) rebel forces at El Saladillo, killing more than 2,000 (most of them recently freed slaves).

Between this day and the 28th, 77 different periodicals would be appearing in support of the [Cuban](#) revolution.

**CUBA****CUBA**

January 15, Friday: Spanish troops under General Valmaseda entered Bayamo, [Cuba](#) and found it burned to the ground. Its inhabitants, realizing they couldn't resist a siege by Spanish forces equipped with artillery and modern weapons, had unanimously authorized the torching.



January 16, Saturday: [Antonio Maceo](#) was promoted to commander.



He was allowed to operate with independent forces, still under the jurisdiction of General Marmól. With this new freedom to “formulate his own tactics,” he achieved victories in Mayari and Guantánamo, [Cuba](#).

Symphony no.1 by Alyeksandr Borodin was performed publicly for the initial time, in St. Petersburg, conducted by Mily Balakirev. The 1st movement elicited a cold response, the 2d received an encore and the remainder created a sensation. Alyeksandr Borodin was repeatedly called on stage.

## CUBA

## CUBA

January 21, Thursday: In [Havana](#), the Volunteers force (controlled by wealthy slave-owners opposed to independence) attacked the audience attending a comedy at the Villanueva Theatre (the performance was suspected of being favored by rebel sympathizers).

January 23, Saturday: [José Julián Martí y Pérez](#)'s drama "Abdala" appeared in the initial issue of the newspaper *La Patria Libre* (The Free Homeland).



January 26, Tuesday: [Antonio Maceo](#) was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the [Cuban](#) Liberating Army.



Here is Philip Foner, 's ANTONIO MACEO: "On many occasions, Spanish officers were completely fooled by Maceo's whirlwind attacks against their superior forces. When the initial attack was repulsed and the seemingly desperate retreat was followed up by the Spaniards, they found themselves suddenly trapped in a well-prepared ambush on unfavorable terrain. Maceo delighted in outsmarting the Spanish generals; again and again, he decoyed them into situations that were disastrous to them."

In the Sophiensaal of Vienna, Johann Strauss's waltz *Illustrationen* op.331 was performed for the initial time.

February 9, Tuesday: The Las Villas district of [Cuba](#) rose up in arms under General Federico Cavada (during the Civil War, this man had been a colonel in the US Volunteer Service).

February 26, Friday: *William Ratcliffe*, an opera by Cesar Cui to his own words after [Heinrich Heine](#) (tr. Pleshcheyev), was performed for the first time, in the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg. This was the first complete opera by one of the Balakirev circle to be produced.

The Revolutionary Assembly of the Central Department in Camagüey pronounced that "The institution of slavery, introduced into [Cuba](#) by Spanish Dominion, must be extinguished along with it."

March 19, Friday: President Ulysses S. Grant's cabinet made its 1st major decision on a [Cuban](#) policy. Led by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, almost all the cabinet members opposed recognition of the [Cuban](#) belligerency.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

March 24, Wednesday: When a representative of the revolutionary government of [Cuba](#), José Morales Lemus, made an attempt to visit the office of Secretary of State Hamilton Fish in Washington DC, he was cautioned that the United States of America would “observe perfect good faith to Spain, and whatever might be our sympathies with a people, wherever, in any part of the world, struggling for more liberal government, we should not depart from our duty to other friendly governments nor be in haste to prematurely recognize a revolutionary movement until it had manifested capacity of self-sustenance and of some degree of stability.”

March 25, Thursday: The US House of Representatives considered the [Cuban](#) belligerency.

April 4, Sunday: In [Cuba](#), Dulce endorsed a proclamation by Count Valmaseda that all males over 15 years of age caught absent from their plantation without adequate excuse were to be shot.

In Vienna’s Gartenbau, Johann Strauss’s waltz Königsglieder op.334 was performed for the initial time.

Louis Moreau Gottschalk’s Piano Septet was performed for initial first time, in Montevideo.

April 9, Friday: By a vote of 98 over 25, the US House of Representatives recognized the [Cuban](#) belligerency (the Grant administration, desiring to acquire this island, would take no notice).

May: General Thomas Jordan, a well-known US Confederate officer, landed in [Cuba](#) and soon became the Cuban Chief of Staff.

[Emma Lazarus](#)'s poem "Reality."



Celestial hopes and dreams,  
And lofty purposes, and long rich days,  
With fragrance filled of blameless deeds and ways,  
And visionary gleams, —

These things alone endure;  
"They are the solid facts," that we may grasp,  
Leading us on and upward if we clasp  
And hold them firm and sure.

In a wise fable old,  
A hero sought a god who could at will  
Assume all figures, and the hero still  
Loosed not his steadfast hold,

For image foul or fair,  
For soft-eyed nymph, who wept with pain and shame,  
For threatening fiend or loathesome beast or flame,  
For menace or for prayer.

Until the god, outbraved,  
Took his own shape divine; not wrathfully,  
But wondering, to the hero gave reply,  
The knowledge that he craved.

We seize the god in youth;  
All forms conspire to make us loose our grasp, —  
Ambition, folly, gain, — till we unclasp  
From the embrace of truth.

We grow more wise, we say,  
And work for worldly ends and mock our dream,  
Alas! while all life's glory and its gleam,  
With that have fled away.

If thereto we had clung  
Through change and peril, fire and night and storm,  
till it assume its proper, godlike form,  
We might as last have wrung

An answer to our cries, —  
A brave response to our most valiant hope.  
Unto the light of day this word might ope  
A million mysteries.

O'er each man's brow I see  
The bright star of his genius shining clear;  
It seeks to guide him to a nobler sphere,  
Above earth's vanity.



Up to pure height of snow,  
Its beckoning ray still leads him on and on;  
To those who follow, lo, itself comes down  
And crowns at length their brow.

The nimbus still doth gleam  
On these the heroes, sages of the earth,  
The few who found, in life of any worth,  
Only their loftiest dream.

May 14, Friday: Marcos Maceo was killed in battle at the side of his son [Antonio Maceo](#). In his book about Antonio Maceo, Philip S. Foner would write, “Mariana Grajales, living incarnation of [Cuban](#) patriotism, cried out to the youngest of her sons, still a little boy: ‘And you, stand up tall; it is already time that you should fight for your country.’” In Volume II of A HISTORY OF [CUBA](#) AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, Professor Foner would add, “Indeed, as a passionate patriot and foe of the Spaniards, this Negro woman, Mariana Grajales, one of the outstanding women in [Cuba](#)’s revolutionary history, swayed her entire family to the cause of independence.”

May 22, Saturday: The New-York [Times](#) reported the receipt, by way of a cablegram, of intelligence of the death in the 72d year of his age of the well-known commentator on the works of [William Shakespeare](#), the Reverend [Alexander Dyce](#), B.A. (We note not only that their obituary is carelessly constructed, in that it omits the date of the deceased’s death, gets the deceased’s birthdate wrong –placing his birth even in the wrong year so that they calculate him to have died in the 72d year of his age when he had reached 70 years and 11 months– but also we see that they are, as of 2011 on the internet, as America’s self-proclaimed “newspaper of record,” still making their original bum scoop generally available!)

In [Cuba](#), in an attack at the strongly defended sugar mill “Armonia,” Antonio Maceo received the 1st of his many wounds. He was carried back to a hidden rest camp, where his wife and his mother Mariana Grajales would nurse him back to health.

A few weeks later, [Antonio Maceo](#) and his wife would suffer the loss of their 2 small children.



June 5, Saturday: Captain General Dulce left [Cuba](#) for Spain.

June 28, Monday: Captain General Antonio Caballero de Rodas arrived in [Cuba](#).

Late during this month an expedition organized by the New York Junta, consisting of some 800 to 1,400 men armed with Spencer carbines, revolvers, and sabers, with a couple of batteries of 12-pounder cannon and several 60-pounder cannon, would be intercepted by United States federal authorities and most of these men taken prisoner.

## OBITUARY.

### Rev. Alexander Dyce, B. A.

By Cable telegram we have intelligence of the death, in the 72d year of his age, of Rev. ALEXANDER DYCE, B. A., the well-known commentator on the works of SHAKESPEARE. Mr. DYCE was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on the 20th June, 1797, being the son of General DYCE, of the Honorable East India Company's service. He was brought up by relations in Aberdeen, and at the usual age was sent to the High-school in Edinburgh. He afterward matriculated in the University of Oxford, where he graduated from Exeter College. In 1821, he took orders in the Established Church, and became curate, successively of Llantegloss, Cornwall and Nayland, Suffolk. He finally settled in London, in 1827, and devoted himself to literary and critical studies. His first work was a translation of the continuation of the *Iliad*, by QUINTUS SMYRNÆUS. But subsequently turning his attention to the, in that day, undeveloped treasures of early English poetry, he determined to devote himself to a critical review and study of the ancient writers. The results of these studies were given to the world in a succession of volumes, comprising the works of George Peele, Robert Greene, John Webster, Thomas Middleton, Beaumont and Fletcher, (1843-45,) Kit Marlowe, (1849,) John Skelton, Sir Henry Wotton and Michael Drayton. The preparation of an edition of the plays and poems of JAMES SHIRLEY had been undertaken by GIFFORD, but was left incomplete. This work was taken in hand by Mr. DYCE, and published complete in 1850. All these works manifest by their acute criticisms of the texts, and their happy elucidations or emendations of doubtful and obscure passages, a vast amount of study, and the possession by the editor of remarkable literary acumen. The whole series is much esteemed in England, and has formed the basis of all subsequent editions of these authors. These works, also, have had a beneficial tendency, apart from their direct influence in awakening public attention to the brilliant poetic genius of the older writers. Mr. DYCE, however, did not neglect the writers of a more recent period, having prepared an excellent edition, in three volumes, of the works of the great scholar, critic and theologian, Dr. RICHARD BENTLEY. For PICKERING's famous and elegant

edition of the *Aldine Poets*. Mr. DYCE furnished revised texts of POPE, COLLINS, BEATTIE and AKENSIDE, preparing also, in each case, excellent biographical sketches of these writers. Being a member of the Camden Society, he prepared, at their instance, editions of the old tragedies of "Timon" and "Sir Thomas Moore," which had undoubtedly furnished to SHAKESPEARE hints for two of his plays. His zeal in regard to the old poets seemed to acquire fresh impetus from these studies; for, in 1840, he was led, in conjunction with PAYNE, COLLIER, HALLIWELL, WRIGHT and others like himself, zealous Shakespearians and untiring explorers in the mine of old English poetry, to found the Percy Society, the object of which was the publication of the ancient ballads and plays then almost unknown except to antiquaries. To this Society his most remarkable contribution was a monograph of British sonnets, including a large number of exquisite specimens of this peculiar form of poetic art. As a relaxation from other labors he amused himself with a translation of the lyrical fragments of ATHENÆUS, to which he added an elaborate and learned commentary. All these labors, however, were but as the vestibule of his Shakesperian studies and meditations. Of SHAKESPEARE he could say, as SCHLEGEL had said, "he is a poet to the study of whom I have devoted many years of my life. I should never be able to end were I to say all that I have felt and thought on the perusal of his works." Every line—nay, almost every word—in the works of the great bard were to him a treasure of study and reflection. His researches in regard to SHAKESPEARE's life, his minute and careful commentaries on the Shakesperian text, exhibited surprising diligence and acuteness, and placed him in the front rank of critics. As the result of his long and careful examination of the plays and poems, he proposed to issue a revised edition of SHAKESPEARE's works, and in 1857 the publication was begun. For this great work he carefully collated all the earliest editions, made great improvements in the punctuation, and proposed some remarkably ingenious emendations of the text. But Mr. DYCE inclined to conservatism in this matter; although he did much to restore and purify doubtful passages, he was not disposed to tamper unnecessarily with the text of the first editions, preferring rather to elucidate and explain the work as it has come down to us. Mr. DYCE was not without his literary controversies upon these points, as his sharp criticisms of the editions of SHAKESPEARE by PAYNE COLLIER and CHARLES KNIGHT abundantly testify. One of the latest works is a volume of notes upon the emendations adopted by COLLIER from the manuscript corrections discovered by that gentleman in the second folio edition of the immortal Dramatist, in which he proved that many of the emendations were no better than corruptions of the text. Nor, on the other hand, was he without his charming literary friendships, as his record of the "Table-talk of SAMUEL ROGERS," the banker poet, prove likewise. He was a man of genial disposition, a good scholar, an ardent lover of poetry in all its forms, but chiefly as it is found crystallized in the magic pages of SHAKESPEARE. His life was passed in ease, in the peaceful incidents of study, and in the happy environment of friends loving and thinking like himself. His death will awaken sympathy among the students, the reflective and above all,



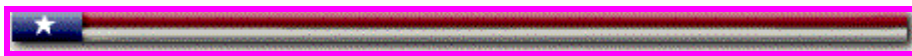
Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Columbia, South Carolina, local black American had celebrated the 4th on the 3rd (presumably, so as not to encroach on their Sabbath worship).

In New-York, the Army of the Potomac Society met to establish itself as a permanent organization. 350 Cuban "patriot" residents were parading "to evoke sympathy for the Cuban revolutionary cause."

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a monument dedicated to George Washington was unveiled.

At Diamond Square in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the Declaration of Independence was read aloud in English and German.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 16, Friday: The Cuban House of Representatives repudiated the new constitution enacted on April 10th in Guaimaro under Article 24 of which "all the inhabitants of the Republic are absolutely free," in favor of what it termed the Rule of the Freed (*Reglamento de Libertos*) which enabled a more discrete form of slavery to persist. Those previously known as "slaves" were being re-branded as "libertos" but were to persist in laboring for their previous masters, who would be under no obligation to feed them, clothe them, or pay wages.



Summer: While spending the summer as a shepherd at Tuolumne Meadows in the Sierra Nevadas, to take a break from having to watch his sheep while they destroyed stuff right and left John Muir accomplished the 1st ascent of Cathedral Peak in what is now Yosemite National Park.



The United States federal government interdicted the flow of arms and ammunition to rebel forces in Cuba. Philip Foner would write in ANTONIO MACEO: "What the Cuban army lacked in numbers, experience, warfare training and arms and equipment was often compensated for by their thorough knowledge of the country, effective use of guerrilla tactics, greater immunity to cholera and other diseases that flourished on the island, and above all patriotic devotion. The most important asset of guerrilla warfare is an ideal; the rebels were fighting for the liberation of their country, and this gave them the popular support without which a guerrilla movement cannot be effective. 'Every tree and flower and grass had a use or a virtue with which they seemed acquainted,' reported James J. O'Kelly, Irish journalist. The guajiro and the campesino, the slave and the free black, not only moved steadily into the ranks of the Liberating Army, but aided and shielded the patriotic fighters, even though they risked their own lives by so doing."

September 5, Sunday: The foundation stone of what we know as Neuschwanstein was set in place — at the time it was being described as the “New Hohenschwangau Castle,” but a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.



(What would be erected would technically not qualify as a “castle,” since the walls rather than being solid stone blocks able to resist 19th-Century cannonballs are merely a metal framework coated with surface stonework, materials that even a standard Swiss .50-caliber sniper rifle could easily penetrate. Hint, hint.)

US Secretary of War John A. Rawlins died. Rawlins had been the sole member of President Ulysses S. Grant’s cabinet to actively promote recognition of the [Cuban](#) belligerency, and he sent from his death-bed a message to his president by way of Postmaster-General Creswell: “There is Cuba, poor, struggling Cuba. I want you to stand by the Cubans. Cuba must be free. Her tyrannical enemy must be crushed. Cuba must not only be free, but all her sister-islands. The Republic is responsible for its liberty. I will disappear; but you must concern yourself with this question. We have worked together. Now it is up to you alone to watch over Cuba” (the President, whose walls were considerably more impervious than the walls of this fake castle, would be able to ignore his friend’s deathbed plea).



# CUBA

# CUBA

October: Sparrows, green linnets, blackbirds, thrushes, and a starling were introduced to [St. Helena](#). (Clare Miller of the Environmental Agency at Exeter now reports that “Saint Helena’s wildlife has been ravaged by species introduced to the island. Goats, gorse, grasses, and cage birds have all been liberated on the island where they have wreaked havoc with the native species. Saint Helena is a noted extinction hotspot, driven largely by non-native species, and the native birds have suffered more here than many other islands. Of eight species of bird confined to the island, seven have become extinct since the island’s discovery in 1502.”)

In a sharp turn in direction, [Carlos Manuel de Céspedes](#) called for the destruction of all cane fields on [Cuba](#). “Better for the cause of human liberty,” he says, “better for the cause of human rights, better for the children of our children, that [Cuba](#) should be free, even if we have to burn every vestige of civilization from the tip of Maisí to the tip of San Antonio, so that Spanish authority shall be eliminated.” By the end of the year Spain would have amassed a powerful fleet, with about 50 vessels of 400 guns, including the *Victoria* and *Zaragoza*. This would prove to be a major advantage since the rebels had no navy and it would be easy for Spain to keep outside aid from getting through.

The [Cuban](#) rebel army was forced to abandon the province of Las Villas, the most western point of the rebellion, and fall back to Camagüey. However, Spaniards were constantly on the run in Santa Clara, Camagüey, and Oriente provinces.





## CUBA

## CUBA

October 4, Monday: At Te Porere in New Zealand, the Maori led by Te Kooti were decisively defeated by the Colonial militia and their Maori allies.

In [Cuba](#), after a letter was found opposing Spanish rule, the home of Fermín Valdés Domínguez was raided by a group of Spanish Volunteers and [José Julián Martí](#) (age 16) and other young men were taken into custody.



From that morning into the following day there was an Atlantic Category-2 hurricane (the Saffir-Simpson Scale: sustained winds in the 96-to-110mph range). The strong winds on the “righthand” side of the storm track caused such a large amount of forest blowdown that in following summers there would be an increased forest fire hazard. On the “lefthand” side of the storm track, huge amounts of rain were unloaded in the northern New England states through to eastern New York State. According to the [Farmington Chronicle](#), one Maine farmer recorded 8.25 inches of rain. Virtually every bridge in Maine went out and over a million logs escaped their booms and went downstream. Close to a hundred lives were lost. Roads and railways were blocked by fallen trees and debris.



Many vessels blew ashore in the Eastport, Maine-St. Andrews, New Brunswick area including the barque *Genii* with the loss of eleven lives.

This storm, unfortunately, blew down the protective netting which Étienne Léopold Trouvelot, the Massachusetts researcher associated with Professor [Louis Agassiz](#) of Harvard College, had caused to be erected above the five acres of woodlands in which he was experimenting with various supposedly-silk-producing moths including the “European” gypsy moth. (Eventually this guy Trouvelot would feel like he needed to move out of his neighborhood, because he considered that it had become distressing — due to the denudation of its trees.)<sup>287</sup>



October 21, Thursday: The initial shipment of fresh oysters (ersters?) to [Boston](#) to come overland from [Baltimore](#).

Young [José Martí](#) was confined in the [Havana](#) jail (hoosgow?), on a charge of treason.

287. Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, [Rhode Island](#) (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the [Narragansett Bay](#)) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of [Brown University](#), have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635, and the 5th to the historic storm of September 23, 1815. The 6th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of October 4/5, 1869.

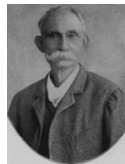
1870

The Spanish legislature enacted the Moret Law manumitting [slaves](#) in [Cuba](#) as they reached 60 years of age. Children not yet born were to be free at birth but were to be kept at the expense of their parent's masters until 18 years of age, and were to be employed until 18 as apprentices in work suitable to their age.

April 4, Monday: Having just reached 17 years of age, [José Martí](#) was sentenced to 6 years at hard labor for having expressed opposition to colonial rule over [Cuba](#).

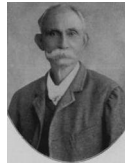
June 26, Sunday: *Die Walküre*, a music-drama by [Richard Wagner](#) to his own words, was performed for the initial time, against the composer's wishes, in the Königliches Hof-und Nationaltheater, München. Among those in the audience were Franz Liszt, [Johannes Brahms](#), Camille Saint-Saëns, and Henri Duparc.

In [Cuba](#), Donato Mármol was killed. General Máximo Gómez was placed in command of [Antonio Maceo](#)'s area (Gómez and Maceo would become dominant military figures).



July 20, Wednesday: His dire predictions of a disastrous war with Prussia having become a reality, Lucien-Anatole Prévost-Paradol, ambassador of France in Washington, committed suicide by gunshot.

In [Cuba](#), Máximo Gómez reorganized his forces. General Calixto García became 2d in command, and Lieutenant Colonel [Antonio Maceo](#) was put in charge of the 3d battalion.



Heading a battalion of only 187 men, Antonio Maceo took part in numerous successful attacks under Máximo Gómez's command.

At Bellalpe, [Professor Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the “Swiss [Thoreau](#),” returned from a hike and confided to his *JOURNAL INTIME*, “A marvelous day. The panorama before me is of a grandiose splendor; it is a symphony of mountains, a cantata of sunny Alps.

I am dazzled and oppressed by it. The feeling uppermost is one of delight in being able to admire, of joy, that is to say, in a recovered power of contemplation which is the result of physical relief, in being able at last to forget myself and surrender myself to things, as befits a man in my state of health. Gratitude is mingled with enthusiasm. I have just spent two hours of continuous delight at the foot of the Sparrenhorn, the peak behind us. A flood of sensations overpowered me. I could only look, feel, dream, and think.

Later: Ascent of the Sparrenhorn. The peak of it is not very easy to climb, because of the masses of loose stones and the steepness of the path, which runs between two abysses. But how great is one's reward!

The view embraces the whole series of the Valais Alps from the Furka to the Combin; and even beyond the Furka one sees a few peaks of the Ticino and the Rhaetian Alps; while if you turn you see behind you a whole polar world of snowfields and glaciers forming the southern side of the enormous Bernese group of the Finsteraarhorn, the Mönch, and the Jungfrau. The near representative of the group is the Aletschhorn, whence diverge like so many ribbons the different Aletsch glaciers which wind about the peak from which I saw them. I could study the different zones, one above another — fields, woods, grassy Alps, bare rock and snow, and the principle types of mountain; the pagoda-shaped Mischabel, with its four arêtes as flying buttresses and its staff of nine clustered peaks; the cupola of the Fletchhorn, the dome of Monte Rosa, the pyramid of the Weisshorn, the obelisk of the Cervin.

Round me fluttered a multitude of butterflies and brilliant green-backed flies; but nothing grew except a few lichens. The deadness and emptiness of the upper Aletsch glacier, like some vast white street, called up the image of an icy Pompeii. All around boundless silence. On my way back I noticed some effects of sunshine — the close elastic mountain grass, starred with gentian, forget-me-not, and anemones, the mountain cattle standing out against the sky, the rocks just piercing the soil, various circular dips in the mountain side, stone waves petrified thousands of thousands of years ago, the undulating ground, the tender quiet of the evening; and I invoked the soul of the mountains and the spirit of the heights!”



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

## CUBA

## CUBA



September 30, Friday-October 1, Saturday: The Shenandoah River rose so rapidly that residents were trapped on Virginius Island. Floodwaters swept away much of the island's homes and industry and claimed 42 lives at Harpers Ferry.



(One wonders if this had anything to do with the supremely deadly hurricane that is known to have struck [Cuba](#) on October 7/8, in which although only 136 are known to have died, in which perhaps a total of 2,000 may



actually have died.)

HURRICANES



October 2, Sunday: [Rome](#) and its provinces were formally made part of the kingdom of [Italy](#), and Rome was declared to be the capital city.

After defeating a Spanish attack on his camp in Majaguabo, [Cuba](#), [Antonio Maceo](#) received yet another severe battle wound.



By the 20th he would be active again, taking part in the highly successful assault on the town of Ti-Arriba which would result not only in the destruction of the town but also in the capture of a large quantity of booty.

October 13, Thursday: Through the intervention of his father, the teenager [José Martí](#)'s severe treason sentence was commuted and he was transferred to the wall-less prison of the Isle of Pines.

December: The prisoner [José Martí](#) was returned from the Isle of Pines to [Havana](#) to be deported to Spain.



## CUBA

## CUBA

December 4, day: During an attack on the fortress of Baragua in [Cuba](#), [Antonio Maceo](#) was again wounded, and his younger brother Julio Maceo was killed. Even as his wounds were healing, Maceo was able to defend against Spanish soldiers who ventured near his camp.



1871

January: Professor Friedrich Nietzsche applied for the chair of philosophy at [Basel](#) University.

The Ramón Ramirez shop produced [José Martí](#)'s *EL PRESIDIO EN CUBA* (POLITICAL PRISON IN [CUBA](#)).

January 15, Sunday: [José Martí](#) departed from [Havana](#) for Cadiz on the mail ship *Guipúzcoa*.

May 31, Wednesday: In Madrid, [José Martí](#) found employment as a tutor and enrolled at Central University.

July: In the downpours on [St. Helena](#), dead animals were floating into The Run. Extensive flooding created homelessness.

Máximo Gómez decided to invade the Guantánamo zone of [Cuba](#), which is strongly guarded by Spanish elite units.



At the beginning of the campaign, Antonio Maceo clashed with the famous rifle battalion of San Quintín, one of Spain's most aggressive and best disciplined units. In battle, Maceo's aide, Manuel Amábile, sacrificed his life in order to save his leader. "It was not the last example of the love Maceo's soldiers had for him."

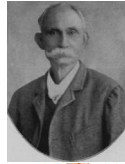
During a fierce battle at "La India," José Maceo lay wounded in front of the enemy trenches, and [Antonio Maceo](#) refused to retreat without another effort to save his brother. In a brave effort, Maceo led a charge "through a veritable shower of bullets until the fortifications were breached and the buildings set on fire." José Maceo was rescued, and after a long period of illness, his life would be saved.



## CUBA

## CUBA

October 15, Sunday: General Máximo Gómez left [Antonio Maceo](#) in charge while he attended a conference with the government on war strategy.



November 27, Monday: The [Italian](#) Parliament met for the initial time in the new capital, [Rome](#).

A group of medical students were executed by firing squad after being discovered to be taking part in revolutionary activity.

1872

January: A [St. Helena](#) Mutual Emigration Society was formed, to assist those who needed to emigrate to find work.

During this month or, perhaps, the following one, Spanish General Martínez Campos, having failed to defeat [Antonio Maceo](#) despite the deployment of 1,000 soldiers, mused that “It is impossible to end the war by means of arms.”



March: [Alfred Russel Wallace](#) moved to Grays in Essex.

On [St. Helena](#), the Hussey Charity assumed responsibility for running the Parish School of St Matthews.

[Antonio Maceo](#) was promoted to the rank of full colonel.



March 8, Friday: Learning that Martínez Campos was expecting re-enforcement, [Antonio Maceo](#) intercepted the troops and staged a series of “flank and rear guard attacks,” inflicting a number of harassing wounds on the advancing columns.



March 18, Monday: Spanish troops received additional support and engaged [Antonio Maceo](#) in a 6-hour battle, after which Maceo retreated.







## CUBA

## CUBA

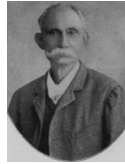
March 27, Wednesday: [Antonio Maceo](#) attacked again after his previous retreat, defeating Spanish troops at Loma Del Burro.



# CUBA

# CUBA

May 26, Sunday-June 7, Friday: During a conference with government officials, President Céspedes encountered [Antonio Maceo](#) for the 1st time. Máximo Gómez renewed his pressure for his plan to attack the West, arguing



that [Cuban](#) victories in Guantánamo were important, but the revolution could only make real headway if it moved westward.



The plan was accepted, but when ordered to divert men from the expedition to protect the members of the government, Céspedes refused to obey and was removed from command for disobedience.

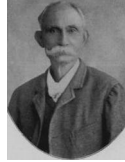
The plan to move westward was abandoned and [Antonio Maceo](#) reluctantly replaced his old commander.



# CUBA

# CUBA

June 20, Thursday: General Calixto Garcia took over Máximo Gómez's position as commander of the forces in a particular [Cuban](#) province.



July 1, Monday: Frederick Douglass relocated his family to an address on Al Street NE in [Washington DC](#).

The whole army of Orience, [Cuba](#) came under Calixto Garcia. In the next 4 months, the rebel army would win victory after victory in the Guantánamo district. [Antonio Maceo](#) would play a leading role.



September 26, Thursday: President Ulysses S. Grant rejected a deal that would have offered independence to [Cuba](#) along with the abolition of [human slavery](#).

## CUBA

## CUBA

November: [Antonio Maceo](#) rejoined General García to help capture the town of Holguín (in a month the town would fall to them).



Late in this year, as a result of the many successful campaigns of the [Cuban](#) insurgents, Captain General Valmaseda would resign. Cándido Pieltán, the new Captain General, would add to the war effort 54,000 men, 42 artillery pieces, and 2,000 horses (not counting the thousands of agents not formally part of the Spanish army but used mainly to guard towns, garrisons, plantations, and mills) — the Rebels, by way of radical contrast, could muster a military force just short of 7,000.



CUBA

CUBA

1873

[William Drew Robeson](#), an escaped slave who had served as a laborer for the Union Army, received an A.B. degree from Lincoln University.

Henry Highland Garnet called for the US to invade [Cuba](#), so as to set free its [slaves](#).

February : A heavy flood at Trap Cot on [St. Helena](#) carried away a house and its 9 occupants, 7 of whom perished (as we are all aware, steep hillsides stripped bare of all vegetation will do this sort of thing to you).

Nathan Johnson wrote from 21 Seventh St. in [New Bedford](#) to Gerrit Smith, in part to plead with that rich man for “a loose, unappropriated greenback, to help me through the present year; if I should tarry longer things will grow better for me, and 78 years tells me I need but little here.”

I know you do not remember of having seen me, and there are but few living that could tell you anything about me.... To our Labouring friend F. Douglass I cannot refer you, for a fellow townsman was at Washington, not long since, where he conversed with him, and mention'd me to him, and he said he did not know me; but I will refer you to his Narrative, in which you will see the name, Nathan Johnson.

(Clearly, Frederick Douglass, once reminded, was able to recover a memory of the man who had assigned to him his new free name, and who had been the president of a national convention which he had attended, for prior to his death in 1880 he would on several occasions visit him in New Bedford.)

In Spain, [José Martí](#)'s *LA REPÚBLICA ESPAÑOLA ANTE LA REVOLUCIÓN CUBANA* (THE SPANISH REPUBLIC BEFORE THE [CUBAN](#) REVOLUTION).



September 25, Thursday: From this day until October 10th, severe weather in [Cuba](#) would kill 26

HURRICANES

October 27, Monday: Members of the House of Representatives called a meeting in Bijaugal without inviting President Céspedes, and at this meeting Céspedes was replaced as president of the Republic of Cuba by Salvador Cisneros Betancourt.



## CUBA

## CUBA

October 31, Friday: On the high seas near Jamaica, Spanish naval forces captured the schooner *Virginus* while it was illegally flying the US flag and ferrying men and materiel to Cuban insurgents. The captain, 36 members of its crew, and 12 of its passengers would be executed, and 102 others turned over to American authorities.

The international bridge over [Niagara River](#) was opened.

November 8, Saturday: A grand jubilee of 3 days began in Budapest to honor the 50th anniversary of Franz Liszt's career as a performer and composer. The honoree had come from [Rome](#) for these events.

In Santiago de [Cuba](#), 12 passengers from the *Virginus* (including 3 Cubans and various US and British citizens) were executed as "enemies of the state" under orders of General Juan Burriel. At this point, however, the HMS *Niobe* arrived and threatened to bombard the town if executions of members of the crew of the *Virginus* continued. The executions were discontinued.



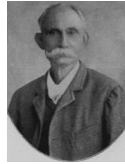
Barcarole op.44/3 for unaccompanied chorus by [Johannes Brahms](#) to traditional [Italian](#) words translated by Witte was performed for the initial time, in Hamburg.

Incidental music to Barbier's play *Jeanne d'Arc* by Charles Gounod was performed for the initial time, at the Theatre de la Gaité, Paris. The critical response was somewhat tepid.

1874

January 3, Saturday: In Spain, General Pavía, captain-general of Madrid, staged a successful coup d'état that would force Queen Isabella to flee the country and would bring about the fall of the Spanish republic. [José Martí](#) would speak at a public meeting to raise funds for the widows and orphans of fallen Republicans.

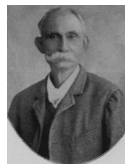
Early in February: In [Cuba](#) there was a meeting between the highest-ranking officials of the Rebel Army, the president, his cabinet, and the House of Representatives, that approved Máximo Gómez's plan to attack westward.



February: In [Cuba](#), rebel conservatives launched an all-out slander campaign against [Antonio Maceo](#). The opposition stemmed from the effects of racial prejudice, and propaganda about "black domination."



February 4, Wednesday: In [Cuba](#), Máximo Gómez formed a force of 300 infantry and 200 cavalry from Oriente and Las Villas.



February 10, Tuesday: In [Cuba](#), the Rebel Army defeated 2,000 artillery-equipped veteran Spanish troops.

February 16, Monday: In the Battle of Las Guásimas, the [Cuban](#) rebel army was again victorious against larger Spanish forces. [Antonio Maceo](#), with 200 cavalry and 50 infantry, attacked a column of 2,000 men sent from Camagüey. In all, the Spaniards poured 6,000 men and six pieces of artillery into the battle, but were obliged to retreat.



February 27, Friday: In [Cuba](#), Carlos Manuel de Céspedes died in battle.



## CUBA

## CUBA

March 17, Tuesday: After 3 days of battle at Las Guasimas [Cuban](#) rebels defeated Spanish troops. Spanish casualties outnumbered Cuban casualties by a margin of 6 to 1.

April 16, Thursday: In [Cuba](#), Captain General José Gutiérrez de la Concha signed yet another decree (a 3d one) proclaiming the death penalty for [Antonio Maceo](#) and confiscating all his property.

April 18, Saturday: In [Cuba](#), [Antonio Maceo](#)'s brother Miguel Maceo died in his arms from wounds received in the attack on the Spanish garrison at Cascorro.

Because Calixto García had been captured by the Spaniards, Antonio Maceo assumed command of the Second Division.





CUBA

CUBA

June 30, Tuesday [José Martí](#) was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Civil and Canon Law of Central University.

[Henry Grinnell](#), having been mentioned in [WALDEN](#) and having reached the age of 75, died in [New-York](#) (a genus of red algae, *Grinnellia*, would be named in his honor).

[next screen]

[WALDEN](#): Yet we should oftener look over the tafferel of our craft, like curious passengers, and not make the voyage like stupid sailors picking oakum. The other side of the globe is but the home of our correspondent. Our voyaging is only great-circle sailing, and the doctors prescribe for diseases of the skin merely. One hastens to Southern Africa to chase the giraffe; but surely that is not the game he would be after. How long, pray, would a man hunt giraffes if he could? Snipes and woodcocks also may afford rare sort; but I trust it would be nobler game to shoot one's self.-

“Direct your eye sight inward, and you'll find  
A thousand regions in your mind  
Yet undiscovered. Travel them, and be  
Expert in home-cosmography.”

What does Africa, -what does the West stand for? Is not our own interior white on the chart? black though it may prove, like the coast, when discovered. Is it the source of the Nile, or the Niger, or the Mississippi, or a North-West Passage around this continent, that we would find? Are these the problems which most concern mankind? Is Franklin the only man who is lost, that his wife should be so earnest to find him? Does Mr. Grinnell know where he himself is? Be rather the Mungo Park, the Lewis and Clarke and Frobisher, of your own streams and oceans; explore your own higher latitudes, -with shiploads of preserved meats to support you, if they be necessary; and pile the empty cans sky-high for a sign. Were preserved meats invented to preserve meat merely? Nay, be a Columbus to whole new continents and worlds within you, opening new channels, not of trade, but of thought. Every man is the lord of a realm beside which the earthly empire of the Czar is but a petty state, a hummock left by the ice. Yet some can be patriotic who have no *self-respect*, and sacrifice the greater to the less. They love the soil which makes their graves, but have no sympathy with the spirit which may still animate their clay. Patriotism is a maggot in their heads. What was the meaning of that South-Sea Exploring Expedition, with all its parade and expense, but an indirect recognition of the fact, that there are continents and seas in the moral world, to which every man is an isthmus or an inlet, yet unexplored by him, but that it is easier to sail many thousand miles through cold and storm and cannibals, in a government ship, with five hundred men and boys to assist one, than it is to explore the private sea, the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean of one's being alone.-

“Erret, et extremos alter scrutetur Iberos.  
Plus habet hic vitæ, plus habet ille viæ.”  
Let them wander and scrutinize the outlandish Australians.  
I have more of God, they more of the road.

It is not worth the while to go round the world to count the cats in Zanzibar. Yet do this even till you can do better, and you may perhaps find some “Symmes' Hole” by which to get at the inside at last. England and France, Spain and Portugal, Gold Coast and Slave Coast, all front on this private sea; but no bark from them has ventured out of sight of land, though it is without doubt the direct way to India. If you would learn to speak all tongues and conform to the customs of all nations, if you would travel farther than all travellers, be naturalized in all climes, and cause the Sphinx to dash her head against a stone, even obey the precept of the old philosopher, and Explore thyself. Herein are demanded the eye and the nerve. Only the defeated and deserters go to the wars, cowards that run away and enlist. Start now on that farthest western way, which does not pause at the Mississippi or the Pacific, nor conduct toward a worn-out China or Japan, but leads on direct a tangent to this sphere, summer and winter, day and night, sun down, moon down, and at last earth down too.

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

HABINGTON

LEWIS AND CLARK

HENRY GRINNELL

SYMMES HOLE



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

August 31, Monday: Calvin H. Greene noted that the grove of trees that [Henry Thoreau](#) had planted in his [beanfield](#) “looked quite sorry from a heartless fire that had run through them a short time ago.” [Ellery Channing](#) presented him with something [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) had presented to him, a paper-folder made from one of the shingles to [Thoreau's \(Emerson's\) shanty](#).

[José Martí](#) enrolled in all subjects at the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities at Central University.

October 24, Saturday: [José Martí](#) passed all graduating examinations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Humanities at Central University, with outstanding grades.

December: [Professor Joseph Leidy](#) was offered the Hersey Professorship of Anatomy in [Harvard University](#), with an annual salary of \$4,000.

## NEW “HARVARD MEN”

[José Martí](#) left Spain for Paris.





CUBA

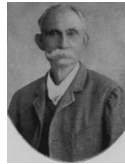
CUBA

1875

January: Publication, in a Russian periodical, of what would become Part I:i-xiv of [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#)'s *ANNA KARENINA* (Anna leaves the ball). (In the first separate edition of the novel, appearing during January 1878, this would be Part xxiii.)

From the port of Southampton, England, [José Martí](#) departed for [Mexico](#).

January 6, Wednesday: In [Cuba](#), General Máximo Gómez crossed the “trocha” (the long fortified line that the Spaniards erected to prevent penetration of the West). “The objective, Gómez told his men, was “the destruction of the plantations which sustain the enemy, principally the mills from which the hacendados derive their wealth and with which they support Spain’s war effort.”



February 8, Monday: [José Martí](#) arrived at the port of Vera Cruz in [Mexico](#).

March 7, Sunday: In [Mexico](#), [José Martí](#) was published in *Revista Universal* (Universal Magazine).

April 7, Wednesday: In [Mexico](#), [José Martí](#) participated in a debate on materialism and spiritualism at the Hidalgo Lyceum.

April 27, Tuesday: In [Cuba](#), García renounced allegiance to the revolutionary government and called an assembly at Lagunas de Varona of all elements dissatisfied with the progress of the revolution. The move resulted in such a disruption of the entire revolutionary movement that President Cisneros offered to resign.

May 5, Wednesday: Henry Stanley completed his circumnavigation of Lake Victoria and established it as the principal source of the [Nile River](#).

[José Martí](#) assumed editorship of the Bulletin of *Revista Universal*, which dealt with Mexican national affairs.

CUBA

CUBA

June 18, Friday: [Antonio Maceo](#) met with García in Alcalá, near Holguín, [Cuba](#), and gave voice to his qualms about García's actions.



CUBA

CUBA

November: [William Allingham](#) and [Helen Mary Elizabeth Paterson](#) Allingham's first son was named Gerald Carlyle Allingham in honor of their neighbor [Thomas Carlyle](#).



US Secretary of State Hamilton Fish announced that he was seeking to achieve action by the European powers, led by England, to restore peace in [Cuba](#). Such peace, he noted, would require neither the abolition of slavery nor the independence of the island.

November 30, Tuesday: The last Bulletin of *Revista Universal* was published.

December: Another vicious campaign began, against [Antonio Maceo](#). Again he was accused of seeking to establish in [Cuba](#) a black republic. He ignored such charges.



Alfonso XII, son of Isabel II, took over the throne of Spain.

December 4, Saturday: William Marcy Tweed, formerly "Boss" of [New-York](#)'s corrupt Tammany Hall political organization, escaped from his cell and boogied away toward [Cuba](#) (then Spain).

GOVERNMENT SCANDALS

December 19, Sunday: [José Martí](#)'s play "Amor Con Amor se Paga" (Love is Repaid with Love) opened at the Teatro Principal in [Mexico City](#) to popular and critical acclaim.



CUBA

CUBA

1876

March 28, Tuesday: The [Cuban](#) House of Representatives elected Tomás Estrada Palma as president of the Republic.

May 16, Monday: From his camp in Baragua, [Cuba](#), [Antonio Maceo](#) wrote a letter to President Tomás Estrada Palma responding to the charges against him. The government did not respond to Antonio Maceo's demand.

November 19, Sunday: The final issue of *Revista Universal*.

December: [José Martí](#) collaborated in *El Federalista*.

Publication, in a Russian periodical, of what would become the end of Part V of [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#)'s *ANNA KARENINA* (Vronsky and Anna leave for the country after the scandalous scene in the theater).

With "Evenings in the Library: Carlyle" in *Belford's Monthly Magazine*, [George Stewart, Jr.](#) began to make his mark as a content provider by offering to the media circus various collections of more or less accurate facts and more or less considered opinions picked up 2d-hand or 3d-hand about matters in regard to which he personally knew nothing at all.

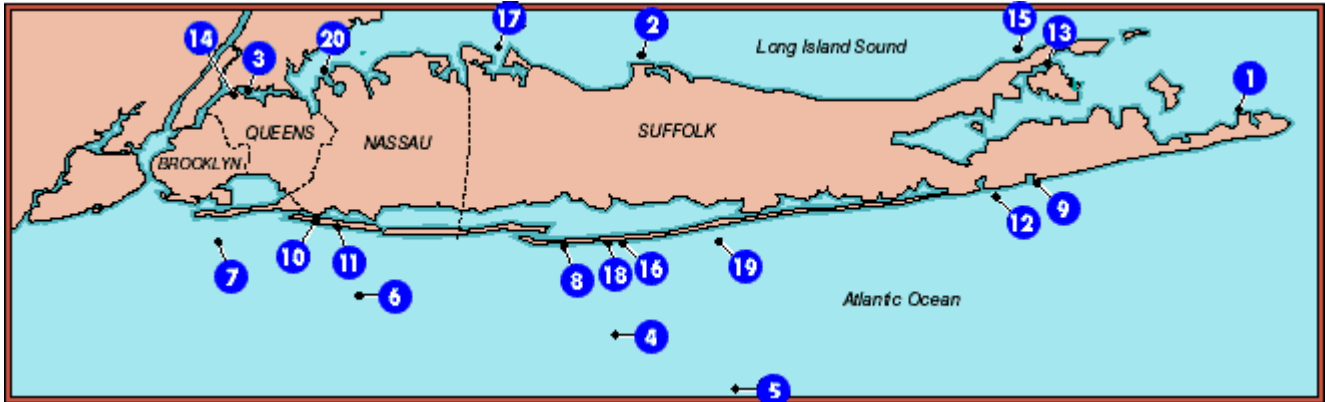
[Robert Louis Stevenson](#)'s "[Charles of Orleans](#)" appeared in *Cornhill Magazine*.

CHARLES OF ORLEANS

CUBA

CUBA

December 29, Friday: In another storm, the square-rigger *Circassian*, aground on Long Island at position #9 (below) since December 11th, broke up while a salvage crew was aboard. Of those 20 men, and 12 local workers including 10 Shinnecock native Americans, 28 were killed including all the Shinnecock.



[José Martí](#) sailed from [Mexico](#) for [Havana](#).







CUBA

CUBA

1877

January 6, Saturday: The expedition of Henry Stanley reached Boyoma Falls on the Congo River.

[José Martí](#) arrived back in [Havana](#), although incognito under his middle name and 2d family name as “[Julián Pérez](#).”

February 24, Saturday: [José Martí](#) sailed from [Havana](#) for Vera Cruz using the same incognito, [Julián Pérez](#), and from [Mexico](#) would continue toward Guatemala, stopping at Belize, the capital of British Honduras, and at Livingstone.

March: Publication, in a Russian periodical, of what would become Part VII:i-xv of [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#)'s *ANNA KARENINA* (Birth of the Levins' son). (In the first separate edition of the novel, appearing during January 1878, this would be Part xvi.)

[José Martí](#) arrived in Guatemala City.

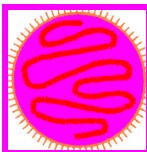
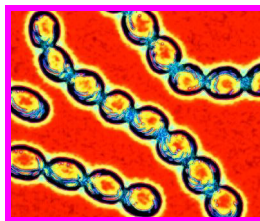
In the March/April issue of the [North American Review](#) was an article by [Waldo Emerson](#) on “Demonology”:

The long waves indicate to the instructed mariner that there is no near land in the direction from which they come. [Belzoni](#) describes the three marks which led him to dig for a door to the pyramid of Ghizeh. What thousands had beheld the same spot for so many ages and seen no three marks!

May 11, Friday: [General Vicente García González](#) issued a new manifesto demanding reforms in the revolutionary government of [Cuba](#).

May 29, Tuesday: [José Martí](#) was appointed professor of French, English, Italian, and German Literature and History of Philosophy at the Central School of Guatemala.

July: [St. Helena](#)'s Lemon Valley became a quarantine station as [scarlet fever](#) ravaged Portsmouth and [measles](#) ravaged Cape Town.



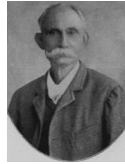
[José Martí](#) gained recognition for a speech at a literacy meeting at the Central Normal School.

August 7, Tuesday: Hamilton Fish, no longer the US Secretary of State, tried his hand at prognostication: “The end of the [Cuban](#) trouble is approaching.”

September: In [Cuba](#), [Antonio Maceo](#) was again wounded.



Máximo Gómez wrote in his diary “General Maceo was seriously wounded, but that man, with his indomitable spirit and iron constitution, is already active again.”



September 15, Saturday: [José Martí](#)'s “Morazán,” a drama in commemoration of Independence Day (the work appears to have been lost).

September 27, Thursday: After an informer advised General Martínez Campos of Maceo's wounds and the small size of his escort, the General sent a column of 3,000 men to surround that area in [Cuba](#). The rebels had just escaped. Reporting the affair to Madrid, Martínez wrote: “I thought I was dealing with a stupid mulatto, a rude muleteer; but I found him transformed not only into a real general, capable of directing his movement with judgment and precision, but also into an athlete who, finding himself indisposed on a litter, assaulted by my troops, abandoned his bed, leaped upon a horse and outdistanced those pursuing him.”

November: Estrada Palma was captured and imprisoned by the Spaniards. [General Vicente García González](#) was named president of the [Cuban](#) Republic.

With “Evenings in the Library: Bryant” in [Belford's Monthly Magazine](#), [George Stewart, Jr.](#) continued to offer to the media circus various collections of more or less accurate facts and more or less considered opinions picked up 2d-hand or 3d-hand about matters in regard to which he personally knew nothing at all.

Letter from [Lydia Maria Child](#) to Anna Loring: Birthday.

**LETTERS FROM NEW YORK**



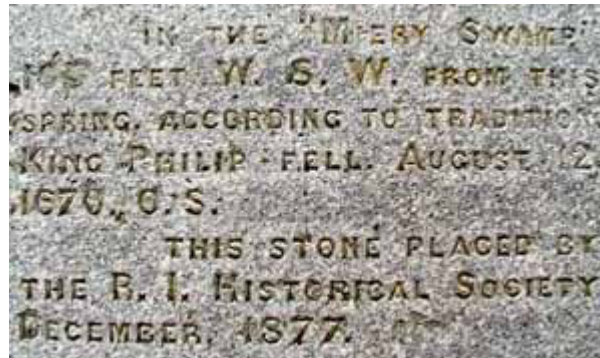
## CUBA

## CUBA

December: The rebel government of [Cuba](#), ready to discuss peace terms with Martínez Campos, asked for the neutralization of a part of Camagüey province.

[José Martí](#) received permission to relocate from Guatemala to [Mexico](#).

Incapable of shame, the [Rhode Island Historical Society](#) positioned a marker in celebration of the home invasion murder of [King Philip](#) on August 12 (Old Style) 1676, on the very location in the “Miery Swamp” of the [Mount Hope](#) peninsula.



December 20, Thursday: A report from Walt Whitman:

### “Specimen Days”

#### THREE YOUNG MEN’S DEATHS

Somehow I got thinking to-day of young men’s deaths – not at all sadly or sentimentally, but gravely, realistically, perhaps a little artistically. Let me give the following three cases from budgets of personal memoranda, which I have been turning over, alone in my room, and resuming and dwelling on, this rainy afternoon. Who is there to whom the theme does not come home? Then I don’t know how it may be to others, but to me not only is there nothing gloomy or depressing in such cases – on the contrary, as reminiscences, I find them soothing, bracing, tonic.

ERASTUS HASKELL. – [I just transcribe verbatim from a letter written by myself in one of the army hospitals, 16 years ago, during the secession war.]

In [Mexico](#), [José Martí](#) got married with another [Cuban](#), Carmen Zayas Bazán.

1878

January: Professor Friedrich Nietzsche sent HUMAN, ALL TOO HUMAN<sup>288</sup> to his publisher.

[José Martí](#) returned to Guatemala after preparing the manuscript for a booklet *GUATEMALA* which would be printed in [Mexico](#).

January 29, Tuesday: [Antonio Maceo](#) ambushed an unusually large column of Spanish troops.



The [Cuban](#) rebels forced the Spaniards to retreat with their dead and wounded, capturing much booty such as weapons and ammo.

February 4, Monday: While most of his troops were away and he was left with merely 38 rebels, [Antonio Maceo](#) was



completely surrounded and outnumbered more than 8 to 1.

The tiny unit “executed an almost unbelievable turnabout of events. After 3 hours of brutal combat, the [Cubans](#) completely routed their enemy.”

February 5, Tuesday: The St. Petersburg Chief of Police was shot by a young woman after he had [flogged](#) a student. He would recover and at her trial Vera Zasulich would be found not guilty. After her trial, onlookers would protect her from being attacked by policemen.

At the conclusion of a conference between the most important leaders of the [Cuban](#) government and the Spanish generals, [President Vicente García González](#) and the entire House of Representatives resigned. A Comité del Centro (Committee of the Central Department) would be formed.

288.  Friedrich Nietzsche. *MENSCHLICHES, ALLZUMENSCHLICHES* (HUMAN, ALL-TOO-HUMAN), sections 517-8 in Volumes VIII-IX of the Musarion Verlag edition, 1878-1879

CUBA

CUBA

February 9, Saturday: After a 3-day battle in the vicinity of San Ulpiano, Cuban rebels led by Antonio Maceo defeated the famous San Quentín battalion of Spanish troops and the Comité del Centro asked Martínez Campos for terms to cease fighting.



February 10, Sunday: In Camagüey, Cuba's success in its revolt against Spanish rule produced a Treaty of Zanjón (Pacto de Zanjón), in which the colonial power pledged to make reforms. Slaves who had fought on either side were to be freed but slavery itself would not be abolished, while the island would remain under Spanish rule.

February 29, Friday: Surrender ceremonies were scheduled to take place at Puerto Príncipe, Cuba.

March 4, Monday: The New-York Times presented a lengthy review of "The Ten Years War" for control of Cuba without so much as mentioning Antonio Maceo.



"All the news that's fit to print."

March 8, Friday: Antonio Maceo camped at Baraguá, near Santiago de Cuba.



March 15, Thursday: In Baraguá, General Martínez Campos and other Spanish representatives met with a small gathering of black and white [Cuban](#) officers led by General [Antonio Maceo](#). The Spanish general continually addressed the mulatto as “señor.” An 8-day truce was agreed upon, to extend until March 23d.



March 18, Sunday: [Antonio Maceo](#), offered a significant sum of money to accept the Zanjón pact, responded with an expression of his frank amazement:



Do you think that a man who is fighting for a principle and has a high regard for his honor and reputation can sell himself while there is still at least a chance of saving his principles by dying or trying to enforce them before he denigrates himself? Men like me fight only in the cause of liberty and will smash their guns rather than submit.

March 23, Saturday: Franz August Julius Schrecker was born in Monaco, oldest of 4 surviving children of Ignaz (Isak) Schrecker, Jewish Imperial and Royal Court Photographer, and Eleonore von Clossmann, who was descended from Austrian Catholic nobility.

Benedetto Cairoli replaced Agostino Depretis as Prime Minister of [Italy](#).

In [Cuba](#), war broke out once again. [Antonio Maceo](#) issued a circular that would become known as “The Protest of Baraguá.”





April 6, Saturday: [José Martí](#) resigned his post at Central School. The booklet *GUATEMALA* appeared in [Mexico](#).

[New-York](#)'s *La Verdad* paid tribute to [Antonio Maceo](#)'s action: "The hero of the day is Maceo, and it appears it is up to him to raise [Cuba](#) again to the pinnacle of its glory."



May 10, Friday: Walking in Alameda on the shore of San Francisco Bay, encountering there the ubiquitous luxuriant poison oak, [Caroline Cushing Andrews Leighton](#) would comment "[Thoreau](#), who liked to see weeds overrun flowers, would have rejoiced in its vigor."

CALIFORNIA

[Professor Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to by [Mrs. Leighton](#) above as the "Swiss [Thoreau](#)," wrote in his *JOURNAL INTIME*: "I have just come back from a solitary walk. I heard nightingales, saw white lilac and orchard trees in bloom. My heart is full of impressions showered upon it by the chaffinches, the golden orioles, the grasshoppers, the hawthorns, and the primroses. A dull, gray, fleecy sky brooded with a certain melancholy over the nuptial splendors of vegetation. Many painful memories stirred afresh in me; at Pré l'Evêque, at Jargonnant, at Villereuse, a score of phantoms — phantoms of youth — rose with sad eyes to greet me. The walls had changed, and roads which were once shady and dreamy I found now waste and treeless. But at the first trills of the nightingale a flood of tender feeling filled my heart. I felt myself soothed, grateful, melted; a mood of serenity and contemplation took possession of me. A certain little path, a very kingdom of green, with fountain, thickets, gentle ups and downs, and an abundance of singing-birds, delighted me, and did me inexpressible good. Its peaceful remoteness brought back the bloom of feeling. I had need of it."

[Antonio Maceo](#) left [Cuba](#) (under Presidential orders) in a Spanish cruiser headed from Santiago de Cuba for Jamaica.



May 21, Tuesday: The rebel government of [Cuba](#) ratified the Pact Treaty of Zanjón (Pacto de Zanjón) that had been signed on February 10th, officially ending the Ten-Year War.

May 23, Thursday: [Antonio Maceo](#) arrived unnoticed in [New York](#).





## CUBA

## CUBA

June 12, Wednesday: Flooded with years, [William Cullen Bryant](#) died in New-York after having been for 50 years the editor of the Evening Post. Parke Godwin would follow as editor.

An interview with [Antonio Maceo](#) appeared in *Las Novedades*.



July 6, Saturday: [José Martí](#) left Guatemala for Honduras.

August: [Mrs. Frances \(Fanny\) Matilda Vandegrift \(or Van de Grift\) Osbourne](#) returned with her children Isobel, age 20, and Lloyd, age age 10, to her husband Samuel Osbourne in [California](#).

[Richard Wagner](#) scored the Prelude of Act I of the libretto *Parsifal*.

**LISTEN TO IT NOW**

Professor Friedrich Nietzsche fell ill. During this month and the following one [Wagner](#) would be attacking him in the Bayreuther Blaetter.

[José Martí](#) sailed for the port of Trujillo, [Cuba](#).

September 3, Tuesday: [Joseph-Héliodore-Sagesse-Vertu Garcin de Tassy](#) died at the age of 85.

[José Martí](#) arrived in [Havana](#) with his spouse Carmen Zayas Bazán Martí.

The 40th anniversary of Frederick Douglass's freedom, which we may well elect to celebrate **in lieu of an unknown slave birthday**.



Here is a Daguerreotype, by an unidentified photographer in the 1850-1855 timeframe.



*"It has been a source of great annoyance to me, never to have a birthday."*

September 16, Monday: When [José Martí](#) sought permission to practice law, this was denied (instead he would teach in a private school).

October: Returning from his European tour, [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) settled permanently in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

After organizing the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Committee (Comité Revolucionario Cubano), [Major General Calixto García Iñiguez](#) issued a manifesto inviting all Cubans to unite in the fight against Spanish rule.

[Robert Louis Stevenson](#)'s "[Walt Whitman](#)" appeared in [New Quarterly Magazine](#).

November 12, Tuesday: [José Martí](#)'s and Carmen Zayas Bazán Martí's son [José Martí Zayas Bazán](#) was born.



## CUBA

## CUBA

November 23, Saturday-26, Tuesday: Frederick Douglass visited Easton in [Maryland](#), and delivered a lecture at the courthouse. While on this visit he was able, on Tuckahoe Creek, to locate the approximate site of his birth.

*La Independencia*, a publication of the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Committee, urged [slaves](#) to “take your machetes in hand, and burn the cane.”

José Martí returned to [Cuba](#).



1879



Dr. Carlos Juan Finlay, a Cuban physician, originated the theory of the transmission of [yellow fever](#) by mosquito as vectors. It wasn't the fetid air of the swamp, he hypothesized — it was the mosquitoes in the fetid air of the swamp.<sup>289</sup>



CUBA

289. He was a stutterer. When he read his paper before a scientific body, nobody asked any questions or had any comments. They simply moved on to the other more intelligible presenters.

January 12, Sunday: [José Martí](#) was appointed as Secretary of the Literary Section of the Guanabacoa Lyceum in [Havana](#).

An early purchaser of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#), the Boston lawyer Horatio Woodman, seems to have been unsuccessful in learning from this advice book how to live a life of simplicity and straightforwardness. At this point it would appear that, in considerable stress due to self-induced financial and legal difficulties, he committed [suicide](#), dropping from a steamboat into the Long Island Sound:

### *MR. WOODMAN'S DISAPPEARANCE.*

#### A BOSTON LAWYER'S SUPPOSED SUICIDE FROM A FALL RIVER STEAM-BOAT.

No light has yet been thrown upon the mystery surrounding the disappearance of Horatio Woodman, a well-known Boston lawyer, who, after several days' sojourn in this City, embarked for home on the steamer Newport, and did not reach his destination, as far as can be learned. Mr. Woodman had been in financial straits for years, and the object of his visit here was to raise money to refund amounts owed by him to estates which he managed, and to clear off old scores growing out of his pension business. He met with no success, and started on his return trip as stated above. The only person on board the Newport who knew him was the barber, Revallion, who has also a shop in Boston. He had often shaved Mr. Woodman in his Boston shop, and knew him well. Revallion says that the steamer was well on its way when Woodman entered the barber's shop. He seemed to be in excellent spirits, and chatted pleasantly with the barber. Baggage Agent King was questioned by Woodman as to the time the steamer landed at Newport. He said that he had engaged to meet a man there, and was perplexed to know how he could get word to his wife, who expected him home by the Fall River train which the steamer connected with. Agent King offered to carry a letter and forward it by the railway baggage agent. The proposition struck Woodman favorably, and he wrote the note and intrusted it to King. He walked off in the direction of the state-rooms, and has not been seen since. The steamer lay at Fall River while two trains were dispatched. After leaving Newport, according to custom, Purser Bowles made his rounds collecting the Providence tickets.

He found the door of the state-room occupied by Woodman open. The bedding was disordered and a hand-sachel and shawl were lying on the floor. Who owned them was not known until a week afterward. A nephew of Mr. Woodman, who inquired concerning him in Fall River, identified the articles, and ascertained the few circumstances related above. The letter to his wife had been duly forwarded. It was brief, but in cheerful tone, and assigned a business engagement in Newport as the cause of his detention. It contained no hint of a suicidal purpose or prolonged absence. The officers of the company made diligent inquiry at Newport, Providence, and Fall River, but found nothing that served as a clue. His friends have concluded that he fell, was thrown, or jumped, overboard.

Notwithstanding Mr. Woodman's cheerfulness of demeanor, the condition of his affairs has been found to be rather bad, and it is not improbable that he committed suicide to be rid of his difficulties. During most of his 40 years at the Bar he made a specialty of the land-warrant business, and secured a large and very lucrative practice in claims before the War and Pension Departments at Washington. For the past 10 years he has been considerably embarrassed financially, and on July 19, 1870, went into bankruptcy. Though that was over eight years ago, he has not yet been discharged, nor has his Assignee been yet able to declare a dividend. From the court records it appears that his liabilities footed up \$199,896, while his assets, including large tracts of Western lands of doubtful value, are set down at \$93,641. His bounty and pension business was the main source of his troubles. In one case it was shown that Woodman had exacted illegal fees for procuring a pension for Mrs. Martha A. Towner, the widow of Walter R. O. Towner, of the Forty-eighth Massachusetts Volunteers. He was tried and fined \$250, besides the costs, which amounted to \$102.45. In addition to this charge, there was a more serious one, namely, that of having forged Mrs. Towner's name. An indictment for forgery against him on account of this transaction is now pending, and was to have been put on the February docket for trial in Boston.

[TIMELINE OF WALDEN](#)





CUBA

CUBA

A January night: A report from Walt Whitman:

### “Specimen Days”

Fine trips across the wide Delaware to-night. Tide pretty high, and a strong ebb. River, a little after 8, full of ice, mostly broken, but some large cakes making our strong-timber'd steamboat hum and quiver as she strikes them. In the clear moonlight they spread, strange, unearthly, silvery, faintly glistening, as far as I can see. Bumping, trembling, sometimes hissing like a thousand snakes, the tide-procession, as we wend with or through it, affording a grand undertone, in keeping with the scene. Overhead, the splendor indescribable; yet something haughty, almost supercilious, in the night. Never did I realize more latent sentiment, almost **passion**, in those silent interminable stars up there. One can understand, such a night, why, from the days of the Pharaohs or Job, the dome of heaven, sprinkled with planets, has supplied the subtlest, deepest criticism on human pride, glory, ambition.

Another Winter night: A report from Walt Whitman:

### “Specimen Days”

I don't know anything more **filling** than to be on the wide firm deck of a powerful boat, a clear, cool, extra-moonlight night, crushing proudly and resistlessly through this thick, marbly, glistening ice. The whole river is now spread with it – some immense cakes. There is such weirdness about the scene – partly the quality of the light, with its tinge of blue, the lunar twilight – only the large stars holding their own in the radiance of the moon. Temperature sharp, comfortable for motion, dry, full of oxygen. But the sense of power – the steady, scornful, imperious urge of our strong new engine, as she ploughs her way through the big and little cakes.

Another Winter night: A report from Walt Whitman:

### “Specimen Days”

For two hours I cross'd and recross'd, merely for pleasure – for a still excitement. Both sky and river went through several changes. The first for awhile held two vast fan-shaped echelons of light clouds, through which the moon waded, now radiating, carrying with her an aureole of tawny transparent brown, and now flooding the whole vast with clear vapory light-green, through which, as through an illuminated veil, she moved with measur'd womanly motion. Then, another trip, the heavens would be absolutely clear, and Luna in all her effulgence. The big Dipper in the north, with the double star in the handle much plainer than common. Then the sheeny track of light in the water, dancing and rippling. Such transformations; such pictures and poems, inimitable. [Page 836]



CUBA

CUBA

Another Winter night: A report from Walt Whitman:

### “Specimen Days”

I am studying the stars, under advantages, as I cross to-night. (It is late in February, and again extra clear.) High toward the west, the Pleiades, tremulous with delicate sparkle, in the soft heavens. Aldebaran, leading the V-shaped Hyades – and overhead Capella and her kids. Most majestic of all, in full display in the high south, Orion, vast-spread, roomy, chief histrion of the stage, with his shiny yellow rosette on his shoulder, and his three Kings – and a little to the east, Sirius, calmly arrogant, most wondrous single star. Going late ashore, (I couldn't give up the beauty and soothingness of the night,) as I staid around, or slowly wander'd, I heard the echoing calls of the railroad men in the West Jersey depot yard, shifting and switching trains, engines, &c.; amid the general silence otherways, and something in the acoustic quality of the air, musical, emotional effects, never thought of before. I linger'd long and long, listening to them.

April 21, Monday: [José Martí](#) spoke at a reception in honor of journalist Adolfo Márquez Sterling, voicing his opposition to Autonomist policy.

April 27, Sunday: [José Martí](#) delivered an eulogy for violinist Díaz Albertini at the Guanabacoa Lyceum in [Havana](#).

August 5, Tuesday: Horace Morison died of dysentery.

At a conference in Kingston, Jamaica, [Antonio Maceo](#) and [General Vicente García González](#) plotted to foment yet another uprising on the island of [Cuba](#).





CUBA

CUBA

August 26, Tuesday: The Little War (*La Guerra Chiquita*) began prematurely with hundreds of [slaves](#) and farmers attacking a Spanish strongpoint in Santiago de [Cuba](#). (Some historians consider this to be [Cuba](#)'s 2d war of independence while others ignore it, referring to the struggle that would begin in 1895 as the 2d.) The effort was led by [Major General Calixto García Iñiguez](#).

A report from Walt Whitman in Philadelphia:

## “Specimen Days”

### EXPOSITION BUILDING — NEW CITY HALL — RIVER TRIP

Last night and to-night of unsurpass'd clearness, after two days' rain; moon splendor and star splendor. Being out toward the great Exposition building, West Philadelphia, I saw it lit up, and thought I would go in. There was a ball, democratic but nice; plenty of young couples waltzing and quadrilling — music by a good string-band. To the sight and hearing of these — to moderate strolls up and down the roomy spaces — to getting off aside, resting in an arm-chair and looking up a long while at the grand high roof with its graceful and multitudinous work of iron rods, angles, gray colors, plays of light and shade, receding into dim outlines — to absorbing (in the intervals of the string band,) some capital voluntaries and rolling caprices from the big organ at the other end of the building — to sighting a shadow'd figure or group or couple of lovers every now and then passing some near or farther aisle — I abandon'd myself for over an hour.

Returning home, riding down Market street in an open summer car, something detain'd us between Fifteenth and Broad, and I got out to view better the new, three-fifths-built marble edifice, the City Hall, of magnificent proportions — a majestic and lovely show there in the moonlight — flooded all over, faades, myriad silver-white lines and carv'd heads and mouldings, with the soft dazzle — silent, weird, beautiful — well, I know that never when finish'd will that magnificent pile impress one as it impress'd me those fifteen minutes.

To-night, since, I have been long on the river. I watch the C-shaped Northern Crown, (with the star Alshacca that blazed out so suddenly, alarmingly, one night a few years ago.) The moon in her third quarter, and up nearly all night. And there, as I look eastward, my long-absent Pleiades, welcome [Page 850] again to sight. For an hour I enjoy the soothing and vital scene to the low splash of waves — new stars steadily, noiselessly rising in the east.

As I cross the Delaware, one of the deck-hands, F. R., tells me how a woman jump'd overboard and was drown'd a couple of hours since. It happen'd in mid-channel — she leap'd from the forward part of the boat, which went over her. He saw her rise on the other side in the swift running water, throw her arms and closed hands high up, (white hands and bare forearms in the moonlight like a flash,) and then she sank. (I found out afterwards that this young fellow had promptly jump'd in, swam after the poor creature, and made, though unsuccessfully, the bravest efforts to rescue her; but he didn't mention that part at all in telling me the story.)



## CUBA

## CUBA

September 5, Friday: [Antonio Maceo](#) issued “The Kingston Proclamation,” a circular reminding [Cubans](#) that “instead of giving Cubans the opportunity to participate in the direction of their government, Spaniards have been pouring into the island to man political posts, pushing the rightful representatives of the people to one side; they are guided only by the interests of their pockets and that of the Peninsula....”





## CUBA

## CUBA

September 25, Thursday: [José Martí](#) was accused of conspiracy against the Spanish crown, and ordered to be deported from [Cuba](#). Initially he would travel to Spain.





CUBA

CUBA

Walt Whitman

### “Specimen Days”

Early morning – still going east after we leave Sterling, Kansas, where I stopp’d a day and night. The sun up about half an hour; nothing can be fresher or more beautiful than this time, this region. I see quite a field of my yellow flower in full bloom. At intervals dots of nice two-story houses, as we ride swiftly by. Over the immense area, flat as a floor, visible for twenty miles in every direction in the clear air, a prevalence of autumn-drab and reddish-tawny herbage – sparse stacks of hay and enclosures, breaking the landscape – as we rumble by, flocks of prairie-hens starting up. Between Sterling and Florence a fine country. (Remembrances to E.L., my old-young soldier friend of war times, and his wife and boy at S.)

### “Specimen Days”

#### THE SPANISH PEAKS — EVENING ON THE PLAINS

Between Pueblo and Bent’s fort, southward, in a clear afternoon sun-spell I catch exceptionally good glimpses of the [Page 864] Spanish peaks. We are in southeastern Colorado – pass immense herds of cattle as our first-class locomotive rushes us along – two or three times crossing the Arkansas, which we follow many miles, and of which river I get fine views, sometimes for quite a distance, its stony, upright, not very high, palisade banks, and then its muddy flats. We pass Fort Lyon – lots of adobie houses – limitless pasturage, appropriately fleck’d with those herds of cattle – in due time the declining sun in the west – a sky of limpid pearl over all – and so evening on the great plains. A calm, pensive, boundless landscape – the perpendicular rocks of the north Arkansas, hued in twilight – a thin line of violet on the southwestern horizon – the palpable coolness and slight aroma – a belated cow-boy with some unruly member of his herd – an emigrant wagon toiling yet a little further, the horses slow and tired – two men, apparently father and son, jogging along on foot – and around all the indescribable *chiaroscuro* and sentiment, (profounder than anything at sea,) athwart these endless wilds.





CUBA

CUBA

## “Specimen Days”

### THE PRAIRIES AND GREAT PLAINS IN POETRY (After traveling [Illinois](#), Missouri, Kansas and Colorado.)

Grand as the thought that doubtless the child is already born who will see a hundred millions of people, the most prosperous and advanc'd of the world, inhabiting these Prairies, the great Plains, and the valley of the Mississippi, I could not help thinking it would be grander still to see all those inimitable American areas fused in the alembic of a perfect poem, or other esthetic work, entirely western, fresh and limitless – altogether our own, without a trace or taste of Europe's soil, reminiscence, technical letter or spirit. My days and nights, as I travel here – what an exhilaration! – not the air alone, and the sense of vastness, but every local sight and feature. Everywhere something characteristic – the cactuses, pinks, buffalo grass, wild sage – the receding perspective, and the far circle-line of the horizon all times of day, especially forenoon – the clear, pure, cool, rarefied nutriment for the lungs, previously quite unknown – the black patches and streaks left by surface-conflagrations – the deep-plough'd furrow of the “fire-guard” – the slanting snow-racks built all along to shield the railroad from winter drifts – the prairie-dogs and the herds of antelope – the curious “dry rivers” – occasionally a “dug-out” or corral – Fort Riley and Fort Wallace – those towns of the northern plains, (like ships on the sea,) Eagle-Tail, Coyote, Cheyenne, Agate, Monotony, [Kit Carson](#) – with ever the ant-hill and the buffalo-wallow – ever the herds of cattle and the cow-boys (“cow-punchers”) to me a strangely interesting class, bright-eyed as hawks, with their swarthy complexions and their broad-brimm'd hats – apparently always on horseback, with loose arms slightly raised and swinging as they ride.

## “Specimen Days”

### AMERICA'S CHARACTERISTIC LANDSCAPE

Speaking generally as to the capacity and sure future destiny of that plain and prairie area (larger than any European kingdom) it is the inexhaustible land of wheat, maize, wool, flax, coal, iron, beef and pork, butter and cheese, apples and grapes – land of ten million virgin farms – to the eye at present wild and unproductive – yet experts say that upon it when irrigated may easily be grown enough wheat to feed the world. Then as to scenery (giving my own thought and feeling,) while I know the standard claim is that Yosemite, Niagara falls, the upper Yellowstone and the like, afford the greatest natural shows, I am not so sure but the Prairies and Plains, while less stunning at first sight, last longer, fill the esthetic sense fuller, precede all the rest, and make North America's characteristic landscape.

Indeed through the whole of this journey, with all its shows and varieties, what most impress'd me, and will longest remain with me, are these same prairies. Day after day, and night after night, to my eyes, to all my senses – the esthetic [Page 865] one most of all – they silently and broadly unfolded. Even their simplest statistics are sublime.



CUBA

CUBA

## “Specimen Days”

### PRAIRIE ANALOGIES — THE TREE QUESTION

The word Prairie is French, and means literally meadow. The cosmical analogies of our North American plains are the [Page 866] Steppes of Asia, the Pampas and Llanos of South America, and perhaps the Saharas of Africa. Some think the plains have been originally lake-beds; others attribute the absence of forests to the fires that almost annually sweep over them – (the cause, in vulgar estimation, of Indian summer.) The tree question will soon become a grave one. Although the Atlantic slope, the Rocky mountain region, and the southern portion of the Mississippi valley, are well wooded, there are here stretches of hundreds and thousands of miles where either not a tree grows, or often useless destruction has prevail'd; and the matter of the cultivation and spread of forests may well be press'd upon thinkers who look to the coming generations of the prairie States.



CUBA

CUBA

## “Specimen Days”

### EARTH’S MOST IMPORTANT STREAM

The valley of the Mississippi river and its tributaries, (this stream and its adjuncts involve a big part of the question,) comprehends more than twelve hundred thousand square miles, the greater part prairies. It is by far the most important stream on the globe, and would seem to have been marked out by design, slow-flowing from north to south, through a dozen climates, all fitted for man’s healthy occupancy, its outlet unfrozen all the year, and its line forming a safe, cheap continental avenue for commerce and passage from the north temperate to the torrid zone. Not even the mighty Amazon (though larger in volume) on its line of east and west – not the Nile in Africa, nor the Danube in Europe, nor the three great rivers of [China](#), compare with it. Only the Mediterranean sea has play’d some such part in history, and all through the past, as the Mississippi is destined to play in the future. By its demesnes, water’d and welded by its branches, the Missouri, the Ohio, the Arkansas, the Red, the Yazoo, the St. Francis and others, it already compacts twenty-five millions of people, not merely the most peaceful and money-making, but the most restless and warlike on earth. Its valley, or reach, is rapidly concentrating the political power of the American Union. One almost thinks it **is** the Union – or soon will be. Take it out, with its radiations, and what would be left? From the car windows through Indiana, [Illinois](#), Missouri, or stopping some days along the Topeka and Santa Fe road, in southern Kansas, and indeed wherever I went, hundreds and thousands of miles through this region, my eyes feasted on primitive and rich meadows, some of them partially inhabited, but far, immensely far more untouch’d, unbroken – and much of it more lovely and fertile in its unplough’d innocence than the fair and valuable fields of New York’s, Pennsylvania’s, Maryland’s or Virginia’s richest farms.



CUBA

CUBA

## “Specimen Days”

### MISSISSIPPI VALLEY LITERATURE

Lying by one rainy day in Missouri to rest after quite a long exploration – first trying a big volume I found there of “Milton, Young, Gray, Beattie and Collins,” but giving it up for a bad job – enjoying however for awhile, as often before, the reading of Walter Scott’s poems, “Lay of the Last Minstrel,” “Marmion,” and so on – I stopp’d and laid down the book, and ponder’d the thought of a poetry that should in due time express and supply the teeming region I was in the midst of, and have briefly touch’d upon. One’s mind needs but a moment’s deliberation anywhere in the United States to see clearly enough that all the prevalent book and library poets, either as imported from Great Britain, or follow’d and *doppel-gang’d* here, are foreign to our States, copiously as they are read by us all. But to fully understand not only how absolutely in opposition to our times and lands, and how little and cramp’d, and what anachronisms and absurdities many of their pages are, for American purposes, one must dwell or travel awhile in Missouri, Kansas and Colorado, and get rapport with their people and country.

Will the day ever come – no matter how long deferr’d – when those models and lay-figures from the British islands – and even the precious traditions of the classics – will be reminiscences, studies only? The pure breath, primitiveness, boundless prodigality and amplitude, strange mixture of delicacy [Page 867] and power, of continence, of real and ideal, and of all original and first-class elements, of these prairies, the Rocky mountains, and of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers – will they ever appear in, and in some sort form a standard for our poetry and art? (I sometimes think that even the ambition of my friend Joaquin Miller to put them in, and illustrate them, places him ahead of the whole crowd.)

Not long ago I was down New York bay, on a steamer, watching the sunset over the dark green heights of Navesink, and viewing all that inimitable spread of shore, shipping and sea, around Sandy hook. But an intervening week or two, and my eyes catch the shadowy outlines of the Spanish peaks. In the more than two thousand miles between, though of infinite and paradoxical variety, a curious and absolute fusion is doubtless steadily annealing, compacting, identifying all. But subtler and wider and more solid, (to produce such compaction,) than the laws of the States, or the common ground of Congress or the Supreme Court, or the grim welding of our national wars, or the steel ties of railroads, or all the kneading and fusing processes of our material and business history, past or present, would in my opinion be a great throbbing, vital, imaginative work, or series of works, or literature, in constructing which the Plains, the Prairies, and the Mississippi river, with the demesnes of its varied and ample valley, should be the concrete background, and America’s humanity, passions, struggles, hopes, there and now – an *eclaircissement* as it is and is to be, on the stage of the New World, of all Time’s hitherto drama of war, romance and evolution – should furnish the lambent fire, the ideal.

CUBA

CUBA

December 14, Sunday: In Haiti, the Dominican generals Quintín Díaz and Antonio Pérez made an attempt upon the life of [Antonio Maceo](#). Supporters warned Maceo and this assassination failed (later it would become apparent that the attempt had been planned and paid for by [Cuba's](#) Captain General, Ramón Blanco).



[José Martí](#) was again exiled. He would travel from Madrid to Paris, to the US, and then to Venezuela.





CUBA

CUBA

1880

January 3, Saturday: [José Martí](#) arrived in [New-York](#).

January 7, Wednesday: With his brother Marcos Maceo, [Antonio Maceo](#) left Haiti on the French steamer *Deserade* heading for St. Thomas in the Danish Virgin Islands.



January 23, Friday: [Thomas Mayo Brewer](#) had completed the final revision of the manuscript of his share of the remaining portion of the work A HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICAN BIRDS, on the water birds (this would see publication in 1884). After a brief illness he died at his residence in [Boston](#) at the age of 66. In his will he left his large collection of eggs to the Museum of Comparative Zoology in Cambridge.

[José Martí](#) made his initial public speech in the United States, at [New-York](#)'s "Steck Hall." He denied the accusation that black [slaves](#) were using the insurrection to wreak vengeance on whites, an accusation which he attributed to Spanish propaganda. "The sins of the slave," he says, "fall wholly and exclusively on the master."



In an article that would appear in *PATRIA* (Fatherland), "My Race," [José Martí](#) would assert that "Cuban means more than white, mulatto or black men. The souls of white men and Negroes have arisen together from the battlefields where they fought and died for Cuba. Alongside every white man there was a Negro, equal in loyalty and brotherhood for the daily tasks of war. Merit, the tangible culmination of cultural progress, and the inexorable play of economic forces will ultimately unite all men. There is much greatness in [Cuba](#), in both Negroes and whites."

February 21, Saturday: [José Martí](#) published an article about art, in English in [The Hour](#), a weekly magazine in [New-York](#).

May 13, Thursday: [José Martí](#) authored "Proclamation of [New York](#) Revolutionary Committee" in connection with the arrival in [Cuba](#) of [General Calixto García Iñiguez](#) to assume leadership of the "Little War."



June 1, Tuesday: The first pay telephone went into service in New Haven, Connecticut. Located at Connecticut [Telephone](#) Company offices in the Yale Bank Building, the telephone might be used after paying an attendant.

Through the offices of France and Great Britain, General José Maceo, Brigadier Rafael Maceo, Guillermo Moncada, and other rebel leaders surrendered to the Spanish in return for safe passage from the island. The surrender was arranged by the consuls of France and England in Guantánamo, [Cuba](#) on condition that the rebels receive safe passage from the island (once at sea, Spanish gunboats would arrest them and transport them to prisons in Africa).

[Professor Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the “Swiss [Thoreau](#),” wrote in his *JOURNAL INTIME*: “Stendhal’s “La Chartreuse de Parme.” A remarkable book. It is even typical, the first of a class. Stendhal opens the series of naturalist novels, which suppress the intervention of the moral sense, and scoff at the claim of free-will. Individuals are irresponsible; they are governed by their passions, and the play of human passions is the observer’s joy, the artist’s material. Stendhal is a novelist after Taine’s heart, a faithful painter who is neither touched nor angry, and whom everything amuses — the knave and the adventuress as well as honest men and women, but who has neither faith, nor preference, nor ideal. In him literature is subordinated to natural history, to science. It no longer forms part of the humanities, it no longer gives man the honor of a separate rank. It classes him with the ant, the beaver, and the monkey. And this moral indifference to morality leads direct to immorality.

The vice of the whole school is cynicism, contempt for man, whom they degrade to the level of the brute; it is the worship of strength, disregard of the soul, a want of generosity, of reverence, of nobility, which shows itself in spite of all protestations to the contrary; in a word, it is inhumanity. No man can be a naturalist with impunity: he will be coarse even with the most refined culture. A free mind is a great thing no doubt, but loftiness of heart, belief in goodness, capacity for enthusiasm and devotion, the thirst after perfection and holiness, are greater things still.”

June 28, Monday: [Antonio Maceo](#) left Santo Domingo with 34 companions and a cargo of weaponry, heading for [New York](#).



July 6, Tuesday: The 3d attempt on [Antonio Maceo](#)’s life.



August 3, Tuesday: [General Calixto García Iníiguez](#) was obliged to surrender, and would be sent from [Cuba](#) to prison in Spain.



## CUBA

## CUBA

August 24, Tuesday: Juan Bellido de Luna, director of the Cuban revolutionary paper in [New-York](#) *La Independencia*, wrote to [Antonio Maceo](#), urging him not to invade [Cuba](#): “I fear that you may sacrifice yourself for a sterile



cause. What has happened to Calixto is proof of the general demoralization of the Cuban people.”

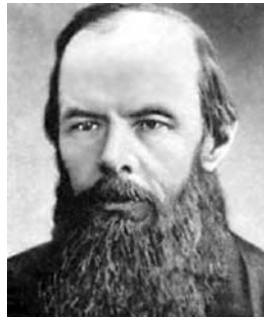
The US government was preparing for overseas expansion, by wiping out native American resistance in the West and through the construction of an offensive Navy. Investment by the US in [Cuba](#) would increase rapidly. Of Cuban exports, 83% would be flowing to the US, and but 6% to Spain.

October: [Alfred Russel Wallace](#)'s ISLAND LIFE.



[Robert Louis Stevenson](#) was urged by Dr. George Balfour and Sir Andrew Clark to winter in [Davos, Switzerland](#) for his health.

Continuation of serial publication of [Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevski](#)'s THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV in [The Russian Herald](#): Book XII, 6-14 (Dmitry gets convicted.)



[Richard Wagner](#) read [Arthur de Gobineau](#)'s [AN ESSAY ON THE INEQUALITY OF THE HUMAN RACES](#) (during the following year this racist author would have an extended stay in the Wagner household).

[Cuba](#)'s "Little War" ended, and [José Martí](#) began to write for the [New-York Sun](#).





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1881

March 21, Monday: [José Martí](#) was appointed professor in Caracas.

July 1, Thursday: The initial issue of *Revista Venezolana*, edited by [José Martí](#) (a dispute with dictator Guzman Blanco would force [Martí](#) to leave Venezuela).

July 28, Thursday: [José Martí](#) departed from Venezuela for [New-York](#) (where he would reside until 1895).



A report from Walt Whitman on a steamer to Long Branch:

### “Specimen Days”

8 1/2 A.M., on the steamer “Plymouth Rock,” foot of 23d street, New York, for Long Branch. Another fine day, fine sights, the shores, the shipping and bay – everything comforting to the body and spirit of me. (I find the human and objective atmosphere of New York city and Brooklyn more affiliative to me than any other.)

An hour later – Still on the steamer, now sniffing the salt very plainly – the long pulsating *swash* as our boat steams seaward – the hills of Navesink and many passing vessels – the [Page 907] air the best part of all. At Long Branch the bulk of the day, stopt at a good hotel, took all very leisurely, had an excellent dinner, and then drove for over two hours about the place, especially Ocean avenue, the finest drive one can imagine, seven or eight miles right along the beach. In all directions costly villas, palaces, millionaires – (but few among them I opine like my friend George W. Childs, whose personal integrity, generosity, unaffected simplicity, go beyond all worldly wealth.)

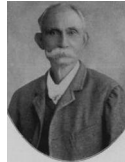
August 20, Saturday: From [New-York](#), [José Martí](#) began to send articles to the newspaper *La Opinión Nacional* of Caracas.

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December 1, Thursday: United States Secretary of State James G. Blaine declared that “that rich island, the key to the Gulf of Mexico, and the field for our most extended trade in the Western Hemisphere, is, though in the hands of Spain, a part of the American commercial system.” He thought then to add that, of course, “If ever ceasing to be Spanish, [Cuba](#) must necessarily become American and not fall under any other European domination.”

December 10, Saturday: En route to Honduras, Máximo Gómez stopped in Kingston, where [Cuban](#) physician Eusebio Hernández arranged a discussion group with [Antonio Maceo](#), Carlos Roloff, and José María Aguirre de Valdéz. Maceo insisted that when the time came General Gómez would be the very best unifying person, behind whom Cubans would unite.





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1882

April: As [Robert Louis Stevenson](#) was leaving [Davos, Switzerland](#), “Talk and Talkers” was appearing in [Cornhill Magazine](#).

*ISMAELILLO*, a book of poems by [José Martí](#) about his son, was published. He also wrote most of *VERSOS LIBRES* (which would remain unpublished).



May 31, Wednesday: [Antonio Macco](#) found work in Honduras as a deputy judge.



A report from Walt Whitman:

## “Specimen Days”

### BY EMERSON’S GRAVE

We stand by Emerson’s new-made grave without sadness – indeed a solemn joy and faith, almost hauteur – our soul-benison no mere [Page 922]

“Warrior, rest, thy task is done,”

for one beyond the warriors of the world lies surely symbol’d here. A just man, poised on himself, all-loving, all-inclosing, and sane and clear as the sun. Nor does it seem so much Emerson himself we are here to honor – it is conscience, simplicity, culture, humanity’s attributes at their best, yet applicable if need be to average affairs, and eligible to all. So used are we to suppose a heroic death can only come from out of battle or storm, or mighty personal contest, or amid dramatic incidents or danger, (have we not been taught so for ages by all the plays and poems?) that few even of those who most sympathizingly mourn Emerson’s late departure will fully appreciate the ripen’d grandeur of that event, with its play of calm and fitness, like evening light on the sea.

How I shall henceforth dwell on the blessed hours when, not long since, I saw that benignant face, the clear eyes, the silently smiling mouth, the form yet upright in its great age – to the very last, with so much spring and cheeriness, and such an absence of decrepitude, that even the term **venerable** hardly seem’d fitting.

Perhaps the life now rounded and completed in its mortal development, and which nothing can change or harm more, has its most illustrious halo, not in its splendid intellectual or esthetic products, but as forming in its entirety one of the few, (alas! how few!) perfect and flawless excuses for being, of the entire literary class.

We can say, as Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, It is not we who come to consecrate the dead – we reverently come to receive, if so it may be, some consecration to ourselves and daily work from him.



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## “Specimen Days”

### FINAL CONFESSIONS — LITERARY TESTS

So draw near their end these garrulous notes. There have doubtless occur'd some repetitions, technical errors in the consecutiveness of dates, in the minutiae of botanical, astronomical, &c., exactness, and perhaps elsewhere; — for in gathering up, writing, peremptorily dispatching copy, this hot weather, (last of July and through August, '82,) and delaying not the printers, I have had to hurry along, no time to spare. But in the deepest veracity of all — in reflections of objects, scenes, Nature's outpourings, to my senses and receptivity, as they seem'd to me — in the work of giving those who care for it, some authentic glints, specimen-days of my life — and in the *bona fide* spirit and relations, from author to reader, on all the subjects design'd, and as far as they go, I feel to make unmitigated claims.

The synopsis of my early life, Long Island, New York city, and so forth, and the diary-jottings in the Secession war, tell their own story. My plan in starting what constitutes most of the middle of the book, was originally for hints and data of a Nature-poem that should carry one's experiences a few hours, commencing at noon-flush, and so through the after-part of the day — I suppose led to such idea by my own life-afternoon now arrived. But I soon found I could move at more ease, by giving the narrative at first hand. (Then there is a humiliating lesson one learns, in serene hours, of a fine day or night. Nature seems to look on all fixed-up poetry and art as something almost impertinent.) [Page 925]

Thus I went on, years following, various seasons and areas, spinning forth my thought beneath the night and stars, (or as I was confined to my room by half-sickness,) or at midday looking out upon the sea, or far north steaming over the Saguenay's black breast, jotting all down in the loosest sort of chronological order, and here printing from my impromptu notes, hardly even the seasons group'd together, or anything corrected — so afraid of dropping what smack of outdoors or sun or starlight might cling to the lines, I dared not try to meddle with or smooth them. Every now and then, (not often, but for a foil,) I carried a book in my pocket — or perhaps tore out from some broken or cheap edition a bunch of loose leaves; most always had something of the sort ready, but only took it out when the mood demanded. In that way, utterly out of reach of literary conventions, I re-read many authors.

I cannot divest my appetite of literature, yet I find myself eventually trying it all by Nature — **first premises** many call it, but really the crowning results of all, laws, tallies and proofs. (Has it never occur'd to any one how the last deciding tests applicable to a book are entirely outside of technical and grammatical ones, and that any truly first-class production has little or nothing to do with the rules and calibres of ordinary critics? or the bloodless chalk of Allibone's Dictionary? I have fancied the ocean and the daylight, the mountain and the forest, putting their spirit in a judgment on our books. I have fancied some disembodied human soul giving its verdict.)

“Specimen Days”

**NATURE AND DEMOCRACY — MORALITY**

Democracy most of all affiliates with the open air, is sunny and hardy and sane only with Nature – just as much as Art is. Something is required to temper both – to check them, restrain them from excess, morbidity. I have wanted, before departure, to bear special testimony to a very old lesson and requisite. American Democracy, in its myriad personalities, in factories, work-shops, stores, offices – through the dense streets and houses of cities, and all their manifold sophisticated life – must either be fibred, vitalized, by regular contact with outdoor light and air and growths, farm-scenes, animals, [Page 926] fields, trees, birds, sun-warmth and free skies, or it will certainly dwindle and pale. We cannot have grand races of mechanics, work people, and commonalty, (the only specific purpose of America,) on any less terms. I conceive of no flourishing and heroic elements of Democracy in the United States, or of Democracy maintaining itself at all, without the Nature-element forming a main part – to be its health-element and beauty-element – to really underlie the whole politics, sanity, religion and art of the New World.

Finally, the morality: “Virtue,” said Marcus Aurelius, “what is it, only a living and enthusiastic sympathy with Nature?” Perhaps indeed the efforts of the true poets, founders, religions, literatures, all ages, have been, and ever will be, our time and times to come, essentially the same – to bring people back from their persistent strayings and sickly abstractions, to the costless average, divine, original concrete. [Page 926]

July 31, Monday: [Antonio Maceo](#) found new work (still in Honduras) as commander of the ports of Puerto Cortés and Omoa.



September 13, Wednesday: British forces were victorious at Tel-el-Kebir and would proceed to occupy [Egypt](#) and the Sudan, setting up a protectorate despite the fact that this was all nominally still Ottoman territory.

An article by [José Martí](#) appeared in *La Nación* of Buenos Aires.



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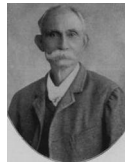
November: [Robert Louis Stevenson](#)'s "A Gossip on Romance" appeared in Longman's Magazine.

[Antonio Maceo](#) received an introductory letter from [José Martí](#) (the letter was dated July 20th).



1883

January: [Antonio Maceo](#)'s wife María Cabrales Maceo arrived in Puerto Cortés. Later in this month General Máximo Gómez called on Maceo with a business proposition — establishment of an agricultural colony of [Cuban](#) emigrants.



May: Honduran President Marco Aurelio Soto (who had been actively supported by [Antonio Maceo](#)) fled the country.

June 13, Wednesday: [Antonio Maceo](#) wrote to the editor of *El Yara*:



[Cuba](#) will be free when the redeeming sword flings her antagonists into the sea. The Spanish domination was a shame and affront to the world that suffered it. But for is it is a shame which dishonors us. Whoever tries to take power over [Cuba](#) will only get the dust of its soil drenched in blood, if he does not perish in the struggle.

July: [Antonio Maceo](#) resigned his posts in Honduras and declared,



Our enslaved [Cuba](#) demands that its sons fight for its freedom.



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[Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#)'s "Comment by a radical Abolitionist" appeared in the [Century Magazine](#), commenting upon the article immediately preceding it, by Alexander R. Boteler, entitled "Recollections of the John Brown Raid by a Virginian Who Witnessed the Fight" (Volume 26, pages 411-15, 399-411):

It is hard -nay, impossible- to carry the reader of these pages in 1883 back in memory to that period of our country's history when John Brown captured the town and arsenal at Harpers Ferry, or make real to ourselves the despotism which a few slaveholders then exercised over the rest of mankind in this country. Though a meager minority in their own South, they absolutely controlled there not only four millions of slaves, but six millions of white people, nominally free, while they directed the policy and the opinions of more than half the free people of the non-slaveholding States. They had dictated the nomination and secured the election of James Buchanan as President, - the most complete servant of the slave power who ever held that office; they had not only refused to terminate the slave-trade (as by treaty we were bound to assist in doing), but they had induced the importation of a few cargoes of slaves into Carolina and Georgia; they had broken down the Missouri compromise of 1820 (imposed by themselves on the unwilling North), and had done their best to extend slavery over the new territories of the nation, and to legalize its existence in all the Free States. Through the mouth of Chief-Justice Roger Brooke Taney, who simply uttered the decrees of the slave-holding oligarchy, they had made the Supreme Court declare that four million Americans, of African descent, had practically "no rights which a white man was bound to respect"; and they exerted themselves in every way to give due effect to that dictum. The Dred Scott decision was given by Taney in 1857, and it led at once to the execution of John Brown's long-cherished purpose of striking a blow at slavery in its own Virginian stronghold. That decision flashed into the minds of Northern men the conviction which John Quincy Adams had long before formulated and expressed - that "the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of slavery was the vital and animating spirit of the national Government." It was this conviction that led to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, as it had led John Brown and his small band of followers to form their conspiracy and begin their campaign in 1858-'59. While the unpaid labor of the slaves was believed by the slaveholders to be the real source of our national prosperity, it was the merit and the fate of John Brown first to see and act upon the sad knowledge that slavery and our national existence were incompatible. Thirty years before he died for the blacks in Virginia, he chose the side of the nation against slavery; and in less than ten years after his death the whole people followed in the path he had marked out - the straight and thorny road of emancipation by force.

It is in this broad way that the Harpers Ferry raid must be looked at, - not as a midnight foray of robbers and murderers. It was an act of war, and was accepted by the South as a sure omen that war was at hand. Brown told the slave-holders this in his famous conversation with James Mason of Virginia and Vallandigham of Ohio. "I claim to be here," he said, "carrying out a measure I believe to be perfectly justifiable, and not to be acting the part of an incendiary or ruffian; on the contrary, I am here to aid those suffering under a great wrong. I wish to say, furthermore, that you had better -all you people of the





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South— prepare yourselves for a settlement of this question. It must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it, and the sooner you commence that preparation the better for you. You may dispose of me very easily. I am nearly disposed of now. But this question is still to be settled; this negro question, I mean. The end of that is not yet." This was a veritable "Thus saith the Lord" — as his hearers and the whole world soon found out. But to such as then doubted the message of the prophet Brown condescended to verify his credentials in that wonderfully eloquent speech to the court that sentenced him to the gallows:

This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the Law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the **BIBLE** or, at least, the New Testament. That teaches me, "that all things whatsoever I would that men should do unto me, I should do even so to them." It teaches me further, to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done —as I have always freely admitted I have done— in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong but right.

There was John Brown's authority for the capture of Harpers Ferry, — the same which Ethan Allen alleged, with less reason, a Ticonderoga, where he commanded surrender "in the name of the great Jehovah." Brown "had gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord" long before his death, and the song of the people marching to avenge that death were but the public proclamation of his commission from above. Since the details of that strange conversation with Mason of Virginia have faded from the popular memory, let me quote another passage in which Brown pursues the same line of reasoning he afterward held in court.

SENATOR MASON: How do you justify your acts?

CAPTAIN BROWN: I think, my friend, you are guilty of a great wrong against God and humanity —I say it without wishing to be offensive,— and it would be perfectly right for any one to interfere with you so far as to free those you willfully and wickedly hold in bondage. I do not say this insultingly.

SENATOR MASON: I understand that.

CAPTAIN BROWN: I think I did right, and that others will do right who interfere with you, at any time, and all times. I hold that the golden rule, "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you," applies to all who would help others to gain their liberty.

LIEUTENANT STUART: But you don't believe in the **BIBLE**?

CAPTAIN BROWN: Certainly I do.

\* \* \*

I want you to understand, gentlemen, that I respect the rights of the poorest and weakest of the colored people, oppressed by the slave system, just as much as I do those of the most wealthy and powerful. That is the idea that has moved me, and that alone. We expected no reward except the satisfaction of endeavoring to do for those



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in distress -the greatly oppressed- as we would be done by. The cry of distress of the oppressed is my reason, and the only thing that prompted me to come here.

Brown's plan of action in Virginia was wholly his own, as he more than once declared; and it was not until he had long formed and matured it that he made it known (so far as an attack on slavery in Virginia was concerned) to the few friends who shared his confidence in that matter. I cannot say how numerous these were; but beyond his own family and the armed followers who accompanied him, I have never supposed that his Virginia plan was known to fifty persons. Even to those few it was not fully communicated, though they knew that he meant to fortify himself somewhere in the mountains of Virginia or Tennessee, and from that fastness, with his band of soldiers, sally out and liberate slaves by force. His plan to this extent was known, early in 1858, by Frederick Douglass, Gerrit Smith (at whose house and in whose presence I first heard Brown declare it), [Theodore Parker](#), [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#), George Luther Stearns, [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#), and myself, and we all raised money to aid Brown in carrying this plan forward.

I know this, because some of the money and nearly all the correspondence relating to the contributions passed through my hands in 1858-9. I talked more than once in those years with all the persons above named, concerning Brown's Virginia plans and had letters from all except Douglass in regard to it. Brown's general purpose of attacking slavery by force, in Missouri or elsewhere, was known in 1857-8-9 to [Waldo Emerson](#), A. Bronson Alcott, [Henry Thoreau](#), Wendell Phillips, Thomas Russell, John Albion Andrew, and others of the anti-slavery men of Massachusetts, none of whom discountenanced it, while most of them, in my hearing, distinctly approved it, generally, however, as a last resort or a measure of retaliation for the outrages of the slave-holders and their allies. Had these gentlemen known of the Virginia plan, most of them would have strongly disapproved it as premature or impracticable. Such, also, it seemed at first, and generally afterward, to those of us who contributed money to aid Brown in it. I speak particularly of Gerrit Smith, Theodore Parker, George L. Stearns, Dr. Howe, Col. Higginson, and myself. But we all felt, as Governor Andrew afterward said, that whatever the old worthy might plan or do, "John Brown himself was right," and upon that feeling we acted, in spite of doubts and many misgivings. The end has justified our instinctive sentiment; and it has more than justified, it has glorified Brown. I do not wonder that Virginians cannot all see this yet; but the world sees it, and Brown has become, to the world in general, one of the immortal champions of liberty -historical or mythical- among whom we reckon Leonidas, Maccabeus, Tell, Winkelried, Wallace, Hofer, and Marco Bozzaris. I knew John Brown well. He was often a my house and at the houses of my friends and I traveled with him for days. He was what all his speeches, letters, and actions avouch him - a simple, brave, heroic person incapable of anything selfish or base. The higher elements of his character are well seen in the portrait which accompanies these pages There were darker and sterner traits which fitted him for the grim work he had to do and which are better shown in his bearded portraits, and in some which I possess, taken in the year 1857. But the face that here looks out upon us bespeaks that warm love for God's despised poor which



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was his deepest trait, and that noble disregard of everything but justice which distinguished his every action. But above and beyond these personal qualities he was what we may best term a historic character; that is, he had, like Cromwell and [Spartacus](#), a certain predestined relation to the political crisis of his time, for which his character fitted him and which, had he striven against it, he could not avoid. Like Cromwell and all the great Calvinists, he was an unquestioning believer in God's fore-ordination and the divine guidance of human affairs; but he was free from the taint of guile that disfigured Cromwell's greatness. Of course, he could not rank with Cromwell or with many inferior men in leadership; but in this God-appointed, inflexible devotion to his object in life he was inferior to no man, and he rose in fame far above more gifted persons because of this very fixedness and simplicity of character. His renown is secure, and the artless (I must think prejudiced) narrative of Mr. Boteler does but increase it for those who read understandingly. As Tennyson said of the great Duke, we may say of Brown:

Whatever record leap to light,  
He never shall be shamed.

Young men never knew, perhaps, and some old men have forgotten, that we once had statesmen (so called) who loudly declared that negro slavery was the basis not only of our national greatness, but of the white man's freedom. This groveling doctrine found favor in Virginia in John Brown's time, and it was his work, as much as any man's, to overthrow it. A hundred years ago one of the great Virginians, a statesman indeed by nature and by training, said:

With what execration should that statesman be loaded who, permitting one-half the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies? Can the liberties of a nation be deemed secure when we have removed their only firm basis — a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God, that they are not to be violated without his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country (Virginia) when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a contest.

This was the language of Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia," written in 1783, and it was in the county of Jefferson that Brown made his foray in 1859. He harbored in the county of Washington, in [Maryland](#), for three months. He descended upon Jefferson County in Virginia at the end of that time; and when the astonished successors of Washington and Jefferson saw him first, he held in his hand Washington's sword, and was enacting Jefferson's [Declaration of Independence](#) in favor of the slaves of Colonel Washington, — that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. And they were fulfilled to the utmost in the years of war and ruin that followed.

At the critical period of that Civil War when its issue was still undecided save in the councils of heaven, — at the close of the



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year 1862 Abraham Lincoln put forth his first edict of emancipation, and followed it up, January 1, 1863, with the final proclamation that the slaves in the rebellious States were from that day free. John Brown had been in his woodland grave among the Adirondack Mountains but little more than three years when we saw this triumph of his hopes, this crown of his toil and martyrdom. His friends gathered to celebrate so happy an event at the house of one of the most faithful and active of his supporters in the Virginia campaign, George Stearns, of Medford, in Massachusetts. It was one of the last of those meetings in which the old anti-slavery men and women came together with hearts united, and rejoiced together face to face. Garrison and Phillips were there, [Waldo Emerson](#) and Bronson Alcott ([Thoreau](#) had died eight months before), [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#) and his poetic wife, Mrs. Child, Moncure Conway, Martin Conway of Kansas, and many others now dead or widely sundered. The host and his wife, Mrs. Mary Stearns, who also had been an enthusiastic friend of John Brown, could give their guests not only the graceful hospitalities of a house always open to the friends of freedom, but what was then a new sight, Brackett's marble bust of Brown, standing crowned with flowers in the wide hall. This is the only bust of Brown for which the sculptor studied the hero's own features, and it was made after a visit by Brackett to Brown in prison at Charlestown. Though not, in all respects, a portrait, it has the air of Brown, with a majesty that made Charles Sumner exclaim, when he first saw it: "This is like the Moses of Michael Angelo." And when a sibylline negress, a fugitive from [Maryland](#), saw it in my house, she went into an ecstasy of grief and adoration, declaring that Brown was not a mere man, but the Messiah of her people.

"In a great age," says Cousin, speaking of Pascal, "everything is great." John Brown came to prominence in an age by no means grand or noble; but such was his own heroic character that he conferred importance on events in themselves trivial. His petty conflicts in Kansas and the details of his two days' campaign in Virginia will be remembered when a hundred battles of our Civil War are forgotten. He was one of ten thousand, and, as Thoreau said, could not be tried by a jury of his peers, because his peers did not exist; yet so much was he in accord with what is best in the American character that he will stand in history for one type of our people, as Franklin and Lincoln do, but with a difference. He embodied the distinctive qualities of the Puritan, but with a strong tincture of the more humane sentiments of later times. No man could be more sincere in his faith toward God, more earnest in love for man; his belief in fore-ordination was absolute, his courage not less so. The emotion of fear seemed to be quite unknown to him, except in the form of diffidence, — if that were not rather a sort of pride. He was diffident of his power in speech or writing, yet who, of all his countrymen, has uttered more effective or immortal words?

Part of the service he rendered to his country was by this heroic impersonation of traits that all mankind recognize as noble. The cause of the poor slave had need of all the charm that romantic courage could give it; his defenders were treated with the contempt which attached to himself. They were looked upon with aversion by patriots; they were odious to trade, distasteful to fashion and learning, impious in the sight of the Church. At the

single stroke of Brown, all this was changed; the cause that had been despised suddenly became hated, feared, and respected; and out of this new fear and hatred our national safety was born. Ten years more of disgraceful security, and the nation might have been lost; but the rash and frantic efforts of the South to defend its barbarous system brought on the revolution that has regenerated us politically. No doubt the affair at Harpers Ferry hastened our political crisis by at least ten years, – and what fatal years they might have been but for John Brown! One evening in January, 1860, as I sat in Emerson's study at Concord, talking of this old friend of ours, for whose widow and orphans we were then raising a fund, I spoke to Emerson about a



speech of his at Salem, a few weeks earlier, in which the poet-philosopher had renewed his homage to the memory of Brown. He went to one of the cabinets in which his manuscripts were kept, took out the half-dozen pages on which his remarks had been written down, and gave them to me for publication. I have ever since cherished the manuscript, in which, with bold strokes of his quill, Emerson had written these words at the close:

It would be nearer the truth to say that all people, in proportion to their sensibility and self-respect, sympathize with John Brown. For it is impossible to see courage and disinterestedness and the love that casts out fear, without sympathy. All gentlemen, of course are on his side. I do not mean by "gentlemen" people of scented hair and perfumed handkerchiefs, but men of gentle blood and generosity, "fulfilled with all nobleness"; who, like the Cid, give the outcast leper a share of their bed – like the dying Sidney, pass the cup of cold water to the wounded soldier who needs it more. For what is the oath of gentle blood and knighthood? What but to protect the weak and lowly against the strong oppressor?

\* \* \*

Who makes the abolitionist? The slave-holder. The sentiment of mercy is the natural recoil which the laws of the universe provide to protect mankind from destruction by savage passions. The arch-abolitionist, older than Brown, and older than the Shenandoah Mountains, is Love, whose other name is Justice, – which was before Alfred, before Lycurgus, before Slavery and will be after it.

The generous, immortal traits which these words portray in Brown and bespeak in Emerson, are those which the artist has caught in the remarkable engraving of my old friend in this number of THE CENTURY.

F.B. Sanborn

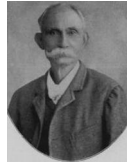
1884

January: The project for a [St. Helena](#) Whaling Company collapsed because it had attracted merely 3 subscribers.

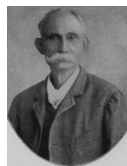
[Robert Louis Stevenson](#)'s SILVERADO SQUATTERS. Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge University [Sidney Colvin](#) was at this point still paying Stevenson back a portion of the £400 he had needed to borrow in 1878 on account of those 114 old master engravings the hansom cab driver had driven away with, while the precious objects had been in his safekeeping.

[José Martí](#) was appointed as the [New-York](#) correspondent of *La Sociedad Amigos del Saber* of Caracas.

August 2, Saturday: [Antonio Maceo](#) and Máximo Gómez set sail with their families for the US to join the new [Cuban](#) independence movement.



October 1, Wednesday: In [New-York](#), [Antonio Maceo](#) and Máximo Gómez began to hold conferences at the small hotel of Madame Griffon, on 9th Avenue.



October 10, Friday: [José Martí](#) delivered a speech commemorating the *Grito de Yara* of October 10th, 1868.

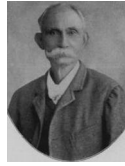




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October 20, Monday: In a letter to Máximo Gómez, [José Martí](#) resigned from the [Cuban](#) revolutionary movement.





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1885

[José Martí](#)'s novel *AMISTAD FUNESTA* appeared under the pseudonym Adelaida Ral in *El Latino-Americano of New York*.

An office building at 26 Broadway, the new home of Standard Oil, was completed.

The Brooklyn Bridge cable railway installed new cable grips based on a design by A.S. Hallidie.

The "Daly Law" prohibited apartment houses of more than 6 stories.

American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) was founded, to tie the Bell companies together. American Bell Telephone Company general manager Theodore N. Vail became the president of this.

A man was killed, when he leaped from the Brooklyn Bridge as a stunt.

Operetta star Lillian Russell returned from London. Her husband Edward Solomon would soon return to England, where he would be arrested for bigamy.

Brooklyn's Empire Stores built a 2d group of buildings on its waterfront property.

In a celebrated divorce case, Flora Payne Whitney, wife of Secretary of the Navy William Collins Whitney, testified on behalf of her friend Mrs. Amos Lawrence Hopkins.

J. Edward Simmons was unanimously reelected president of the New York Stock Exchange.

Edwards & Critten published [NEW YORK](#)'s INDUSTRIES: A COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

October: [Robert Louis Stevenson](#) completed the manuscript of [STRANGE CASE OF DR JEKYLL AND MR HYDE](#), begun at the end of September. The initial draft had required approximately 3 days, and had been written as a case study of Louis Vivet, who suffered from a split-personality disorder. Then Stevenson had begun again, rewriting the material as an allegorical story.

[Antonio Macco](#) traveled to Key West to raise money for the [Cuban](#) independence effort.

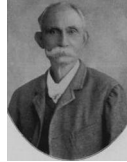




## CUBA

## CUBA

December 23, Wednesday: A letter from Máximo Gómez to [Antonio Maceo](#) caused the 1st serious breach in their long friendship.



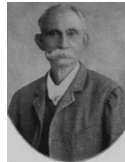
1886

On Manhattan Island, the “El” was extended all the way to the Bronx.

The [Unitarian](#) Reverend [Henry Whitney Bellows](#)’s TWENTY-FOUR SERMONS IN ALL SOULS CHURCH, [NEW YORK](#), 1865-1881, a volume of sermons selected by his son Russell N. Bellows. A bronze memorial tablet in his honor (prepared by Augustus Saint-Gaudens) was dedicated at All Souls church.

[José Martí](#) became a correspondent for *La República*, in Honduras.

January 16, Saturday: [Antonio Maceo](#) sent Máximo Gómez another letter, less severe in tone than his initial response.



July 20, Tuesday: [Major General Flor Crombet](#) arrived in Kingston, aboard the *Morning Star*, with arms and ammunitions for the [Cuban](#) rebels. According to Foner, however, “the ship’s captain, fearful of being arrested with his dangerous cargo, threw the entire shipment into the sea and returned to [New York](#)” (this was the 2d time war materials were lost).

August 17, Tuesday: At a conference of all the military and civil leaders of the [Cuban](#) revolution, in Jamaica, the majority voted (over the objection of [Antonio Maceo](#)) to make another effort to get their insurrection restarted.



According to Philip Foner’s ANTONIO MACEO: “At one point in the conference, the dissension between [Antonio Maceo](#) and [Crombet](#) reached so heated a point that Maceo challenged Crombet to a duel.” (After seconds had been appointed, they decided that the duel should be postponed indefinitely for the good of the [Cuban](#) cause, and were able to persuade the two combatants to accept this decision.)

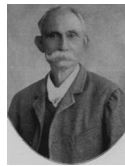


## CUBA

## CUBA

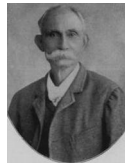
August 31, Tuesday: The 1st measured major earthquake in US history (estimated at 7.5 on the Richter scale) rocked the low country around [Charleston, South Carolina](#), killing up to 110 people and doing some \$6,000,000 in damage.

At a dispute over finances, in which [Antonio Maceo](#) questioned Máximo Gómez's authoritarian style, his integrity, and his fitness to command the [Cuban](#) revolutionary struggle, Gómez broke off their friendship.



October 7, Thursday: [Slavery](#) was abolished in [Cuba](#), since economic conditions had changed in such manner as for it to have become more profitable for the slavemasters to “free” their charges — and then hire them for work by the day, avoiding the expense of year-round sustenance. “Goodbye and good luck, you guys!”

December: Máximo Gómez announced the end of the rebel movement in [Cuba](#).



According to Philip Foner's ANTONIO MACEO:

The failure was (also) due to a serious flaw in the organization of the revolutionary movement. Its total leadership had been in the hands of military officers, with civilians confined to the task of raising funds. The movement itself had started with the military leaders, who had then called in the revolutionary émigrés. This gave it a dictatorial character from the very outset, for the civilians were expected to blindly accept the decrees of the military leaders, especially those of the supreme commander, Máximo Gómez. Inevitably, as was illustrated by Martí's withdrawal, friction would arise not only between the two tendencies in the revolutionary movement, but also among the military leaders themselves, as in the disputes between Gómez and Maceo and Crombet and Maceo. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the entire movement deteriorated. Whatever the cause of the end of the rebel movement, it was a bitter blow to Maceo. His eight-year longing to return to the field of battle for [Cuban](#) freedom had been thwarted and obstructed, and now he had received the major portion of blame for the latest fiasco. Finally, he had lost his great friendship with Gómez, and had made a dangerous enemy of Crombet.



CUBA

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1887

January: In Panama, [Antonio Maceo](#) obtained a concession to build a large number of wooden houses in the community of Bas Obispo (and his financial status improves considerably).



Early April: [Alfred Russel Wallace](#) set out across the North American continent. He would reach [California](#) in late May.

During this month [José Martí](#)'s mother would visit him in [New-York](#).

April 16, Saturday: [José Martí](#) was appointed as Uruguayan Consul.



1888

February: In the course of a surprise birthday Valentine party thrown for Frederick Douglass by the Bethel Literary Society in [Washington DC](#) on occasion of his 71st birthday (since Frederick's mother once called him her "Valentine," he may well have been born during the month of February; this 1888 event may well have been the only real birthday party that our subject ever had), he ventured in a serious note, and dedicated the remainder of life and energies to the struggle for full Negro freedom.



[José Martí](#) translated [Thomas Moore](#)'s *LALLA ROOKH*. He was appointed as a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences and arts of San Salvador.

October 12, Friday: [José Martí](#) became a representative in the USA and Canada of the association La Prensa of Buenos Aires.



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CUBA

1889

March 21, Thursday: The [New-York Evening Post](#) printed a letter from [José Martí](#), “Vindication of [Cuba](#)” (this would later be published as a booklet [CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES](#)). He was invited to become a correspondent for El Partido Liberal de [Mexico](#).

April 18, Thursday: [José Martí](#) dispatched his initial article for *La Opinión Pública* of Uruguay.

July: The family of 9-year-old [Douglas MacArthur](#) relocated to Washington DC.

The initial issue of *La Edad de Oro* (The Golden Age) was published (this would be a monthly publication dedicated to the children of America).

October: In [Havana](#), José Beltrán won a court decision asserting that “it would be an injury to deny a man of color the service he solicited because of his race” (the case had been brought because a café proprietor had refused him service, specifying as the reason the color of his skin).

RACISM

November 2, Saturday: An article by [José Martí](#), in *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, cautioned Latin America that what the “Pan-American Congress” represented was a move by pro-expansionist forces in the USA to dominate Latin America politically and economically.

November 20, Wednesday: [José Martí](#) spoke at a meeting in Hardman Hall, [New-York](#) in honor of the poet José María Heredia.

December 19, Thursday: [José Martí](#) spoke at a meeting of the Spanish-American Literary Society of [New York](#).





CUBA

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1890

US military strategies were influenced by [Alfred Thayer Mahan's THE INFLUENCE OF SEA POWER UPON HISTORY, 1660-1783](#), which advocated the seizure of various Caribbean islands, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Philippines for bases to protect US commerce, the building of a canal across the Central American isthmus to enable fleet movement from ocean to ocean, and the building of the Great White Fleet of fossil-fuel powered, armored metal-hull ships of battle.



A US naval party landed in Buenos Aires, Argentina to protect the United States consulate and legation.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)



CUBA

CUBA

January 22, Wednesday: [Francis Bowen](#) died.

Inauguration of The League, a society to promote education in [New-York](#). [José Martí](#) became a teacher for black workers.

Here are samples from Walt Whitman's common-place book "down at the creek":

## "Specimen Days"

Victor Hugo makes a donkey meditate and apostrophize thus:

My brother, man, if you would know the truth,  
We both are by the same dull walls shut in;  
The gate is massive and the dungeon strong.  
But you look through the key-hole out beyond,  
And call this knowledge; yet have not at hand  
The key wherein to turn the fatal lock.

"William Cullen Bryant surprised me once," relates a writer in a New York paper,  
"by saying that prose was the natural language of composition,  
and he wonder'd how anybody came to write poetry."

Farewell! I did not know thy worth;  
But thou art gone, and now 'tis prized:  
So angels walk'd unknown on earth,  
But when they flew were recognized.  
— Hood.

[John Burroughs](#), writing of [Thoreau](#), says:

"He improves with age — in fact requires age to take off a little of his asperity, and fully ripen him.  
The world likes a good hater and refuser almost as well as it likes a good lover and accepter  
— only it likes him farther off."

Louise Michel at the burial of Blanqui, (1881)

Blanqui drill'd his body to subjection to his grand conscience and his noble passions, and commencing as a young man,  
broke with all that is sybaritish in modern civilization. Without the power to sacrifice self, great ideas will never bear fruit.

Out of the leaping furnace flame  
A mass of molten silver came;  
Then, beaten into pieces three,  
Went forth to meet its destiny.  
The first a crucifix was made,  
Within a soldier's knapsack laid;  
The second was a locket fair,  
Where a mother kept her dead child's hair;  
The third — a bangle, bright and warm,  
Around a faithless woman's arm.  
A mighty pain to love it is,  
And 'tis a pain that pain to miss;  
But of all pain the greatest pain,  
It is to love, but love in vain.  
Maurice F. Egan on De Gurin.  
A pagan heart, a Christian soul had he,  
He follow'd Christ, yet for dead Pan he sigh'd,  
Till earth and heaven met within his breast:  
As if [Theocritus](#) in Sicily  
Had come upon the Figure crucified,  
And lost his gods in deep, Christ-given rest.

## “Specimen Days”

And if I pray, the only prayer  
That moves my lips for me,  
Is, leave the mind that now I bear,  
And give me Liberty. — Emily Brontë.  
I travel on not knowing,  
I would not if I might;  
I would rather walk with God in the dark,  
Than go alone in the light;  
I would rather walk with Him by faith  
Than pick my way by sight.

Prof. Huxley in a late lecture.

I myself agree with the sentiment of Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, that “the scope of all speculation is the performance of some action or thing to be done.” I have not any very great respect for, or interest in, mere “knowing,” as such.

Prince Metternich.

Napoleon was of all men in the world the one who most profoundly despised the race. He had a marvellous insight into the weaker sides of human nature, (and all our passions are either foibles themselves, or the cause of foibles.) He was a very small man of imposing character. He was ignorant, as a sub-lieutenant generally is: a remarkable instinct supplied the lack of knowledge. From his mean opinion of men, he never had any anxiety lest he should go wrong. He ventur'd everything, and gain'd thereby an immense step toward success. Throwing himself upon a prodigious arena, he amaz'd the world, and made himself master of it, while others cannot even get so far as being masters of their own hearth. Then he went on and on, until he broke his neck.

“Mr. Ernest Rhys has just receiv'd an interesting letter from Whitman, dated ‘Camden, January 22, 1890.’ The following is an extract from it:”

## “Memoranda”

*I am still here – no very mark'd or significant change or happening – fairly buoyant spirits, &c. – but surely, slowly ebbing. At this moment sitting here, in my den, Mickle Street, by the oakwood fire, in the same big strong old chair with wolf-skin spread over back – bright sun, cold, dry winter day. America continues – is generally busy enough all over her vast demesnes (intestinal agitation I call it,) talking, plodding, making money, every one trying to get on – perhaps to get towards the top – but no special individual signalism – (just as well, I guess.)*

January 29, Wednesday: The Spanish consul had guaranteed safe passage for 2 merchants in Jamaica, aboard the *Manuelito y Maria* headed for [Cuba](#), so [Antonio Maceo](#) embarked on that vessel in Port-au-Prince (had not realized that he would find himself “deeply troubled” at this “returning to [Cuba](#) by a Spanish conveyance and of entering my country under the guise of peace and concord...”).



February 5, Wednesday: At 11AM the “Manuelito y Maria” reached the port of [Havana](#), where [Antonio Maceo](#) granted an interview to a reporter from the daily newspaper *La Lucha*. He would be at the Hotel Inglaterra, where he would be visited by former rebel leaders as well as others desiring to get to know him. According to Philip Foner’s ANTONIO MACEO, “Even his enemies were not immune to his charm. One of the most capable Spanish officers in the Ten Years’ War told Maceo that he was the worthiest military opponent he had ever faced. According to one account –that of a Spanish officer who was later converted into an ardent revolutionary by Maceo– many Spanish soldiers saluted the caudillo as they would have a general on the streets of [Havana](#).”



June 16, Friday: [José Martí](#) was appointed Argentine Consul in [New-York](#).

The initial Madison Square Garden building opened for business (this building was lit by thousands of patterned lights, and had a searchlight atop its roof).

July 24, Monday: [José Martí](#) was appointed Paraguayan Consul in [New-York](#).

July 29, Saturday: At a banquet, Jose J. Hernandez rose and asked the honoree, [Antonio Maceo](#), about the prospect that their island might become “one more star in the great American constellation.” Maceo retorted: “Young man, I believe, although it seems impossible to me that this can be the only outcome, that in such a case I would be on the side of the Spaniards.”

The British consul in Santiago, A. De Crowe, sent a dispatch to the Earl of Salisbury asserting what he had intuited the spirit behind all the subterfuges, that: “His real aim is a [Cuba](#) for the colored, and he would commence a war of races as soon as he could. White liberals flatter him because they think he can help them, but they also fear him.”



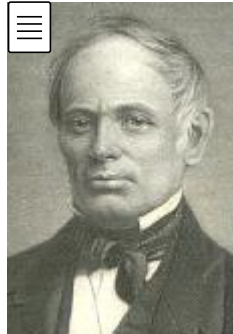




**CUBA**

**CUBA**

August 24, Sunday: The Reverend Carlton Albert Staples delivered an eulogy which would soon be printed as a pamphlet, REV. [ADIN BALLOU](#) / A SERMON GIVEN IN THE UNITARIAN CHURCH AT MENDON, AUG. 24, 1890 / BY / REV. C.A. STAPLES.



## **EULOGY FOR ADIN BALLOU**

Captain General Camilo Polavieja arrived in [Cuba](#). He was a man who knew what was what. Within 48 hours

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he would alert the civil governor of Santiago de Cuba to arrange an immediate departure for [Antonio Maceo](#).



August 29, Friday: A police escort revealed to [Antonio Maceo](#) and his wife at their hotel that the following day they were to be put aboard an American vessel bound for [New York](#).



## CUBA

## CUBA

August 30, Saturday: Civil governor Juan Antonio Vinont personally escorted [Antonio Maceo](#) and his wife to the American vessel bound for [New York](#). While saying farewell he placed 30 ounces of gold in Maceo's hand. Asked as to the source of the bullion, the governor replied that he's been instructed in this by the government (Maceo of course refused).



November: During a speech in Tampa, Florida, [José Martí](#) asserted: "To all [Cubans](#), whether they come from the continent where the sun scorches the skin or from countries where the light is gentler, this will be the revolution in which all Cubans, regardless of color, will participate."



December: [Robert Louis Stevenson](#)'s BALLADS.

[José Martí](#) was appointed chairman of the Spanish-American Literary Society of [New York](#).

December 23, Tuesday: [José Martí](#) was appointed to represent Uruguay at an International Monetary Conference in Washington DC.



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1891

April: [José Martí](#) spoke at a meeting of the Spanish-American Literary Society in honor of [Mexico](#).

May 16, Saturday: At this point [John Banvard](#), the lecturer who had given the immensely popular “Chautauqua” lectures about the adventure of traveling by steamboat on the Mississippi, while having stagehands scroll behind him a huge canvas painting of the banks of the river, as he himself would have declaimed had he been offering a lecture on the subject — arrived at the mouth of his river and emptied himself into his sea.

The widowed Margaret Isabella Balfour Stevenson arrived from New Zealand, also moving into the newly completed [Stevenson](#) main house at Vailima.

Per the Detroit, Michigan [Free Press](#), they were just lying around waiting, wanting us to do it to them: “[Cuba](#) would make one of the finest states in the Union, and if American wealth, enterprise and genius once invaded the superb island, it would become a veritable hive of industry in addition to being one of the most fertile gardens of the world. There is a strong party growing up in the island in favor of reciprocity with and annexation to the United States. We should act at once and make this possible.”

June: [José Martí](#) spoke at a meeting organized by the Spanish-American Literary Society, in honor of the Central American Republics. His *VERSOS SENCILLOS* (SIMPLE VERSES) was published.

Professor of History and Politics of the University of Georgia John Hanson Thomas McPherson’s [HISTORY OF LIBERIA](#).

October 11, Sunday: [José Martí](#) resigned as the consuls to the USA of Argentina and Uruguay.

October 30, Friday: [José Martí](#) resigned his post as chairman of the Spanish-American Literary Society.

November 25, Wednesday: [José Martí](#) visited Tampa, Florida at the invitation of the “Ignacio Agramonte Club.”

November 27, Friday: [José Martí](#) spoke at the [Cuban](#) Convention of Tampa, Florida. He founded the League for Education in Tampa (similar to The League in [New York](#)). He joined the Patriotic Cuban League.

November 28, Saturday: [José Martí](#)’s resolutions, now considered to have been the preamble to the bases of the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party, were approved.

December 25, Friday: At the invitation of a group of [Cuban](#) workers, [José Martí](#) visited Key West, Florida.



CUBA

CUBA

1892

Ellis Island opened as [New-York](#)'s depot for immigrants.

The Edison Company installed [New-York](#)'s initial flashing electric sign, for Paumanok Long Island Railroad (LIRR) president Augustus Corbin, at the corner of 23rd Street, Broadway and Fifth Avenue.

Vogue magazine began publication, in [New-York](#).

Stephen Crane moved into a [New-York](#) studio apartment on 23rd Street.

[Cuban](#) national hero Jose Marti, in exile in [New-York](#), founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party.

The Rhinelander Sugar House at Duane and Rose Streets, used as a British prison during the American Revolution, was demolished (a barred window and small segment of the original jail wall was preserved).

The Century Club moved from 109 East 15th Street to 7 West 43rd Street.

Mother Cabrini opened Columbus Hospital (later the Cabrini Medical Center).

The Soldier's and Sailor's Memorial Arch was erected at Brooklyn's Grand Army Plaza.

January 3, Sunday: J.R.R. Tolkien was born.

[José Martí](#) spoke at a meeting organized by the "San Carlos Club."

January 4, Monday: [José Martí](#) attended a meeting of the club "Patria y Libertad" (Homeland and Freedom).

January 5, Tuesday: After two years of organizing [Cubans](#) both inside and outside the island, [José Martí](#) founded *El Partido Revolucionario Cubano* (Cuban Revolutionary Party) intended to unite many traditionally conflicting interests around a goal of independence. The initial activities of this new organization would be in [New-York](#), Philadelphia, Tampa, and Key West.



January 8, Friday: When [José Martí](#) submitted a program of the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party to the Tampa Patriotic League, this was unanimously acclaimed.

January 21, Thursday: The League of [New York](#) held a meeting to protest a letter in which Collazo and Roa had slandered [José Martí](#).

March 4, Friday: [José Martí](#) launched *PATRIA* (Fatherland) a publication dedicated to independence for [Cuba](#). [Tobacco](#) workers in Florida donated most of the expenses for the initial issue, which was edited by Sotero Figueroa. “In [Cuba](#),” Martí wrote, “there is no fear of a racial war. Men are more than white, more than mulatto, more than black. They died for [Cuba](#) in the fields of battle; the souls of blacks and whites have risen together up to heaven. In daily life, in defense, in loyalty, in brotherhood, in study, at the side of every white there was always a black.”



March 5, Saturday: In [Mexico City](#), the newspaper *El Partido Liberal* published [José Martí](#)'s “Our America.” “In [Cuba](#),” Martí wrote, “there is no fear of a racial war. Men are more than white, more than mulatto, more than black. They died for Cuba in the fields of battle; the souls of blacks and whites have risen together up to heaven. In daily life, in defense, in loyalty, in brotherhood, in study, at the side of every white there was always a black.”

April 18, Monday: [José Martí](#) was elected as a delegate of the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party.

July: William Francis Barry's “[Father Hecker](#), Founder of the [Paulists](#),” [The Dublin Review](#).

[José Martí](#) toured Florida to organize support for the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party.

August 4, Thursday: [José Martí](#) gave instructions to Major Gerardo Castellanos, 1st commissioner of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, who was about to depart for [Cuba](#).

September 4, Sunday: [José Martí](#) departed for Santo Domingo.

September 11, Sunday: [José Martí](#) met with Máximo Gómez Baez at La Reforma, in Santo Domingo, and invited him to participate on the movement for [Cuban](#) independence.

September 24, Saturday: [José Martí](#) visited Haiti and Jamaica (until October 13th).





## CUBA

## CUBA

October 23, Saturday: At a meeting of The League in [New York](#), [José Martí](#) described the tour he had just completed.

November: [José Martí](#) visited Tampa and Key West. In Tampa, a plot to poison him failed.

December: With “Alfred, Lord Tennyson” in the New-York [Cosmopolitan](#), [George Stewart, Jr.](#) continued to offer to the media circus various collections of more or less accurate facts and more or less considered opinions picked up 2d-hand or 3d-hand about matters in regard to which he personally knew nothing at all.

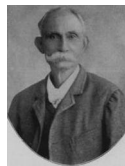
[José Martí](#) spoke at a meeting of the Spanish-American Literary Society of [New York](#), in honor of Venezuela.

1893

Johannes Gundlach published the initial volume of his 2-volume *ORNITOLOGIA CUBANA*, providing the first detailed description of the Ivory-billed Woodpecker [Campephilus principalis](#)'s behavior, appearance, and habitat in [Cuba](#). Meanwhile, in this year, Arthur A. Allen managed a sighting: "I have just enjoyed one of the greatest experiences of my life, for I have found that which they said could not be found – the ivory-billed woodpecker. It is good to know that they are not yet entirely extinct."



January 3, Tuesday: Máximo Gómez Baez was formally appointed military chief of all the men under arms for the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party.



January 31, Tuesday: The [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party, at a meeting in Hardman Hall, [New-York](#), publicly rejected autonomist policy.



## CUBA

## CUBA

February 1, Sunday: The newspapers were announcing that Martin Kellogg, who has been acting as president of the University of California, had just been formally elected by the regents to that position. Regent Bartlett had made the nominating speech and this had been seconded by Regent Martin. Several regents then offered strong and warm speeches in opposition, feeling a need for an infusion of new and young blood so that the university might achieve proper standing. Their last of the votes taken added up to 8 over 5.

[José Martí](#) offered [Antonio Maceo](#) a leading place in the new [Cuban](#) revolutionary movement (Maceo would not immediately respond).



[Henry Smith](#), an American of color, had at some earlier point been arrested for drunkenness in Paris, [Texas](#) ("Pinhook," renamed in honor of then-Governor Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar), and beaten with a nightstick by Henry Vance, a policeman, while in custody. This policeman's 3-year-old daughter Myrtle subsequently disappeared. Although there were no clues, Smith obviously had motivation to seek revenge so the white people of the town naturally had presumed that he probably was responsible, and then when he had learned he was being accused he had fled to near Hope, Arkansas — which more or less confirmed in the minds of the white townspeople that they must indeed have identified the perpetrator. A special [lynching](#) platform was

prepared, decorated as we can see with the word JUSTICE:



The accused was transported to this venue atop a specially prepared carnival float. Naked and tied to a post, he was [tortured](#) with red-hot irons from bottom upward for 50 minutes by the father of the little girl, several uncles, and her 12-year-old brother, with a crowd of good Christians from all surrounding towns, extending 600 yards in every direction, cheering them on. After the irons had finally been shoved into his eyes and down his throat, kerosene was poured on the body, cottonseed hulls were dumped around him, and he was set afire. Smith succeeded several times in rolling himself out of the flames and was shoved back in. Afterward bones, teeth, and pieces of char would be in demand as souvenirs of the occasion.

Soon there would be offerings of “phonographic entertainment” on city streets across America. For a fee pedestrians could listen while, purportedly, Henry Smith screamed, and pleaded to be put immediately to death — four or five paying customers at a time through multiple sets of earphones connected by air-tubes to a rotating cylinder. However, in this year no adequate electric microphone had as yet been developed and thus recording could only be achieved by use of the same horn from which the sounds were then reproduced. For this cylinder to have been an authentic Edison recording, such a recording horn would have needed to have been positioned up on the platform directly in front of the condemned man, where he could see that he was being recorded for the idle amusement of his torturers, and knowing that he was being thus recorded, it seems most unlikely that he would have cooperated. In addition, there are no photographs that contain any evidence of the presence of such an apparatus, and no 1st-hand descriptions of the lynching ceremony made any reference to such sound-recording activities. It seems, therefore, that this cylinder, labeled “Burning of Smith at Paris, Texas” in the 1899 catalog of the Talking Machine Company of Chicago —no copies of the cylinder still exist— must have been a studio dramatic recreation of memories of the sounds of the torture — pleading and screams performed by professional singers who were accustomed to the needs of the recording device. Of course, the interesting information revealed by this history is that idle passers-by in the city streets of America were willing to pay a coin and stand and listen in public to such dubious and disgusting material. There would seem to have been no sense of shame.

Toward the end of this year, one of the very 1st films would be made and copyrighted — a short one of [Fred Ott](#) sneezing for the moving picture camera. The film would be titled “The Edison Kinetoscopic Record of a Sneeze.” That film was, of course, silent — although it is perfectly possible that a hidden performer produced a suitable sound effect.

March: Frederick Douglass announced the establishment of the Freedom Manufacturing Company, a manufacturing firm to employ 300 black textile workers, on a site near Norfolk VA. This scheme would prove to be yete another scam by promoters operating behind the prestige of his name. During this month, also, he visited Talbot County for a 3rd time amid panicky reports that he was intending to purchase an estate on which to spend his final years.

During the previous month, and during this month, [José Martí](#) was touring Florida on behalf of the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party.

April: 50 [St. Helenians](#) emigrated to work in copper mines.

[José Martí](#) was visiting Philadelphia on behalf of the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party. Meanwhile an insurrection, one not authorized by the Party, broke out in Holguín under the leadership of Manuel Sartorius and Ricardo Sartorius. The revolt was quickly defeated by the Spaniards and the revolutionary movement lost credibility.



April 10, Monday: [José Martí](#) was re-elected as a delegate of the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party.

May/June: Over the course of May and June the Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) was presenting a series of four lectures at South Place Chapel in Finsbury near [London](#), on the subject of this institution's century-long history.<sup>290</sup>

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

A serious economic crisis hit the US, that would cause thousands of shops and factories to shut down by the fall. The [tobacco](#) industry of the South would be severely affected, and many [Cuban](#) workers would find it impossible to maintain their regular donations to the Revolutionary Party.

290. [Moncure Daniel Conway](#). CENTENARY HISTORY OF THE SOUTH PLACE SOCIETY: BASED ON FOUR DISCOURSES GIVEN IN THE CHAPEL IN MAY AND JUNE, 1893. 8vo, pp. 186. London: Williams & Norgate; and at Edinburgh, 1894.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**



## CUBA

## CUBA

May 24, Wednesday: [José Martí](#) delivered a speech at Hardman Hall, [New-York](#) giving an account of events in [Cuba](#). He introduced Rubén Darío.

May 26, Friday: [José Martí](#) left for Santo Domingo.

June: [José Martí](#) and [Antonio Maceo](#) met for the initial time, in San José, Costa Rica.



June 3, Sunday: The USS *Constellation* departed on its final midshipman training cruise to Gibraltar.

[José Martí](#) met again with Máximo Gómez.





## CUBA

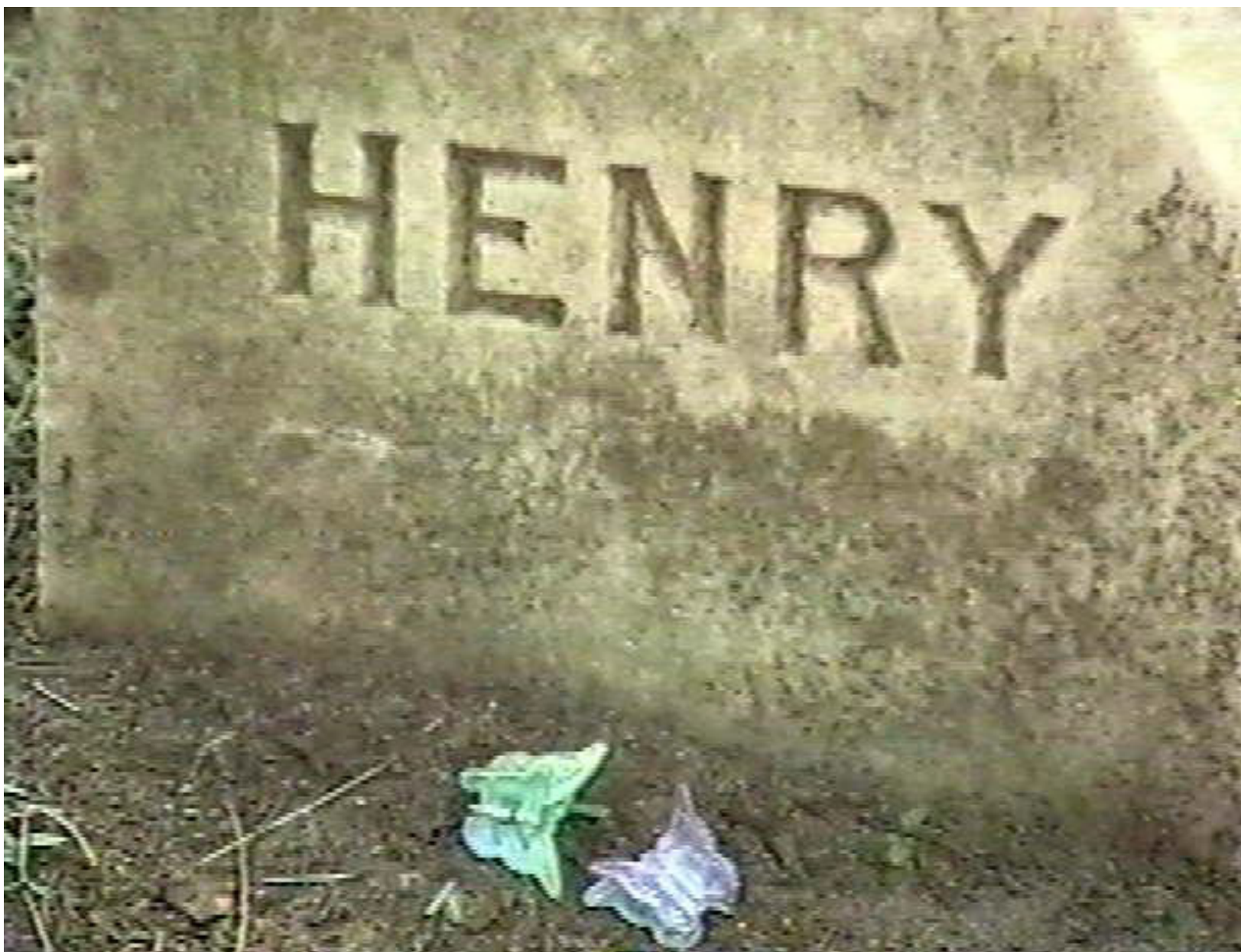
## CUBA

June 7, Thursday: At the invitation of the Costa Rica Association of Students, [José Martí](#) delivered a lecture at the School of Law of Costa Rica.



John Muir was taken out to [Concord](#) by his former editor, Robert Underwood Johnson, as part of an attempt to secure the continued patronage of this well-regarded author. Muir found [Concord](#), Massachusetts in June “much greener & fresher & calmer” than his own stomping grounds in and around the town of Martinez CA. They visited Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Concord to lay flowers on [Henry Thoreau](#)’s and [Waldo Emerson](#)’s graves. Visiting Walden Pond, Muir reflecting, “No wonder Thoreau lived here two years. I could have enjoyed living here two hundred or two thousand. It is only about one and a half or two miles from Concord, a mere saunter, and how people should regard Thoreau as a hermit on account of his little delightful stay here

I cannot guess” (LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN MUIR, Chapter XVI “Trees and Travel, 1891-1897”).



During this year John Muir would also revisit [Dunbar](#), Scotland, the town of his birth.

June 10, Sunday: In San José, [José Martí](#) supervised the establishment of a new revolutionary club.

July 8, Saturday: A protocol was signed by [Germany](#) and Great Britain defining borders between their respective colonial possessions in equatorial Africa.

En route to [New-York](#), [José Martí](#) visited Panama.

# CUBA

# CUBA

September: The family of 13-year-old [Douglas MacArthur](#) relocated to San Antonio, Texas.

106 [St. Helenians](#) departed aboard a ship to South Africa.

[José Martí](#) toured Florida again for the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party.



October 6, Friday: In *PATRIA* (Fatherland), [José Martí](#) published his insights about [Antonio Maceo](#).



October 28, Saturday: In St. Petersburg, the initial performance of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky’s 6th Symphony, in B minor, the “Pathetique.”

[José Martí](#) spoke at a meeting of the Spanish-American Literary Society of [New York](#), in honor of General [Simón Bolívar](#).



CUBA

CUBA

November 23, Thursday: At 85, [Antonio Maceo](#)'s mother Mariana Grajales died.



December: The initial segment of [New-York](#)'s 3d Avenue cable railroad was completed.

[José Martí](#) again visited Philadelphia, Tampa, and Key West for the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party. In Tampa, he was publicly thanked for the "zeal, activity and good judgment" with which he has carried out his duties as delegate.

December 12, Tuesday: In *PATRIA* (Fatherland), [José Martí](#) paid tribute to [Antonio Maceo](#)'s mother Mariana Maceo, who had died on Jamaica on November 27th: "[[Cuba](#)'s] entire people, rich and poor, arrogant and humble, masters and servants, followed this woman of eighty-five years to the grave in a strange land."

All Cubans attended the internment, because there is no heart in Cuba that does not feel all that is owed to this beloved old woman, who would always caress your hand with such tenderness. Her mind was already going from having lived so much, but from time to time that energetic face lit up, as though a ray of sun were shining within.... I remember that when we were talking about the war at a time when it seemed as if we were not able to carry on the struggle, she got up brusquely, and turned aside to think, alone. And she, who was so good, looked at us as if with anger. Many times, if I had forgotten my duty as a man, I would have retained it because of the example of that woman. Her husband and sons died fighting for Cuba, and we all know that from her breasts, Antonio and Jose Maceo imbibed the qualities which propelled them into the vanguard of the defenders of our liberties.



CUBA

CUBA

1894

James Mooney referred to the Enoe tribespeople as the “Enos.”

By this point, the Philip Morris brand has passed from the troubled Morris family and was being controlled by a family named Thompson. Brown & Williamson formed as a partnership in Winston-Salem, [North Carolina](#), making mostly plug (chewing), [snuff](#), and [pipe tobacco](#).

By this point, less than 20% of [sugar](#) mill owners in [Cuba](#) were Cubans, and more than 95% of all Cuban sugar exports were destined for the USA. This set the stage for Cuba’s great tragedy: it had a single-crop economy, which was with a single-customer nation. (What could possibly go wrong?)

January 2, Tuesday: [José Martí](#) intervened in a conflict in Key West involving [Cuban](#) tobacco workers and Spanish strike-breakers, in the factory “La Rosa Española.”

April 8, Sunday: General Máximo Gómez Baez arrived in [New-York](#) to consult with [José Martí](#).

April 10, Tuesday: [José Martí](#) was re-elected as a delegate of the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party.

May 4, Friday: Fire in [Shanghai](#) destroyed more than 1,000 buildings.

[José Martí](#) and Francisco Gomez (son of Máximo Gómez) left for a tour of Philadelphia, Key West, Tampa, Jacksonville, etc.

May 30, Wednesday: [José Martí](#) visited New Orleans.

June: [José Martí](#) traveled to Costa Rica, Panama, and Jamaica.

July: While coming out of a theatre after a performance of the comedy “Felipe Derblay” by Jorge Ohnet, [Antonio Maceo](#) was subject to yet another assassination attempt. Shot in the shoulder; this was his 22d wound.



July 22, Sunday: [José Martí](#) visited [Mexico](#) and was greeted by [El Universal](#).



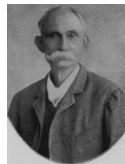
CUBA

CUBA

September 30, Sunday: [Grindall Reynolds](#) died while on vacation in Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire. The body would be brought home for burial at Sleepy Hollow:



Unwilling to wait any longer for wealthy “hacendados” to provide money they had pledged, Máximo Gómez asked [Antonio Maceo](#) to prepare to begin the new struggle for [Cuban](#) independence by “November 15 at the latest.”



December 25, Tuesday: [José Martí](#) organized the Fernandina Plan, which called for an expeditionary force to embark from Fernandina, Florida and travel to Costa Rica to pick up [Antonio Maceo](#) before landing in [Cuba](#) to begin their new War for Independence.





1895

January 14, Monday: With the Cuban war of independence set to begin, the US government detained the Amadis, the Lagonda, and the Baracoa – vessels that were part of the Fernandina Plan and had been loaded with arms and supplies for the rebels. After nearly 3 years of preparation and \$58,000, this was a terrible blow to the revolutionary cause.

January 29, Tuesday: Charles Frédéric Girard died in Neuilly-sur-Seine. He had never married and left no descendants.

The official order for the Cuban uprising was signed in New-York.

January 31, Thursday: José Martí departed for Santo Domingo, Costa Rica.

After the Civil War, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar had served as Attorney General of the United States under President U.S. Grant. Although nominated for justice of the Supreme Court, his nomination was not approved by the Senate. He was dismissed from the cabinet by President Grant in 1870. From 1873 to 1875 he was a member of the US House of Representatives. On this day, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar died.

February 24, Tuesday: The Cuban independence movement, Ejército Libertador de Cuba, issued the Grito de Baire (Cry of Baire), declaring Independencia o Muerte (Independence or Death).



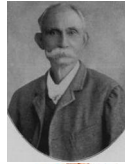
Philip S. Foner would write in THE SPANISH-CUBAN-AMERICAN WAR that “According to all standard works by military analysts, the prospects for the insurgents did not appear bright. the Spanish army already in the island was superior in number, equipment, training, and in almost every essential of warfare. Moreover, a steady stream of reinforcements could be dispatched to Cuba, and the insurgents had no navy to prevent their reaching the scene of conflict.”



CUBA

CUBA

February 27, Friday: Máximo Gómez wrote to [Antonio Maceo](#): “The smoke of gunfire is visible in [Cuba](#), and the blood of our comrades is being shed on its soil.”

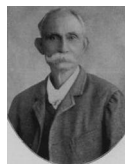


March 24, Sunday: Li Hung Chang, who led the [Chinese](#) peace delegation at Shimoneski, was shot and wounded by a [Japanese](#) fanatic. The Japanese were so embarrassed at this that they immediately granted an armistice to [China](#).

[José Martí](#) posted a letter to Federico Henríquez y Carvajal from Montecristi, Santo Domingo which is now considered as his political will and testament.

March 25, Monday: In Santo Domingo, [José Martí](#) and Máximo Gómez Baez signed the Manifesto of Montecristi, which outlined the policy of [Cuba](#)'s war of independence.

[José Martí](#) wrote his last letter to his mother.



[Italian](#) forces invaded Ethiopia as Silvano, by Pietro Mascagni to words of Targioni-Tozzetti after Karr, was being performed, for the initial time, in the Teatro alla Scala of Milan. The public was positive about this dramma marinresco and Mascagni was called 10 times, but this would not meet with the grand success of his earlier efforts. (The Italian invasion of Ethiopia would also not meet with grand success.)

March 29, Friday: [Antonio Maceo](#) left his exile in Santo Domingo to support the revolution to [Cuba](#).

## CUBA

## CUBA

March 30, Saturday: [Antonio Maceo](#) and José Maceo arrived from Santo Domingo and put ashore in eastern [Cuba](#). On the beach near Baracoa their vessel was destroyed during this landing. The rebels were, however, greeted with joy by the farmers, who cried out “Maceo is here! Viva Cuba Libre!”



April 1, Monday: [José Martí](#) posted a letter to Gonzalo de Quesada that is now considered as his literary will and testament. From Montecristi, he departed aboard a schooner for [Cuba](#).

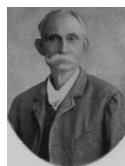
April 2, Tuesday: [José Martí](#) arrived in Inagua in the Bahamas.

April 5, Friday: With help from the Haitian consul, [José Martí](#) obtained passage on the German fruit ship *Nordstrand* and headed for Cape Haitian on the north coast of Haiti.

April 9, Tuesday: Ruggero Leoncavallo was granted an audience with Queen Margherita of [Italy](#). He wanted to persuade her to allow him to dedicate his opera *Chatterton* to her (he would not be able to persuade).

[José Martí](#) left Cape Haitian on the north coast of Haiti.

April 11, Thursday: At dawn [José Martí](#) arrived in Inagua in the Bahamas. At 2PM he set sail for [Cuba](#). At about 8PM the ship came to a stop 3 miles off the coast and he [José Martí](#) boarded a small boat with 5 companions. At about 11PM they put ashore at Playitas, east of Guantánamo Bay. Meanwhile Máximo Gómez Baez was also landing, from Costa Rica, in eastern Cuba.

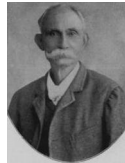


April 16, Tuesday: Proclaimed as a Major General before the [Cuban](#) Liberating Army, [José Martí](#) marched through the mountains of Baracoa in search of [Antonio Maceo](#).

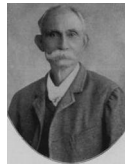
April 21, Sunday: [Antonio Maceo](#) ordered all rebel officers “to hang every emissary of the Spanish government, Peninsular or Cubanwhatever may be his rank, who presents himself in our camps with propositions of peace. This order must be carried out without hesitation of any kind or without attention to any contrary indications. Our motto is to triumph or die.”



April 28, Sunday: Máximo Gómez issued a circular, which announced that only the property of owners who have shown hostility to the Revolution would be destroyed. Properties from owners who supported the revolution would be spared.



April 30, Tuesday: [Antonio Maceo](#) wrote to his wife, “I have 6,000 men, well-armed, and with much artillery. By the 15th of the month, I will have 12,000 armed men, and much territory conquered. Three days ago Jose (Maceo) told me of the arrival of Máximo Gómez, José Martí, Borrero, Guerra, and two others on the beaches between Guantánamo and Baracoa.”



## CUBA

## CUBA

May 2, Thursday: [John Brown, Jr.](#) died in Put-in-Bay on South Bass Island in Lake Erie. Funeral services would be held under the auspices of Science Lodge, F. and A.M. and the service would be conducted according to the Masonic ritual. The eulogy would be presented by Judge E.M. Colver. During the service Ohio citizen James M. French, believed to have been the son of a former slave, would characterize the spirit of the Brown family as sacrificial and would comment constructively: “The lesson to be carried away is that we should have a renewed inspiration for progress and advancement in our civil and educational lives, to show our appreciation for what was done in our behalf.”



[You can read about this on the Sandusky, Ohio history blog at <http://sanduskyhistory.blogspot.com>]. Isn't it just marvelous how this internet thing is coming along?]

The pallbearers would be from the Grand Army of the Republic and local Masonic lodges: H.G. Schumacher, T.F. Spencer, A.A. Magill, S.C. Wheeler, C.F. Steen, and S.R. Irvine (honorary pall bearers: Captain John Stone, J.J. Stranahan, Jackson Jones, Home Ennis, Captain George Brown, and D.P. Vroman).

The [New-York Herald](#) carried an article by [José Martí](#) about how “[Cuba](#) wishes to be free in order that here Man may fully realize his destiny, that everyone may work here, and that her hidden riches may be sold in the natural markets of America.... The Cubans ask no more of the world than the recognition of and respect for their sacrifices.”



May 4, Saturday: In La Mejorana, [José Martí](#), Máximo Gómez Baez, and [Antonio Maceo](#) met to agree on a war strategy. They decided that [José Martí](#) would serve as supreme leader of the [Cuban](#) revolution, but only abroad and in nonmilitary matters. The issue of civil versus military control of the war was to remain unresolved. Maceo pointed out that it had been dissension, petty rivalries, and the incompetence of civil government during the Ten Year War that had led ultimately to the collapse of that rebellion, and made it clear that he himself would participate only in the new fighting: he would never accept any government position.

## CUBA

## CUBA

May 18, Saturday: In his final letter [José Martí](#) wrote that he considered it his duty “to prevent, by the independence of [Cuba](#), the United States from spreading over the West Indies and falling, with that added weight, upon other lands of our America. All I have done up to now, and shall do hereafter, is to that end.... I have lived inside the monster and know its insides.”

Standing between General Máximo Gómez Baez and General [Antonio Maceo](#), [Martí](#) spoke to thousands of [Cuban](#) patriots in the Maceo encampment near Jagua.



May 19, Sunday: At Dos Ríos in eastern [Cuba](#), [José Martí](#) was killed from ambush as he made his 1st appearance on the battlefield. He had reached 42 years of age. The rebels were unable to recover the body.

Three American men of color, Echols, Crowley and Brooks, given names unknown, were [lynched](#) near Madison, Florida by being burned at the stake.<sup>291</sup>

**COLDBLOODED MURDER**

291. Pardon me, but you know how sardonic I am! This reminds me of a joke told during the recent “Compassionate Conservative” Presidential campaign, to the effect that **although a Liberal would give a man a fire that would keep him warm for merely an hour, Compassionate Conservatives know that when you set a man on fire, he will be warm for the rest of his life.** (Bearing in mind that a Bush was in charge of the State of Florida, and that he apparently helped engineer the election of another Bush, his Compassionate Conservative brother, as President, and that he achieved this in part by disenfranchising a large number of black Florida voters through having them falsely accused at the polling places of being ex-convicts ineligible to cast a ballot — this sardonic humor may unfortunately not be too far afield.)



CUBA

CUBA

May 27, Monday: [José Martí](#)'s corpse not having been recovered by his revolutionary compatriots, it was Spanish soldiers who put it under the ground, at Santiago de [Cuba](#).



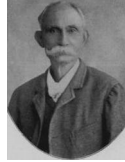
June 12, Wednesday: Theodoros Pangaiou Diligiannis replaced Nicholaos Petrou Diligiannis as Prime Minister of Greece.

[President Stephen Grover Cleveland](#) called on United States citizens to refrain from aiding the rebels in [Cuba](#) and declared his nation's neutrality in the island's uprising. (Philip Foner's ANTONIO MACEO makes a point of the mendacity of our nation's supposed neutrality: "Thus while Spain was freely buying from US factories all the arms and munitions she needed in her effort to crush the Revolution, the government of the US was doing all that was possible to prevent the Revolution from provisioning itself. This policy was a far cry from the strict neutrality proclaimed by President Cleveland...." You should be aware, however, that Grover probably did not have at all times absolute control over each and every one of our nation's myriad of war profiteers.)

CUBA

CUBA

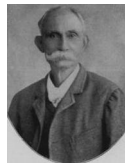
June 17, Monday: [New-York's Harlem Ship Canal](#), creating an adequate navigation between the Hudson River and Hellgate by widening and joining the Harlem River and the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, was opened for commerce.



Near Camagüey, [Cuba](#), Máximo Gómez destroyed the town of Altagracia during a victory over Spanish forces. A few days later he would defeat Martínez Campos at San Jerónimo.



June 30, day: It having become apparent that lack of a Western invasion had been a reason for the failure of the Ten-Year War, Máximo Gómez instructed [Antonio Maceo](#) to prepare to invade the Western segment of [Cuba](#).



July: A Frenchman born in Cuba named Regis du Repaire de Truffin, serving as the Russian consul in [Havana](#), reported: "In spite of the tireless efforts of the famed commander (Martínez Campos) and reinforcements brought in from the metropolis (30,000 men) the uprising is still spreading. Another 10,000 men are due to arrive from Spain soon; it is asserted that the Marshal had asked for another 25,000 men in September."

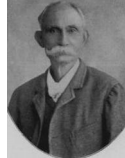
Hector Waylen's "A Visit to [Walden Pond](#)" appeared in the publication [Natural Food](#) of Rowerdenan, Merton Park, Surrey, England:

Mr. Bartlett told me one story of Thoreau which I have not seen in print.... A number of loafers jeered at him as he passed one day, and said:

"Halloo, Thoreau, and don't you really ever shoot a bird then when you want to study it?"  
"Do you think," replied Thoreau, "that I should shoot you if I wanted to study you?"

GEORGE BRADFORD BARTLETT

July 1, Monday: Máximo Gómez proclaimed that all the sugar plantations of [Cuba](#) were immediately to discontinue all production activity.



August: A rather nice drawing of [Henry Thoreau](#) appeared in this month's issue of [Century Magazine](#):



The [Cleveland Steel Canal Boat Company](#)'s fleet of six steel canal boats, insurable for travel on the Great Lakes, began running between Cleveland and [New-York](#).

Canada opened its [Soo Canal](#).

Work resumed on the section of the [Trent-Severn Waterway](#) between Lakefield and Port Perry.

## CUBA

## CUBA

In Oriente, near Bayamo, the [Cuban](#) rebels celebrate another impressive victory. One account of the battle has it that the government's commander Martínez Campos escaped alive only by the subterfuge of having himself slung in a hammock and carried on the shoulders of his men (as if he had been wounded).



September: [Floyd Schmoe](#) was born, a 6th-generation [Quaker](#). We have not been able to discover the exact day of his birth. His given middle name was Wilfred. In this year the first trail was being constructed into Paradise Valley on the slopes of [Mount Rainier](#). Floyd would grow up on a wheat farm near Rantoul, Kansas.

The Cuban Revolutionary Party, under the direction of chief policy leader Tomás Estrada Palma, was formed to encourage and to support the Cuban insurgency and to campaign for US recognition of the [Cuban](#) belligerency.

## CUBA

## CUBA

September 6, Friday: Salvador Cisneros Betancourt (the aged and aristocratic white man who'd been the 2d revolutionist president of the Republic of [Cuba](#) during the Ten Year War) wrote to [Antonio Maceo](#) hinting that he might be able to offer high government post to this Negro — in return for his support to make him again the El Presidente.



September 12, Thursday: General [Antonio Maceo](#) responded to the letter from Salvador Cisneros Betancourt; “Do not forget the nature of my temperament if it should again occur to you to speak to me of posts and destinies which I have never solicited. As you well know, I have the satisfaction of never having held a post through favor; on the contrary, I have exhibited manifest opposition to the slightest suggestion of such a thing. The humbleness of my birth kept me from placing myself at the beginning on the heights with others who were chieftains of the Revolution by birth.”

September 13, Friday: In Jimaguayú, Camagüey, a Constituent Assembly of delegates from Oriente, Camagüey, and Las Villas organized a civil government for the Republic of [Cuba](#):

- Salvador Cisneros Betancourt - President
- Bartolomé Masó - Vice-President
- Tomás Estrada Palma - Delegate Plenipotentiary and foreign representative
- Máximo Gómez - General-in-chief of the Army
- [Antonio Maceo](#) - Lieutenant-General

September 22, Sunday: [Antonio Maceo](#) sent Estrada Palma a bank draft for more than \$10,000, for arms and ammunitions.



October 10, Tuesday: [Lin Yu-t'ang](#) was born in Chang-chou in the province of Fukien, [China](#), son of a Chinese Presbyterian minister.

In [New-York](#)'s Chickering Hall, at a celebration of the anniversary of the “Grito de Yara,” Manuel Sanguilly referred to [Antonio Maceo](#) as the “Bronze Titan.”



October 22, Sunday: The planned invasion of the West of the island of [Cuba](#) was initiated.

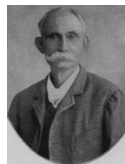
October 27, Friday: [Antonio Maceo](#)'s column arrived in Pestán, [Cuba](#).



October 30, Monday: [Antonio Maceo](#) wrote to Estrada Palma: "Please do your best to send us, as quickly as possible, the weapons and munitions ordered...."



November 6, Wednesday: In [Cuba](#), Máximo Gómez called for "all plantations to be totally destroyed."



November 21, Thursday: [Antonio Maceo](#) wrote to Manuel Sanguilly in the US: "We have not been very fortunate in the make-up of the new government. Again we have been the victims of the vain effort of trying to give it the democratic forms of a republic already constituted when we have the enemy in front of us, and we are not the masters of the land we walk on. As you will understand, while the war lasts, there must only be soldiers and swords in [Cuba](#), or at least men who know how to prosecute the war and how to achieve the final redemption of our people. When this is achieved, which is the objective to which our efforts are directed, the time will then be ripe for the forming of a civil government. Such a civil government should be eminently democratic and be capable of managing the public affairs with prudence and moderation, attentive to our own peculiar political and social requirements."

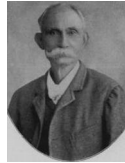




## CUBA

## CUBA

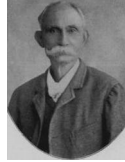
November 30, Saturday: In the town Lázaro López, in Camagüey, [Cuba](#), Máximo Gómez and [Antonio Maceo](#) (known to the Spaniards as the fox and the lion) combine their forces (totaling 2,600 men) and began marching toward Las Villas and the west. On horseback, Gómez spoke to the assembled forces.



# CUBA

# CUBA

December: By the end of the year 98,412 regular troops would have arrived in [Cuba](#) from Spain, and the volunteer forces on the island would have increased to 63,000 men. These forces were being steadily augmented by fresh Spanish troops so that by the end of 1897 there would be 240,000 regulars and 60,000 irregulars fighting against the island's rebels.



After the battles of Iguará and Manacal Heights practically exhausted the ammo of the rebels, Máximo Gómez questioned whether the western invasion could continue. [Antonio Maceo](#) refused to consider abandoning the invasion. He told his general that the invasion must continue even if he had to clear his way with a machete.

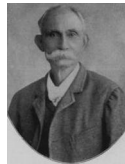


In the 2d half of the month, the rebels would cross the Hanabanilla River and advance into Matanzas.



By this point, Máximo Gómez and [Antonio Maceo](#) had worked out a strategy of escape from larger forces in which several wide-ranging units were sent out from the main column to set fire to all the surrounding cane fields. “The fires,” according to Philip Foner’s ANTONIO MACEO, “served a tactical as well as strategic purpose, since the billowing clouds of smoke created great uncertainty as to the positions of the insurgents. Invariably, the tactic was successful.”

December 3, Tuesday: The main rebel force crossed the Jatibonico River into Las Villas. Máximo Gómez learned that a Spanish column was escorting a well-supplied convoy not far from Iguará, and immediately planned a surprise attack. The ambush was discovered and the battle of Iguará developed into the type of large-scale battle that Gómez needed to avoid. The rebels were victorious, with heavy casualties on both sides.



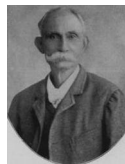
December 7, Saturday: Ethiopian forces defeated the [Italians](#) at Amba Alagi.

[Cuban](#) independence leader General Antonio Maceo Grajales was killed at the Battle of Punta Brava.

Two works for male chorus by Jean Sibelius were performed for the first time, in Helsinki: Saarella palaa (Fire on the Island) op.18/4 and Laulun mahti (The Power of the Song), on the eve of the composer’s 30th birthday.

The Lily Nymph, a dramatic cantata by George Whitefield Chadwick to words of Bates, was performed for the initial time, in Carnegie Hall, New York.

December 8, Sunday: Máximo Gómez wrote to Estrada Palma.



December 10, Tuesday: A fierce battle on the Manacal Heights lasted 3 days with intervening nights of rest. As the rebels continued to move toward the west, the Spaniards followed.

December 13, Friday: Under heavy artillery bombardment from Spanish General Oliver, the [Cubans](#) withdrew, leaving [Antonio Maceo](#) to delay a closely pursuing enemy. By late afternoon the Spaniards had had enough and returned to their base.



CUBA

CUBA

December 23, Monday: At Coliseo [Antonio Maceo](#)'s horse was shot from beneath him and several of his officers were killed. The rebels retreated.



December 27, Friday: During the retreat in Las Villas that would eventually become famous as the “false retreat,” 4 of [Antonio Maceo](#)'s soldiers invaded the home of the colonel of the Spanish volunteers. In the process one of the 4 threatened a family member, and was killed. The colonel, when brought before Maceo, was expecting to be executed. Maceo, however, congratulated the militiaman who had killed his soldier and executed the remaining 3 who had involved themselves in this home invasion. He thus emphatically made it clear to all that the liberating army was going to respect family homes.



## CUBA

## CUBA

1896

William Warren Kimball, Naval Academy graduate and intelligence officer, developed a continuously evolving study of the strategies that would be most likely to lead to US success in a hypothetical war with Spain. His plan involved the achievement of hegemony over the island of [Cuba](#) through naval force, military actions that would include a blockade, attacks on Manila in the Philippines, and attacks on the civilians of various Spanish towns along the Mediterranean coast. Nothing was too nasty for William Warren Kimball's fervid imagination, as of course he was interested only in producing the desired result.

January 1, Wednesday: Seriously misjudging rebel movements, Martínez Campos reported to [Havana](#) that he had successfully blocked the rebels and sent them packing, back to the eastern portion of the island. [Diario de la Marina](#) was carrying this as front-page news — while, on this same day the rebel column, having left a wide and smoking path of destruction through Matanzas, was entering [Havana](#) province.



CUBA

CUBA

January 3, Friday: Martínez Campos sent a cable to the Minister of War in Madrid: “The enemy keeps advancing through the lines north and south of Havana. A numerous separatist force is in San Jose de las Lajas, a town situated twenty-nine kilometers from Havana. It comes destroying all. They burn the railroad stations. There are also parties in Guara. Similarly insurrectionary forces are in Melena del Sur, not far from Batabanó. Numerous families reach Havana fleeing from nearby villages. The panic is extraordinary.

January 6, Monday: On “Three Kings’ Day” the Cuban rebels were received in Vereda Nueva with shouts of “Viva Cuba Libre!” and “Viva Maceo!”

January 7, Tuesday: Effective immediately, Martínez Campos resigned as Captain General; the Spanish would substitute for him, as quickly as possible, General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau. In the meantime Sabas Marín was to function as acting Captain General.

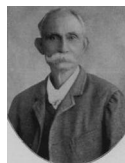
Near the northwestern border of Havana, Máximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo held a strategy conference. They agreed to split their forces with Maceo continuing into Pinar del Rio, and Gómez remaining with the largest portion of the forces in Havana.



January 8, Wednesday: Antonio Maceo’s troops crossed the trocha from Havana into Pinar del Rio.<sup>292</sup>



January 10, Friday: Máximo Gómez issued a public circular announcing that the rebel army would respect the peaceful population and agriculture.



292. This “trocha” was a military barrier of barbed wire and mines about 200 yards across, running roughly north/south, intended to hinder rebel movements along the length of the island. Down the center of this barrier ran a single-track military railroad used by armor-clad cars. There were stronghouses erected periodically along this trocha, with loopholes in the walls, surrounded by trenches. The eastern trocha was positioned between Jucaro on the south coast and Moron on the north coast. As long as they had the support of local peasants, the rebels found it was not particularly difficult to penetrate through these barriers.



CUBA

CUBA

January 22, Wednesday: The ultimate goal of the western invasion was achieved. At 3PM [Antonio Maceo](#)'s troops arrived in Mantua, the westernmost town on the island. This put them in effective control of most of Cuba. The people gathered on the street and the troops formed themselves into a parade to make a grand entrance, led by a newly formed cavalry of natives of the province.



January 23, Thursday: At official ceremonies, [Antonio Maceo](#) was offered a champagne toast and declined, explaining "I do not drink any kind of liquor." He was later offered a cigar from Vuelta Abajo and, again graciously, declined, explaining, "I am sorry not to be able to please you, but I do not smoke."

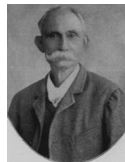
February 11, Tuesday: General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau arrived in [Cuba](#). His highest priority would be the elimination of [Antonio Maceo](#).



February 16, Sunday: Spanish general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau instituted a policy of reconcentration (reconcentración) to control [Cuban](#) insurgents. The policy forced the population to move to central locations under Spanish military jurisdiction as the entire island was placed under martial law.

February 17, Monday: Spanish general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau announced the policy of re-concentration. Inhabitants living outside fortified areas are given eight days to move into the towns occupied by the Spanish troops. After that time, anyone caught outside the concentrated areas is to be considered an enemy sympathizer and killed.

February 19, Wednesday: Máximo Gómez and [Antonio Maceo](#) meet in Soto to discuss Spanish general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau's policy of re-concentration.



## CUBA

## CUBA

February 28, Friday: The United States Senate enacted overwhelmingly a joint John T. Morgan/Donald Cameron resolution calling for recognition of the [Cuban](#) belligerency and of Cuban independence. This indicated to President Grover Cleveland and Secretary of State Richard Olney that the matter was demanding their most careful attention.

March 2, Monday: The U.S. House of Representatives passed decisively its own version of the Morgan-Cameron Resolution which called for recognition of the [Cuban](#) belligerency.

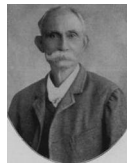
March 5, Thursday: [Antonio Maceo](#) returned to Matanzas, [Cuba](#), outmaneuvering a powerful column sent by General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau against him.



March 10, Tuesday: Antonio Di Rudini, Marquis of Starabba replaced Francesco Crispi as prime minister of [Italy](#) (Crispi's government had fallen on account of the military debacle in Ethiopia).

Chatterton, a dramma lirico by Ruggero Leoncavallo to his own words after de Vigny, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Argentina of Rome. This was a revision of an unperformed opera composed 20 years earlier. It was moderately successful.

[Antonio Maceo](#) joined Máximo Gómez at El Galeón, [Cuba](#). It was agreed that Maceo would continue westward, while Gómez would continue operating in the central part of the island (this would be their final meeting).



CUBA

CUBA

March 20, Friday: In a battle at El Rubí, despite a lack of ammunition, [Antonio Maceo](#)'s [Cuban](#) rebel column forced a numerically superior opponent to retreat.



Regenlied op.59/3, a song by [Johannes Brahms](#) to words of Groth, was performed for the initial time, in Vienna, 26 years after it was composed.

April 15, Wednesday: [Antonio Maceo](#) wrote to his wife, assuring her that he would outwit the enemy and that, by August, the Spanish were going recognize the “hopelessness of their situation.”



April 18, Saturday: While waiting for supplies, [Antonio Maceo](#) sought refuge in the Tapia Mountains of [Cuba](#). Spanish forces would repeatedly attempt to assault this natural defense position but, each time, would be repelled. When he would learn that an expedition was on its way with war materials from the US (on the vessel *Competitor*), Maceo would escape from the mountains, outmaneuvering the Spanish enemy.

April 26, Sunday: At Cacarajícara, [Cuba](#), a battle against a column of nearly 1,000 soldiers led by General Suárez Inclán cut his company down to 170 effective fighters. At a critical point in this struggle, however, the rebel Colonel Juan E. Ducasse arrived with rifles, reinforcements, and 1,000 rounds of ammunition, and the enemy was forced to retreat.



May 23, Saturday: The forces under [Antonio Maceo](#) attacked the fortified town of Consolación del Sur in [Cuba](#), leaving it in flames.



May 25, Monday: [Antonio Maceo](#) achieved another victory, this time over the forces of General Valdés, supreme commander of the [Cuban](#) province.



June: After learning that the US and Spain were discussing the possibility of granting Cuban autonomy rather than independence, [Antonio Maceo](#) wrote to Perfecto Lacoste: “The [North] Americans and Spaniards can make whatever agreements they wish, but [Cuba](#) will be free in a short while and can laugh at the negotiations which do not favor its independence.”



Eben J. Loomis wrote to Alfred Winslow Hosmer reminiscing about the Summer or Early Fall of 1854 which he and his wife spent at the Thoreau boardinghouse (this letter is in the Alfred W. Hosmer Collection at the Concord Free Public Library):

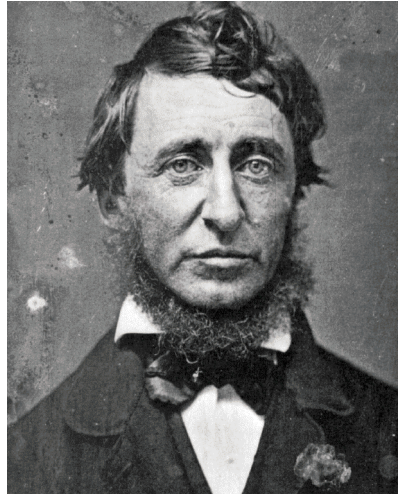
*Looking at the pictures [photographs of [Aunt Maria Thoreau](#) and [Henry Thoreau](#)] brings back to me very vividly the pleasant days long ago, when Henry Thoreau and I tramped over the Concord hills and boated on the Concord river; picking up Indian relics, investigating the birds, flowers, fish and other things: and talking all the while on every subject in which either or both of us was interested.*

*I always found Henry very hospitable to a new idea. If I happened to suggest some new thought, he would think it over, not saying much at the time, but afterward, perhaps the next day, or week, he would refer to it, having made up his mind since whether to accept or reject it.*

*It was delightful to hear him talk; his opinions were well formed, clear and gave no uncertain sound.*

*I spent the summer at Mr. Thoreau's house at the time Mr. Rowse [Samuel Worcester Rowse] was in Concord, and Thoreau, Rowse and myself frequently sat up until twelve or one o'clock, talking on "fate, freewill, foreknowledge absolute," or other topics*

*equally or more interesting.*



June 6, Saturday: From [Havana](#), London [Times](#) correspondent Colonel Charles E. Akers reported that: “With an army of 175,000 men, with materials of all kinds in unlimited quantities, beautiful weather, little or no sickness among the troops, in a word, with everything in his favor, [General Valeriano] Weyler [y Nicolau] has been unable to defeat the insurrectionists. In the province of Pinar del Río, at some eighteen miles from the center of the Spanish lines, is encamped since last March the rebel General [Antonio Maceo](#) with his army. Here are the rebels almost in view of 60,000 Spanish soldiers. There is no pretense of not knowing the position of Maceo since a Spanish general indicated to me the precise point where the insurrectionist encampment was. The frequently repeated Spanish boast that Maceo will not be able to cross the trocha is already worn out and useless. Undoubtedly, whenever it suits the insurrectionary leader, he will succeed in breaking the line, and meanwhile, it is enough for him to stay where he is and compel more than a third of the entire Spanish army to remain on the defensive.”



## CUBA

## CUBA

June 19, Friday: Spanish general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau's forces attacked those of [Antonio Maceo](#) at San Gabriel de Lombello.



June 24, Tuesday: On the 5th day of battle at San Gabriel de Lombello, [Antonio Maceo](#) sustained a 24th battle wound when a rifle bullet broke a bone in the lower portion of one of his legs. He was taken to the house of a rebel civilian in the Rosario Mountain range for 9 days, to recover.



July: Early during this month, in order to allow [Major General Calixto García Iñiguez](#) to take over, José Maceo resigned as Commander of the Oriente province.

July 5, Sunday: José Maceo was killed at the battle of Loma del Gato, [Cuba](#).

August 7, Friday: Composer Ernesto Lecuona was born in Guanabacoa, [Cuba](#).

August 9, Sunday: Great Britain was able to derail an attempt by Spain to organize European support for its agenda in [Cuba](#).



September 18, Friday: Prince Masayoshi Matsukata replaced Marquis Hirobumi Ito as prime minister of [Japan](#).

Lucie Dreyfus petitioned the French Chamber of Deputies for a mistrial due to the fact that a secret document from her husband’s trial has been made public.

When [Antonio Maceo](#) met the expedition of Colonel Francisco Leyete Vidal he obtained 500,000 rounds of ammo, 1,000 rifles, 2,000 sticks of dynamite, a cannon with 100 cannon shells, and 3 American artillerymen. He was joined by Máximo Gómez’ young son Francisco (Panchito) Gómez Toro. According to Volume I of Philip Foner’s THE SPANISH-CUBAN-AMERICAN WAR AND THE BIRTH OF US IMPERIALISM: “The happy shouts and vivas of the mambises over the arrival of the war material abruptly ended when they notice General Maceo’s face. He had been handed a copy of the Boletín de Guerra of July 15 which featured the news that on July 5, José Maceo had been killed in battle at Loma del Gato in Oriente. It may seem incredible that it took so long for the news to reach Maceo. Actually, it was an indication of the indifference of the revolutionary government to their greatest warrior. They had simply neglected to inform Maceo. Indeed, the only communication Maceo received from government officials during the entire campaign in the West was not congratulations for his remarkable achievements against the enemy, but a criticism for making a number of appointments and conferring ranks ‘without first submitting them to the Governing Council for their approval.’”



September 24, Thursday: At Montezuelo, Cuba, by this point, [Antonio Maceo](#) had defeated larger Spanish forces, but had in the process suffered 68 rebel casualties.



[Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald](#) was born in St. Paul, Minnesota, and named after [a 2d cousin](#) who had become a Washington DC lawyer and had become famous earlier in the century:



“The test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function.”

– F. Scott Fitzgerald  
“The Crack-Up”



September 25, Friday: The birth of [Elinor Miriam White Frost](#) and [Robert Frost](#)'s 1st child, Elliott Frost.

There was another victorious clash for [Antonio Maceo](#)'s troops, at Tumbas de Estorino, [Cuba](#).



October 1, Thursday: Max Reger was drafted into the [German](#) army.

Richard Strauss was promoted to *Hofkapellmeister* in München.

At Ceja del Negro, [Cuba](#), [Antonio Maceo](#)'s troops found themselves trapped by 3 Spanish columns. After 3 days of fighting the rebels would be victorious but would have suffered 277 casualties, and Maceo would be left with but 200 effective fighters.



October 14, Wednesday: De Truffin wrote: "At present being better organized and well supplied with arms and ammunition, [the [Cuban](#) rebels led by [Antonio Maceo](#)] have altered their tactics, and are offering resistance to the royal troops. Five rather serious clashes have taken place in the last few days. The bitterness with which both sides fought is an indication that the war has entered an entirely new and more active phase."



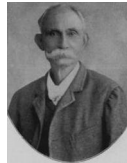
October 27, Tuesday: In San Cristóbal, [Cuba](#), [Antonio Maceo](#) made his final address to his troops. He urged them to be courageous, and to prepare for whatever sacrifices would be necessary to win their struggle for independence.



## CUBA

## CUBA

October 29, Thursday: In El Roble, [Antonio Maceo](#) received a letter from Máximo Gómez requesting his urgent return to Camagüey, [Cuba](#). He learned in this manner that Gomez has been removed from his post as General-in-Chief of the revolutionary armies.



November 9, Monday: In an encounter with Spanish general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau's forces in the valley of Tapia, [Cuba](#), [Antonio Maceo](#) lost an additional 77 effective fighters.



November 25, Wednesday: [Antonio Maceo](#) interviewed soldiers who claimed to have knowledge of a weak spot in the [Cuban](#) trocha but was not satisfied with their answers.



## CUBA

## CUBA

December 4, Friday: [Antonio Maceo](#) and 17 men were circling the [Cuban](#) trocha by sea, in the port of Mariel, which required 4 trips of their small boat, when they came within sight of a Spanish garrison. They took refuge in La Merced, an abandoned sugar mill.



December 6, Sunday: Still waiting for a rebel unit with horses, [Antonio Maceo](#) gave the order to start marching toward the [Cuban](#) sugar mill Garro.





## CUBA

## CUBA

December 7, Monday: [President Stephen Grover Cleveland](#) warned that the US might take action in [Cuba](#) if Spain failed to resolve the crisis there. You better kill these guys pretty damn quick if you don't want us to come help you.

General [Antonio Maceo](#), leader of the Cuban insurrection, was killed in action at Punta Brava in Western [Cuba](#). Also killed by Spanish troops was Panchito Gómez Toro.

December 8, Tuesday: [Antonio Maceo](#) and Panchito Gómez Toro were buried at Cacahual in Santiago de las Vegas, [Cuba](#).



CUBA

CUBA

1897

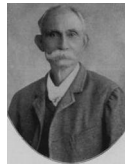
War is good: William Randolph Hearst's [New-York Journal](#) and Joseph Pulitzer's [New-York World](#) sponsored sensational "yellow journalism" about the [Cuban](#) insurgency, encouraging US citizens to take warlike attitudes toward Spain in the New World.

War is bad: [Alfred Nobel](#)'s will was contested by relatives and criticized by politicians. However, the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) did accept the task of awarding the [Nobel Peace Prize](#).

January 19, Tuesday: In an article "Death of Rodríguez" in William Randolph Hearst's [New York Journal](#), Richard Harding Davis wrote about the execution of Adolfo Rodríguez by a Spanish firing squad.

February 7, Sunday: Dr. Ricardo Ruiz, a naturalized US citizen, was arrested in his home in [Cuba](#) and charged with participation in the derailment, capture, and robbery of a passenger train.

February 9, Tuesday: Máximo Gómez wrote to [President Stephen Grover Cleveland](#).



February 12, Friday: William Randolph Hearst's [New-York Morning Journal](#) published, falsely, that male Spanish police had boarded the US steamship *Olivette* to strip-search 3 [Cuban](#) women.

February 17, Wednesday: The naturalized US citizen Dr. Ricardo Ruiz was found dead in a 6x8 cell in a [Cuban](#) prison. His death would be widely reported in Joseph Pulitzer's [New-York World](#) and William Randolph Hearst's [New-York Journal](#).

March 4, Thursday: Inauguration of President William McKinley.

May: By this point the Spanish offensive in [Cuba](#) had lost much of its momentum.





CUBA

CUBA



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: The [New-York Times](#) presented the public with a facsimile of the [Declaration of Independence](#).

At the US Consulate in [Havana](#), American newspaper correspondents were prevented from witnessing the 4th-of-July celebration.

“On the lawn in front of his beautiful residence on Rockdale and Wilson Avenues” in Avondale, Ohio, Thomas C. McGrath unveiled a statue of Thomas Jefferson.

For years, whenever the President would go on a trip away from the White House, the US flag flying above it would be lowered pending his return. A decision was reached that the US flag would be allowed to fly over the White House on the following day, despite the President’s absence.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



August 8, Sunday: Kiyoshi Shiga discovered and named the bacterium *Shigella* that causes dysentery.

INFECTION

Prime Minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo of Spain was murdered in Santa Agueda by [Italian](#) anarchist Michele Angeliolli to avenge the execution of several anarchists in Barcelona, and would be replaced *ad interim* by Marcelo de Azcárraga y Palmero.<sup>293</sup>

September 18, Saturday: Great Britain and France came to an agreement over Tunisia.

US Minister Stewart Woodford delivered an ultimatum to the Spanish government, that either they promptly resolve the conflict in [Cuba](#) — or the United States of America would step in and resolve it for them.

October 6, Wednesday: A reporter from William Randolph Hearst’s [New York Journal](#) rescued Evangelina Cisneros from a jail in [Havana](#) and brought her to the US. She was a niece of a leader of the [Cuban](#) rebels and the [Journal](#) had been running lurid articles about her imprisonment on the Isle of Pines and, allegedly, [torture](#) at the hands of the Spanish. This was part of a determined campaign to whip up war hysteria against Spain.

Requiem Mass op.63 for solo voices, chorus and orchestra by Charles Villiers Stanford was performed for the initial time, in Birmingham, conducted by the composer.

October 8, Friday: Karl Decker of William Randolph Hearst’s [New York Journal](#) reported on the rescue of Evangelina Cisneros from a [Cuban](#) prison.

October 31, Sunday: Captain General Ramón Blanco y Erenas replaced General Valeriano Weyler as governor-general of [Cuba](#).

293. We lack a way to determine whether retributory vengeance causes anarchists to feel better about having been executed.



## CUBA

## CUBA

November 25, Thursday: Emile Zola began a campaign in *Le Figaro* to exonerate Alfred Dreyfus.

The Spanish government enacted plans to grant [Cuba](#) political autonomy.

November 28, Sunday: The Spanish government released all US citizens held in [Cuba](#).

*Le Figaro* began publishing letters from Major Esterhazy to one of his mistresses wherein he insulted the French and declared his intention to become a [German](#).

An der Elbe op.477, a waltz by Johann Strauss, was performed for the initial time, in the *Musikverein*, Vienna.

December: As the [Cuban](#) rebels declared success, President William McKinley refused to recognize [Cuban](#) Independence.

King [Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo](#) and the Zulu royal family's captivity on their [St. Helena](#) island prison was at an end, and they embarked on the *Umbilo* for South Africa and freedom.

During the time they were on the Island they were gradually weaned from their uncivilised and savage life, until at the time of their departure they were as much civilized and attached to civilized customs as could be expected in such a short time. This can be said especially of the young Prince, who became more refined, his gentlemanly manners and bearing promising well for the tribe over which he might hold sway. Dinizulu was liked by all who knew him and he left many friends and well wishers in the Island.

December 10, Friday: William Randolph Hearst's [New-York Morning Journal](#) announced that their correspondent Karl Decker has rescued Evangelina Cisernos from a Spanish jail in [Havana](#).

December 15, Wednesday: Spain concluded the Pact of Biak-na-Bato with Philippine insurgents. In return for ending the insurgency Spain paid the revolutionaries 800,000 pesos, granted full amnesty, and allowed rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo safe passage to exile in [Hong Kong](#). What magnificence!

December 17, Friday: In "The Journal of the Knights of Labor," J. Syme-Hastings wrote about [Antonio Macco](#).

December 24, Friday: US Undersecretary of War J.C. Breckenridge sent what would come to be known as "The Breckenridge Memorandum," outlining US policy toward [Cuba](#), to Commander of the US Army Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles.



CUBA

CUBA

1898

Future diplomat Stephen Bonsal reported on the [Cuban](#) revolution for the [New-York Herald](#).

Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States.

After the Spanish-American War, the United States of course took control of [Cuba](#)'s land and economy (what did you suppose war was about?). As this tropical island was being cleared for more efficient sugar cane monoculture, refuges of the **Ivory-billed Woodpecker** [Campephilus principalis](#) of course would be becoming fewer and fewer. The bird would become just another casualty of the war — although of course nobody would ever think to think of it in that way.

January 1, Saturday: The whistling buoy at the mouth of San Francisco Bay was superseded by a lightship.

The 2d inquest into Major Esterhazy concluded that there was insufficient evidence for a court martial. General Saussier, military governor of Paris, created one in order to clear Esterhazy's name.

The boroughs of Brooklyn and Manhattan were joined to form greater New York.

[Cuba](#) was granted limited autonomy by Spain.

January 12, Wednesday: Marquis Hirobumi Ito replaced Prince Masayoshi Matsukata as prime minister of [Japan](#).

Spanish conservatives rioted in [Havana](#) in opposition to the liberal reforms of Prime Minister Sagasta.

January 24, Monday: Edward L. Thorndike delivered the 1st report of his experiments with escape learning in cats, "Experiments in Comparative Psychology," to the New York Academy of Sciences Section on [Psychology](#) and Anthropology. His studies would become classics in the study of learning.<sup>294</sup>

Frederik van Eeden had become not only a medical doctor in Bussum but also an author and was associated with the Dutch literary movement known as *de Beweging van Tachtig* or "Movement of 80":

I am reading Thoreau. A strong Thoreau atmosphere prevails. We are talking about colonies that we will establish, and I am searching constantly for suitable places for a hut or little house.

Worried that the situation in Cuba might get out of hand, the US had dispatched a warship to safeguard US interests. On this day that warship, the USS *Maine*, entered [Havana](#) harbor. Remember the *Maine*?

After a slight remission in his mental collapse, Hugo Wolf is discharged from the asylum of Dr. Wilhelm Svetlin in Vienna.

Göttin der Vernunft op.476, a quadrille by Johann Strauss, is performed for the first time, in the Sophiensaal, Vienna.

294. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994

HDT

WHAT?

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CUBA

CUBA



## CUBA

## CUBA

February 8, Tuesday: Enrique Dupuy de Lôme resigned as Ambassador of Spain in the United States.

February 9, Wednesday: The New York Journal published a confidential letter from Spanish Ambassador to the United States Enrico Dupuy de Lôme in which he had criticized US President William McKinley (this minister had resigned on the previous day).

February 12, Saturday: General Máximo Gómez issued a call to various Cuban autonomist groups for formation of a united effort against Spain.

February 14, Monday: Luís Polo de Bernabé was designated as the new Spanish Ambassador to the United States.

February 15, Tuesday: The USS *Maine* exploded in Havana harbor, killing 260. Although this was most likely an accident, the convenient incident would in April enable a US declaration of war.



TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

Thousands of Americans would protest this Spanish-American War. Leaders would include Mark Twain, the author of “A War Prayer” and other works on the folly of war.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

February 25, Friday: Acting on his own initiative, Assistant Secretary of State Theodore Roosevelt put the US Navy on full alert.

March 2, Wednesday: An American board of inquiry blames an external explosion (that is, a bomb or torpedo) for the destruction of the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor.

March 4, Friday: A Spanish naval squadron for Cuba was organized in Cádiz, Spain.



## CUBA

## CUBA

March 5, Saturday: Franz, Count Thun und Hohenstein replaced Paul, Baron Gautsch von Frankenthurn as chancellor of Austria.

Sites auriculaires for two pianos by Maurice Ravel was performed for the initial time, in the Salle Pleyel, Paris. This marked Ravel's debut as a composer.

When the Spanish government called for the removal of US Counsel General Fitzhugh Lee from [Havana](#), the United States refused to recall him.

March 9, Wednesday: Granville Bantock got married with Helena von Schweitzer, daughter of a [German](#) aristocrat.

The US federal Congress approved a credit of \$50,000,000 for "national defense."

March 13, Sunday: General Máximo Gómez repelled the Spanish attack in the Cuban insurrectionist (mambí) campaign at Majagua, [Cuba](#).

The Spanish squadron under Don Fernando Villaamil, a deputy in the Spanish Cortes (Congress) and Naval Captain, left Cádiz, Spain. It would stop in San Vicente, Cape Verde Islands (Portuguese territory).

March 17, Thursday: Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont, who had traveled at his own expense during February to [Cuba](#) to investigate the effects of the reconcentration policy, sponsored war with Spain.

March 19, Saturday: The battleship USS *Oregon* left the port of San Francisco, California, heading toward the Caribbean and toward [Cuban](#) waters.

March 20, Sunday: Máximo Gómez rejected an offer by Spanish Captain General Ramón Blanco of an alliance of the [Cuban](#) Liberation army with the Spanish forces, making common cause against a United States invasion.

March 27, Sunday: [China](#) ceded Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur (Lüshun) to Russia for 25 years and granted a concession for a South Manchurian Railway.

Pietro Mascagni conducted a symphonic concert for the 1st time in an important house, La Scala in Milan. His conducting ability was warmly received.

President William McKinley demanded that Spain institute an armistice with [Cuban](#) rebels.

March 28, Monday: A United States Naval Court of Inquiry announced that the USS *Maine* had been destroyed by a mine.

A Spanish board of inquiry blamed an internal explosion (that is, a munitions accident) for the destruction of the USS *Maine* in [Havana](#) harbor.





## CUBA

## CUBA

March 29, Tuesday: The United States issued an ultimatum to Spain, to abandon [Cuba](#) or else.

March 31, Thursday: The government of Spain agreed to submit the case of the USS *Maine* to arbitration, but insisted that [Cuban](#) rebels ask for an armistice.

April 1, Friday: Spain rejected the United States ultimatum of March 29th.

April 2, Saturday: Cuban revolutionaries under Colonel J.P. Quijano defeated Spanish forces at Chambas (Morón), [Cuba](#).

April 4, Monday: The New York Journal printed 1,000,000 copies of an issue devoted to making war on Spain.

April 5, Tuesday: President William McKinley recalled Consul General in [Cuba](#) Fitzhugh Lee to Washington DC “for instructions.”

April 8, Friday: The Spanish armored cruisers *Infanta María Teresa* and *Cristóbal Colón* commanded by Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topéte departed Cádiz, Spain.

April 9, Saturday: Spain granted an armistice with [Cuban](#) rebels.

Richard Strauss obtained a 1-year contract with the Berlin opera, to begin November 1st.

April 10, Sunday: Spanish Governor General Blanco suspended hostilities in the war in [Cuba](#).

April 11, Monday: President of the United States William McKinley requested authorization from the federal Congress to intervene in [Cuba](#), to stop the war between Cuban revolutionaries and Spain that had already been stopped.

April 12, Tuesday: The US Army transferred Yerba Buena Island in San Francisco Bay to the US Navy.

Spanish Brigadier General Joaquin Vara del Rey y Rubio returned to Santiago de [Cuba](#) to take command of his troops in anticipation of a conflict between Spain and the United States.

April 13, Wednesday: The U.S. Congress agreed to President McKinley's request for intervention in [Cuba](#), but without recognizing the [Cuban](#) Government.

The Spanish government declared that US policy jeopardized the sovereignty of Spain and prepared a special budget for war.



CUBA

CUBA

April 15, Friday: Having reached the age of 87, [Robert Purvis](#) had a stroke and died. He was survived by his 2d wife, [Friend](#) Tacy Townsend Purvis, and his son Dr. Charles B. Purvis. The funeral would be held in Philadelphia and his body would be interred at the Fair Hill Friends' burial ground.<sup>295</sup>

A historical marker would be positioned at 1601 Mount Vernon Street, the last house in which he had lived.

The commanders of Spanish forces, under Captain General Ramón Blanco called a council of war in [Havana](#) but only generals in western [Cuba](#) met since those in eastern Cuba were under attack by the mambises.

April 19, Tuesday: The U.S. Congress by a vote of 311 to 6 in the House and 42 to 35 in the Senate adopted a Joint Resolution for war with Spain which included the Teller Amendment, named after Senator Henry Moore Teller of Colorado, that disclaimed any intention of the U.S. to exercise jurisdiction or control over [Cuba](#) except in a pacification role, and pledged to leave the island as soon as the war was over. President McKinley signed the resolution on April 20, 1898 and this ultimatum was forwarded to Spain.

April 20, Wednesday: Both houses of the US Congress approved the Teller Amendment authorizing force against Spain, while disclaiming any intent to take control of or occupy [Cuba](#) after the war. President McKinley signed and forwarded the joint resolution of Congress to Spain.

Spanish Minister in Washington Polo de Bernabé demanded his passport and, along with the personnel of the Legation, left Washington DC for Canada.

April 21, Thursday: The Spanish legation departed Washington DC heading for Canada.

Spain responded to the Joint Resolution of the United States of April 20th as a declaration of war. United States Minister General Steward L. Woodford in Madrid was handed his passport.

President McKinley ordered blockade of [Cuba](#).

Spanish authorities in [Cuba](#) issued manifestos and other notices to the population and to the Spanish Army that a state of war existed with the United States. Spanish forces in Santiago de [Cuba](#) mined Guantánamo Bay.

April 22, Friday: United States warships departed Key West to begin a [Cuban](#) blockade at the principal ports on the north coast and at Cienfuegos.

April 23, Saturday: President William McKinley called for 125,000 US volunteers. Go overseas and kill somebody you don't know, and we'll foot the bill.

295. [Friends](#) burial ground? –Had this man been a [Quaker](#)? Refer to Henry Joel Cadbury's NEGRO MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, which lists as recorded ministers, and as otherwise active members, the following persons: William Allen, Osborn T. Taylor, Joseph Coleman, [Paul Cuffe](#), Daniel Drew, Noah McLean, Miles Lassiter, David Bustill, William Bowen, Sarah Mapps Douglas, Jeremiah Bowser, Cyrus Bustill, David Mapps, Grace Mapps, Hannah Conn, Emily Rodman Williams, Caesar Sanky, Sarah Antone, and [Robert Purvis](#).



## CUBA

## CUBA

April 24, Sunday: Festive Chorus for dedicating the banner of the St. Joseph's Union for male chorus by Leos Janáček to words of Stasny was performed for the initial time, in Brunn (Brno).

Spanish Minister of Defense Segismundo Bermejo sent instructions to Spanish Admiral Cervera to proceed with his fleet from Cape Verde to the Caribbean, [Cuba](#), and Puerto Rico.

President of the Cuban Republic in arms General Bartolomé Masó issued the Manifiesto de Sebastopol and reiterated the mambí motto "Independencia o Muerte."

On the high seas, US warships captured the Spanish merchant ships *Saturnino*, *Cándida*, and *Catalina*.

April 25, Monday: Russia and [Japan](#) agreed to the independence of [Korea](#) and non-interference in its internal affairs.

The Spanish concentrated troops at Santiago de [Cuba](#) and deployed them to various locations in that province.

General Pando and the Autonomista Delegates returned to [Havana](#) from Santa Cruz del Sur following a breakup of the meeting with the Council of the Mambí Government.

Following a [Cuban](#) insurrection against Spanish rule and the sinking of the USS *Maine* in the harbor at [Havana](#), the United States Congress recognized the independence of [Cuba](#) and declared that war with Spain had existed since April 21st.

### US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

April 26, Tuesday: General Calixto García Íñiguez informed Delegate Tomás Estrada Palma in [Cuba](#) that his army was occupying the towns abandoned by the Spanish army.

April 27, Wednesday: U.S. ships, the monitor Puritan, and the armored cruisers New York and Cincinnati bombarded the Spanish fortifications on Matanzas Bay.

Cuban forces of the Division of Santiago de [Cuba](#) attacked the Spanish battalion La Constitución near San Luis and Palma Soriano.

April 28, Thursday: Cuban Lieutenant General Calixto García occupied the city of Bayamo, [Cuba](#) and established his General Headquarters there. His forces had already occupied the towns of Jiguaní, Baire, and Santa Rita, evacuated by the Spanish troops. The mambises maintained the offensive in Oriente Province, [Cuba](#).

President Masó issued a manifesto calling for [Cuban](#) revolutionaries to unite with Autonomistas and Spanish of good faith to sustain a creole government.

April 29, Friday: Cuban forces attacked Spanish positions at Mao and Alto Songo, [Cuba](#).

The Portuguese government declared itself neutral in the conflict between Spain and the United States.

U.S. Navy ships mined the entrance to Cienfuegos Bay and bombarded the Spanish defenses there.



## CUBA

## CUBA

April 30, Saturday: The Spanish Governor General Blanco ordered hostilities resumed with the [Cuban](#) insurrectionists.

U.S. naval forces under Colonel Dorst attempted to disembark on the beach of La Herradura, Pinar del Río, [Cuba](#), but were forced to retreat before the heavy fire of the Spanish forces under the command of General Hernández de Velazco.

May 1, Sunday: United States warships attacked a Spanish squadron in Manila Bay, the Philippines. Was it close? No, it wasn't close. All the Spanish ships were sunk. 167 died, all of them Spaniards.

“The message to García”: U.S. Army Lieutenant Andrew S. Rowan, through the assistance of the U.S. government, the Cuban Delegation in New York, and the mambises in [Cuba](#), made contact with General Calixto García in Bayamo to seek his cooperation and to obtain military and political assessment of Cuba. This contact benefited the Cuban Liberation Army and the Cuban Revolutionary Army and totally ignored the Government of the Republic in arms.

May 2, Monday: The U.S. Congress voted a war emergency credit increase of \$34,625,725.

General Máximo Gómez opens communication with U.S. Admiral Sampson.

May 3, Tuesday: Camp Merriman was established in the Presidio of San Francisco.

Golda Meir was born.

May 4, Wednesday: Spanish forces turned back the US attack at Pinar del Río.

May 5, Thursday: The John Philip Sousa band escorted Troop A of the Ohio National Guard as it departed Cleveland for the war against Spain.

May 9, Monday: [Cuban](#) revolutionaries and Spanish troops fought in the Sierra Maestra Mountains, near Cabreco and Aldea.

May 10, Tuesday: Tomás Estrada Palma, representing the Government of the Republic of [Cuba](#) in arms, communicated to President McKinley that General in Chief Máximo Gómez and Lieutenant General Calixto García would cooperate in land and sea activities with the U.S.

May 11, Wednesday: U.S. Navy bombarded Cárdenas, [Cuba](#).

Charles H. Allen succeeded Theodore Roosevelt as assistant secretary of the navy.



## CUBA

## CUBA

May 14, Saturday: U.S. forces cut the underwater cable at Cienfuegos. During a revival of Jules Massenet's *La Navarraise* at the Paris Opéra-Comique, when the Spanish soldiers entered carrying the Spanish flag, the crowd burst into applause.

May 17, Tuesday: Camp Merritt was established in the Presidio of San Francisco.

May 18, Wednesday: Spanish Prime Minister Sagasta formed a new cabinet.

May 19, Thursday: Emilio Aguinaldo arrived in Manila from exile in [Hong Kong](#) (the United States had invited him to return in expectation that this would foment rebellion against the Spanish rulers of the islands).

A Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Pascual Cervera entered the port of Santiago de [Cuba](#). These Spanish ships included the armored cruisers *Infanta María Teresa*, *Almirante Oquendo*, *Cristóbal Colón*, and *Vizcaya*, the destroyer *Furor*, and the torpedo boat *Plutón*.

May 23, Monday: Ernest Judet published "Zola père et fils" in his *Petit Journal*. This defamed Emile Zola's father.

*Fantasio*, a phantastische Komödie by Ethel Smyth to words of Brewster and the composer after de Musset, was performed for the initial time, in the Weimar Hoftheater.

The [Chicago Interocean](#) announced "we must at least control the destiny of [Cuba](#) for many years, and eventually annex it."

The 1st Philippine Expeditionary Troops, 12,000 in number, set sail from San Francisco harbor.

**US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS**

May 24, Tuesday: To deal with the chaos he found upon his return, Emilio Aguinaldo instituted a dictatorial revolutionary government in the Philippines.

One day after [Japanese](#) troops evacuated Wei-hai-wei, British troops moved in to take over the lease agreed to by [China](#).

Emile Zola sued Ernest Judet for libel.

May 27, Friday: [China](#) granted a region on the shores of Kwangchow Bay to France.

The U.S. Navy, under Admiral William Thompson Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, formally blockaded the port of Santiago de [Cuba](#).

May 28, Saturday: General William Rufus Shafter of the U.S. Army received orders to mobilize his forces in Tampa, Florida for the attack on [Cuba](#).



## CUBA

## CUBA

May 31, Tuesday: When a United States naval squadron bombarded the fortifications at Santiago de [Cuba](#), the Spanish armored cruiser *Cristóbal Colón* returned fire.

June 1, Wednesday: The 1st US ground troops arrive in the Philippines at Cavite.

Song of Welcome op.42 for chorus and orchestra by Amy Cheney Beach was performed for the initial time, for the opening of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition in Omaha, Nebraska.

June 3, Friday: First contact of the commanders of the U.S. Marines and leaders of the [Cuban](#) Liberation Army, aboard the armored cruiser U.S.S. New York at which the revolutionary forces provided detailed information for the campaign.

June 6, Monday: The U.S. squadron bombarded Santiago de [Cuba](#) with over 2000 shells, causing severe damage to various Spanish ships and fortifications. General Miles in Tampa received the final plans for the joint U.S./[Cuban](#) Liberation Army attack.

June 9, Thursday: US Admiral William Thompson Sampson sailed to Guantánamo Bay.

June 10, Friday: A battalion of Marines led by Lieutenant Colonel Robert W. Huntington seized Guantánamo Bay, with assistance of Colonel Enrique Thomas of the [Cuban](#) forces. Sergeant John Quick, because of his signals under Spanish fire that saved a Marine unit, would receive the Medal of Honor. Preliminary thinking on the topic of an Advanced Base concept began.  
[Ruth Pickering](#) was born in Wichita, Kansas into the [Quaker](#) family of Joseph J. Pickering and Elizabeth Ann Beamer Pickering.

June 11, Saturday: United States Marines disembarked at Guantánamo Bay, [Cuba](#).

The McKinley administration renewed a debate in regard to the annexation of Hawaii. Discussions in Congress centered on the idea that “we must have Hawaii to help us get our share of China.”

June 13, Monday: The Rough Riders sailed from Tampa, Florida bound for Santiago de [Cuba](#).

US Army troops began landing in the Philippines.

British chemists William Ramsay and Morris Travers informed the Royal Society that they had discovered a new gas which they termed “Neon.”

The Yukon District was separated from the Northwest Territories and became a separate territory.

June 14, Tuesday: An agreement between Great Britain and France defines the border in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, thus averting war.





## CUBA

## CUBA

June 15, Wednesday: United States troops repulsed a Spanish attack on their beachhead at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

The American Anti-Imperialist League was founded to oppose annexation of the Philippines. Among its members were Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, William James, and Samuel Gompers.

The annexation of Hawaii was approved by the US House of Representatives by a vote of 209 over 91.

June 20, Monday: United States forces captured Guam from Spain without a struggle.

The main U.S. force appeared off Santiago de [Cuba](#), with more than 16,200 soldiers and various material in 42 ships. A total of 153 ships of the U.S. forces assembled off of the harbor.

Lieutenant General Calixto García ([Cuba](#)) and Admiral Sampson and General Shafter (US) met in El Aserradero (south coast of Oriente Province, [Cuba](#)) to complete the general strategy of the campaign. Cuban forces occupied positions west, northwest, and east of Santiago de [Cuba](#).

June 21, Tuesday: [Cuban](#) forces under General Castillo Duany and Colonel González Clavel cleared the coast near Santiago, with the collaboration of the U.S. naval squadron, to facilitate disembarkation of US troops.

June 22, Wednesday: United States forces put ashore 6,000-strong at Daiquiri, a few kilometers from Santiago de Cuba.

A rift occurred between Spanish Captain General Blanco and his Chief of Staff General Pando in [Havana](#) as Blanco refused Pando's request to send 10,000 troops to reinforce Santiago against the invasion.

The Chicago [Tribune](#) argued for the annexation of [Cuba](#) by the United States of America, along of course with Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands: "All of these islands will belong to us by sovereign right of honorable conquest. They will be American soil from the moment the Stars and Stripes float over them. Annexation of all three is the natural outcome."

June 24, Friday: United States under General Joseph Wheeler defeated Spanish forces at Las Guásimas, [Cuba](#).

June 25, Saturday-26, Sunday: U.S. and Cuban troops, including 3,000 Cuban soldiers from El Aserradero, disembarked at Siboney, [Cuba](#). The Cubans were led by generals Calixto García, Rabí, Lora, and Portuondo Tamayo, accompanied by U.S. General Ludlow.

June 26, Sunday: Willi Messerschmitt was born in Frankfurt.

June 27, Monday: Lieutenant General Calixto García requested that Tomás Estrada Palma and the Cuban Committee ask President McKinley to recognize the [Cuban](#) Council of Government.

General Henry Martin Duffield, commanding 3,000 soldiers, disembarked at Daiquirí, [Cuba](#), bringing to a total 22,000 U.S. and Cuban soldiers at Santiago de [Cuba](#). The Spanish forces numbered some 8,000 soldiers.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

July 1, Friday: US and Cuban troops took El Viso Fort, the town of El Caney, and the San Juan Heights. Spanish General Vara del Rey was killed. Teddy Roosevelt and [Leonard Wood](#) and their Rough Riders climbed up San Juan Hill. General Duffield, with 3,000 soldiers, captured the Aguadores Fort at Santiago de [Cuba](#) killing its defender Spanish General Arsenio Linares y Pomba. Spanish Navy Captain Joaquín Bustamante y Quevedo was killed.

July 2, Saturday: Calixto García attacked Santiago de [Cuba](#) from the north. In this battle the Cubans took on an entrenched Spanish army.

Admiral Cervera and the Spanish fleet prepared to leave Santiago Bay.

## CUBA

## CUBA

July 3, Sunday: Joshua Slocum reached Fairhaven, Massachusetts aboard his 11-meter sloop Spray. He had made himself the 1st human to circumnavigate the globe alone. This had taken him 3 years, 2 months, and 2 days.

The Spanish fleet attempting to leave Santiago Bay was halted as the US squadron under Admiral Schley destroyed the Spanish destroyer Furor, the torpedo boat Plutón, and the armored cruisers Infanta María Teresa, Almirante Oquendo, Vizcaya, and Cristóbal Colón. The Spanish lost all their ships, with 350 dead, and 160 wounded. 354 were killed, one of them an American.

General Shafter informed the US Secretary of War that Santiago de [Cuba](#) was under siege on the north and east sides. A 3,500-member Spanish column under Colonel Federico Escario completed a 150-mile march to relieve Santiago. A few days later Santiago de Cuba would be occupied by American forces, and we would forbid Cuban rebels from entering the city.





CUBA

CUBA



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: News of the defeat of the Spanish naval squadron at Santiago Bay, [Cuba](#) reached the United States.

The United States of America took possession of Wake Island.

At Washington Grove, Maryland, which is a few miles outside of Washington DC, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster was the orator of the day and delivered one of those traditional Fourth of July addresses.

In Auburn, California a county courthouse was dedicated.

In Waynesburg, Pennsylvania the cornerstone for the Soldier's and Sailor's Monument for Civil War veterans of Greene County was laid.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 8, Friday: The United States of America acquired Hawaii.

July 15, Friday: Spanish forces under General Toral capitulated to US forces at Santiago de [Cuba](#).

July 16, Saturday: [Daniel Ricketson](#) died.

An armistice was signed at the Arbol de La Paz (a large ceiba tree) by US and Spanish forces. The [Cuban](#) Liberation Army did not participate in this.

July 17, Sunday: Spanish defenders of Santiago de [Cuba](#) surrendered to United States forces.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

July 18, Monday: A paper written by Marie Curie and Pierre Curie was read at the French Academy of Sciences (read for them, since they were not members of the Academy). In this they informed the Academy that they had discovered a new substance, which because they themselves were Polish they termed “Polonium.” They also deployed for the initial time the term “[radioactive](#).”

## THE SCIENCE OF 1898

US naval forces bombarded Manzanillo, [Cuba](#).

The Mambí periodical El Cubano Libre published a special edition on recent war successes.

The Spanish government, through French Ambassador in Washington Jules Cambon, forwarded a message to President McKinley asking for hostilities to be suspended and the start of negotiations to end the war. Spanish Minister of State Duque de Almodóvar del Río (Juan Manuel Sánchez y Gutiérrez de Castro), Spanish Minister of State, had wired the Spanish Ambassador in Paris charging him to negotiate the suspension, through the French Government, as a preliminary measure to final negotiations for peace.

[US General Leonard Wood](#) was designated as the military governor of Santiago de [Cuba](#).

Clara Barton of the Red Cross cared for wounded soldiers at Santiago de [Cuba](#).

July 19, Tuesday: [Cuban](#) revolutionary forces defeated Spanish forces at El Jíbaro.

July 20, Wednesday: US naval ships bombarded Santa Cruz del Sur, [Cuba](#).

July 25, Monday: United States forces captured the town of Guanica, Puerto Rico.

[Cuban](#) forces defeated Spanish at Arroyo Blanco, Las Villas.

July 26, Tuesday: At the request of Spain, the government of France contacted United States authorities about a cessation of hostilities.

Emile Zola was suspended from the Legion of Honor.

## CUBA

## CUBA

July 28, Thursday: Two works by Gabriel Fauré for flute and piano were performed for the initial time, at the Paris Conservatoire: Fantaisie op.79 and Morceau de lecture.

United States forces captured Ponce, Puerto Rico.

Duque de Almodóvar del Río called for US annexation of [Cuba](#).

US officials instructed General Shafter to return his troops immediately to the United States, to prevent an outbreak of yellow fever.

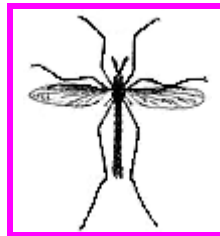
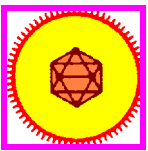
The Cleveland [Leader](#) editorialized in favor of the annexation of [Cuba](#): “While our government disavowed a purpose of conquest, it may be absolutely necessary for us to keep [Cuba](#) and make it a part of the United States.”



July 30, Saturday: A counter-proposal for ceasefire was relayed from the United States to Spain through France.

July 31, Sunday: A Spanish counterattack at Malate near Manila was repulsed by United States troops.

August 1, Monday: The US War Department, warned that over 3,000 of its troops in [Cuba](#) were suffering from [yellow fever](#), ordered all healthy personnel off the island, to be returned to Paumanok Long Island’s Montauk Point.



August 2, Tuesday: Spain accepted the counter-proposal of the United States for cease-fire, with certain reservations.

August 9, Tuesday: United States troops defeated Spanish at Coamo, Puerto Rico. The Spanish government accepted peace terms.

Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, former president of the Cuban Republic in arms, entered the town of Santa Cruz with [Cuban](#) Liberation Army soldiers.

August 11, Thursday: US Secretary of State Day and French Ambassador Cambon, representing Spain, negotiated a Protocol of Peace.





## CUBA

## CUBA

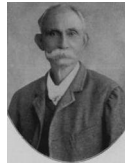
August 12, Friday: United States forces completed their conquest of Puerto Rico.

Sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands officially transferred to the United States of America.

In [Havana](#), Spanish Governor General Blanco terminated his mission in [Cuba](#).

A ceasefire was announced between Spain and the United States of America.

Spain and the USA signed a bilateral armistice at negotiations in which [Cuba](#) was not represented. Máximo Gómez refused to attend at the raising of the American flag at Morro Castle in Havana. "Ours," he writes, "is the Cuban flag, the one for which so many tears and blood have been shed... we must keep united in order to bring to an end this unjustified military occupation."



August 13, Saturday: United States and Philippine troops entered Manila.

An opponent of Alfred Dreyfus, Captain Cuignet, while perusing the Dreyfus file in French Intelligence, discovered that some of the documents had been forged, including the infamous letter of October 31, 1896. He accused Lt. Col. Henry of committing the forgery.

August 14, Sunday: President of the Governing Council of the Republic of [Cuba](#) Bartolomé Masó called for elections of Revolutionary Representatives to meet in Assembly.

August 15, Monday: Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, "Fighting Joe" Wheeler, and the Rough Riders disembarked on Paumanok Long Island's Montauk Point.

General Calixto García led forces of the Cuban Liberation Army in battle against Spanish forces in the final battle of the war in [Cuba](#), at Aguas Claras.

September 12, Monday: A joint US/Spanish commission to oversee the Spanish military withdrawal from [Cuba](#) (General Wade, General Butler, Admiral Sampson, General Segundo Cabo, General González, Admiral Vicente Manterola, and Doctor Rafael Montoro) met in [Havana](#).

September 13, Tuesday: The Spanish Cortes ratified the Protocol of Peace with the United States of America.

Two works for organ by Max Reger were performed for the first time, in Wesel: Fantasy on Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott op.27 and Fantasy on Freu' dich sehr, O meine Seele! op.30.



## CUBA

## CUBA

September 15, Thursday: The Congress of the First Philippine Republic met in Barasoain Church in Malolos, province of Bulacan, to create a constitution.

A Song of Darkness and Light for soprano, chorus and orchestra by Hubert Parry to words of Bridges was performed for the initial time, in Gloucester.

September 16, Friday: The Spanish and U.S. Commissioners for the Peace Treaty were appointed. The U.S. Commissioners were William R. Day (U.S. Secretary of State), William P. Frye (President pro tempore of Senate, Republican/Maine), Whitelaw Reid, George Gray (Senator, Democrat/Delaware) and Cushman K. Davis (Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Republican/Minnesota). The Spanish Commissioners were Eugenio Montero Ríos (President, Spanish Senate), Buenaventura Abarzuza (Senator), José de Garnica y Díaz (Associate Justice of the Supreme Court), Wenceslao Ramírez de Villa Urrutia (Envoy Extraordinary), and Rafael Cerero y Saenz (General of the Army).

William R. Day resigned as U.S. Secretary of State and was succeeded by John Hay.

September 22, Thursday: When Major General Calixto García and his Cuban forces arrived in Santiago de [Cuba](#), [US General Leonard Wood](#) formally recognized his efforts in the war due to the fact that General Shafter had neglected to recognize this Cuban leader's participation in the capitulation of Santiago.

September 27, Tuesday: A US-owned "Island of [Cuba](#) Real Estate Company" opened for business.

October 1, Saturday: [David Tillerson Smith](#) was born near Lebanon in Anderson County, South Carolina, to William Whittaker Smith and Florence Eleanor "Florrie" Sullivan Smith. He would receive his early education in the Lebanon school.

In California, [Henry Edwards Huntington](#) purchased the Los Angeles Railway.

When Spanish and United States commissioners met for the initial time in Paris, to conclude a peace treaty, neither Cubans nor Filipinos had been invited.

October 16, Sunday: General Calixto García agreed to visit all of the Cuban troops in [Cuba](#), and then proceed to Washington DC, with [US General Leonard Wood](#), to confer with US authorities regarding Cuban interests.

October 18, Tuesday: The stars and bars were raised in Puerto Rico shortly before Spain formally gave control to the USA.

October 24, Monday: The Assembly of Representatives of the Revolution met in Santa Cruz del Sur, [Cuba](#), and selected General Domingo Méndez Capote as president (the Assembly would later meet in El Cano, Marianao, and El Cerro, and would complete its duties on April 4th of the following year).

October 27, Thursday: Spain accepted the American position on the [Cuban](#) debt: neither the USA nor a Cuban government would be required to assume this debt (which was, after all, mostly the expenses of the conquest).

November 10, Thursday: In accord with the Assembly of Representatives of the Revolution, a commission of Major General Calixto García, Colonel Manuel Sanguily, Dr. Antonio González Lanuza, General José Miguel Gómez, and Colonel José R. Villalón met to seek support for needs of the Liberation Army and to establish a [Cuban](#) government. The US did not recognize this commission. The U.S. instead stated that the U.S. had declared war on Spain and all of its possessions because of the destruction of the battleship U.S.S. Maine and other acts against the United States.

November 19, Saturday: The Anti-Imperialist League was founded in Boston to oppose US acquisition of overseas territories. Among their members were former Presidents [Stephen Grover Cleveland](#) and William Henry Harrison.

Hymne an den Gesang for male chorus and orchestra op.21 was performed for the initial time, in Weiden, with the composer Max Reger himself conducting.

November 26, Saturday: Captain General Ramón Blanco y Erenas resigned as Governor General of [Cuba](#).

157 drowned when the *City of Portland* sank near Cape Cod. Wesley Pingree was keeper of the Deer Island

[TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS](#)



[LOST AT SEA](#)

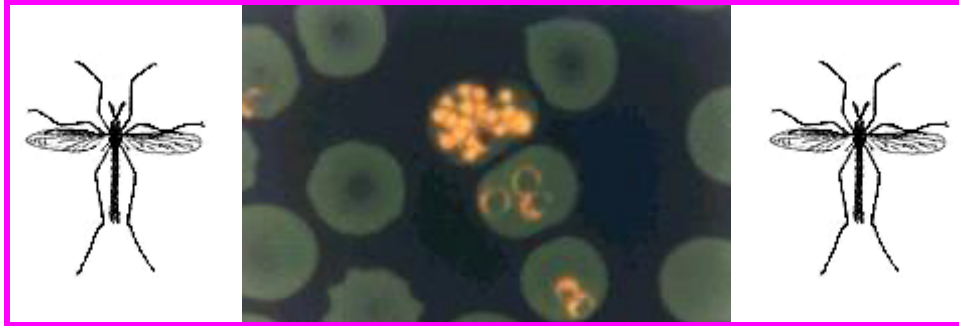
Light during this weather excursion and would survive to describe the experience to Edward Rowe Snow:

At two o'clock in the afternoon the ocean was as smooth as glass. At five p.m. it had started snowing and the wind was coming up. A little later the Bangor boat went by but returned to the harbor, as the sea was rapidly getting worse. At 7 p.m. the Portland came down the channel, and the other boat, anchored in President Road, whistled a warning to her. At this time the waves were hitting so high that I was lashing my dory fast to the light.

All told, 141 vessels were wrecked and 456 lives lost.

November 28, Monday: The Spanish Commission for Peace accepted the United States demands in the Peace Treaty.

[Amico Bignami](#), [Giovanni Battista Grassi](#), and [Giuseppi Bastianelli](#) announced that they had been able to infect humans with [malaria](#) by means of mosquitoes, describing the full development of the malarial disease in those humans and noting that it was only the Anophelese mosquito that transmitted the [parasite Plasmodium](#).



November 29, Tuesday: C.S. Lewis was born.

The Malolos Congress approved a constitution for the First Philippine Republic.

December: At the urging of Estrada-Palma, El Partido Revolucionario Cubano, the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party, founded by José Martí, was dissolved.

Louis Deibler abdicated as the beheader of the French, in favour of his son Anatole Deibler.

HEADCHOPPING

December 1, Thursday: The Cuban Educational Association (formed by the administration of [US General Leonard Wood](#)) reported that only certain Cubans would be considered fit to be “Americanized” and that Cubans with darker skins “could not gain admission” to many American universities and colleges.

December 10, Saturday: Agreement was reached in Paris for a Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and Spain. In the final session of the peace conference, Spain and the USA initialed a Treaty of Paris by which the US would be granted control of 4 new territories: [Cuba](#), Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. The United States paid Spain \$20,000,000 for all Spanish claims in the Philippines. Although the treaty officially granted independence to [Cuba](#), the US flag rather than the Cuban flag was raised over Havana, and Cuban representatives were not allowed to attend this signing.

The 202nd [New York](#) Infantry left Rochester for duty with the Army of Occupation in [Cuba](#). Back home, during a debate over Hawaii, Senator Pettigrew discussed the reality of Manifest Destiny:

Throughout all recorded time manifest destiny has been the murderer of men. It has committed more crimes, done more to oppress and wrong the inhabitants of the world than any other tribute to which mankind has fallen heir. Manifest destiny has caused the strong to rob the weak and has reduced the weak to slavery. Manifest destiny built the feudal castle and supplied the castle with its serfs. Manifest destiny impelled republics that have heretofore existed and perished to go forth and conquer weaker races and to subject their people to slavery, to impose taxation against their will, and to inflict governments odious to them. Manifest destiny is simply the cry of the strong



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in justification of their plunder of the weak.

December 11, Sunday: Calixto García died in Washington DC after a brief case of pneumonia. The corpse would be temporarily interred at Arlington National Cemetery.

December 12, Monday: The treaty was signed in Paris ending the Spanish-American War.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**



CUBA

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1899

Wisconsin's last wild American Passenger Pigeon  *Ectopistes migratorius* was shot.

The 1899 census revealed [Cuba](#)'s total population to have reached 1,572,797 (that's humans, not passenger pigeons, although there were a few ivory-billed woodpeckers still alive there).

January 1, Sunday: Spanish forces left [Cuba](#). The USA installed a provisional military government under General John R. Brooke. In the throne room of the Salon at the Palace of the Captain-General, Spanish General Adolfo Jiménez Castellanos formally turned the island over to the USA as a Spanish flag was brought down and a flag of the USA raised.

January 10, Tuesday: The 1st organized work stoppage took place on the dockyard in Cárdenas, [Cuba](#) the workers demanding to be paid in US rather than Spanish currency.

January 16, Monday: Port workers in [Havana](#) walked out on strike and ferry operators joined in. They demanded a pay increase, overtime pay, and double pay for Sundays, holidays, and for working into the night. Work resumed when employers promised to revise the pay scale.

February 4, Saturday: After United States troops killed 3 Philippine soldiers in a Manila suburb, Philippine troops under Emilio Aguinaldo began a war against the United States forces occupying their islands. A battle began at Manila that would go on for several days, killing 550 and wounding 1,200, with 500 being taken prisoner.

**US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS**

British poet Rudyard Kipling welcomed the United States to the brotherhood of imperialists by his poem "Take Up the White Man's Burden."

Symphonic Dances op.64 for orchestra by Edvard Grieg was performed for the initial time, in Christiania.

February 6, Monday: The US federal Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris by a vote of 52 to 27 and President William McKinley signed the document, as newspapers all over the nation carried a headline that war had broken out in the Philippine Islands.

**US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS**

February 17, Friday: US occupation forces in [Cuba](#) had come to number almost 45,000 in total, including 15 regiments of infantry and 4 battalions of artillery (this force was larger than the entire body of men who had engaged in the fighting against Spain).

March: [John Burroughs](#) made a comment about [Henry Thoreau](#) in [The Atlantic Monthly](#), in an article titled "The Vital Touch in Literature":

Readers fancy that in the works of Thoreau ... some new charm or quality of nature is disclosed, that something hidden in field or wood is brought to light. They do not see that what they are in love with is the mind or spirit of the writer



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himself. Thoreau does not interpret nature, but nature interprets him. The new thing disclosed in bird and flower is simply a new sensibility to these objects in the beholder.


When the street laborers of Matanzas, [Cuba](#) went on strike, Major Cartwright announced that he would continue operations with strikebreakers and, if anyone interfered, they “would be court-martialed and shot.”



March 19, Sunday. Spain ratified the Treaty of Paris when its queen regent, María Cristina, signed the agreement to break an impasse in the deadlocked Cortes.

March 29, Wednesday: A manifesto addressed “To the People of [Cuba](#),” distributed throughout [Havana](#), announcing the creation of a *Partido Socialista Cubano* (Cuban Socialist Party). 

April 11, Tuesday: [Monier Monier-Williams](#) died at Cannes.

The Spanish-American war formally ended with an exchange of ratifications of the peace treaty by the USA and Spain. 



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April 15, Saturday: In the Indianapolis News, Booker T. Washington evaded the obvious: “My General feeling is that Cubans ought to be left to govern themselves. In bringing Cuba into our American life we must bear in mind that, notwithstanding the fact that the Cubans have certain elements of weakness, they already seem to have surpassed the United States in solving the race problem, in that they seem to have no race problem in Cuba. I wonder if it is quite fair to the white people and the colored people in Cuba to bring them into our American conditions and revive the race antagonism so that they will have to work out anew the race problem that we are now trying to solve in this country.”



June: A drainage system was completed in Jamestown, St. Helena carrying waste water in a culvert from Upper Jamestown to the sea front.

Robert P. Porter’s INDUSTRIAL CUBA (Porter was a personal friend of President William McKinley and strongly favored annexing the island).

June 13, Tuesday: Douglas MacArthur matriculated at the West Point Military Academy.

Recruiting posters for the US Army hang in postal offices throughout the US, asking young men to join “Uncle Sam’s Personally Conducted Excursion to his new possessions Manila, Cuba, and Porto Rico.”

The Delaware and Hudson Canal was drained and abandoned.

Summer: The American Anti-Imperialist League urged the end of occupation and the beginning of self-government for Cuba.

August 14, Monday: At the trial in Rennes, Alfred Dreyfus’ lawyer was shot and critically injured (he would survive).

In Massachusetts, the Worcester Gazette reported that “newspapers are receiving printed sheets containing the argument that Cubans want to be annexed.”

A presidential commission on the future of the Philippines recommended that the United States retain colonial control over the islands.

### US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

August 27, Sunday: In Havana, the masons went on strike for higher wages plus an 8-hour workday.

September: On St. Helena, due to bubonic plague, quarantine facilities were organized for ships arriving from south and east Asia.

In Havana a manifesto signed by a group of Cuban working class leaders complained of current working conditions.



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September 1, Friday: At a meeting in [Havana](#), the General League of [Cuban](#) Workers was formed, with Enrique Messonier as president and Pedro A. Navarro as secretary. The program stressed 5 issues:

- 1) “That the Cuban workers in general should enjoy the same advantages and guarantees enjoyed by foreigners in different industries in this country.”
- 2) “To achieve employment in all workshops of Cuban émigrés forced to return to the island.”
- 3) “To initiate a campaign in behalf of the moral and material interests of Cuban women workers.”
- 4) “To provide for the welfare of all orphans (whether or not they were children of the Liberators) who were crowding the streets in great numbers.”
- 5) “To be prepared for defense against every harmful element which tries to place obstacles in the path of the advance of the Cuban Republic.”

September 12, Tuesday: In an interview that appeared in the Chicago [Chronicle](#), General Carlos García made it very clear that [Cubans](#) would not surrender their independence and that were the US to attempt to annex the island, we would be met with armed resistance.

September 24, Sunday: Up to 8,000 workers gather in the Little Square Balboa in [Havana](#) to hear union leaders speak in support of the masons. A committee is elected to direct the general strike.

October: The masons become the first workers in [Cuba](#) to win a working day of 8 hours.

November 14, Tuesday: By a treaty between Great Britain and [Germany](#), the border between Togoland and the Gold Coast was settled and Britain annexed the Tonga and Savage Islands. Britain gave up its rights in Samoa, allowing [Germany](#) to make an agreement to partition the islands with the United States of America.

The Saracen, an opera by Cesar Cui to words after Dumas, père, was performed for the initial time, in Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg.

An editorial in [Havana](#)'s La Discusión asserted that “[Cuba](#) is not American territory, it is not a State, nor a conquered country like Puerto Rico or the Philippines, which was ceded to the United States without reserve condition or restrictions. Regarding [Cuba](#) Spain did nothing but renounce its sovereignty and titles.”

November 19, Sunday: A mass funeral was held for Enrique Creci, working-class hero of the Cuban army killed in action against Spain. The funeral procession, composed of thousands of workers and union leaders from every trade union in [Cuba](#), and led by Salvador Cisneros Betancourt and Juan Gualberto Gómez, was attacked by the police and many workers were cruelly beaten.

November 29, Wednesday: Between this day and December 7th a series of rallies and protest meetings would be held at which resolutions would be adopted calling for the speedy end of the occupation of [Cuba](#).



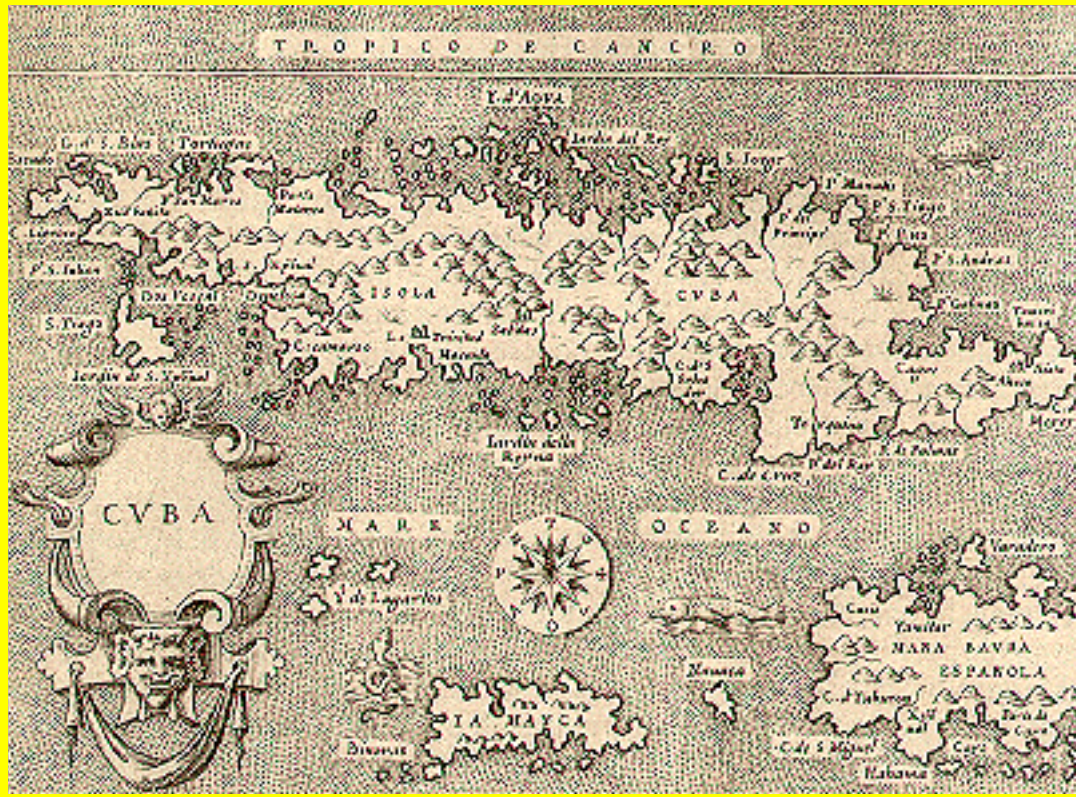
**CUBA**

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December 5, Tuesday: President McKinley, in his annual address to Congress, left the door open for US annexation of [Cuba](#). “Whether these ties shall be organic or conventional,” he says, “the destinies of [Cuba](#) are in some rightful form and manner irrevocably linked to our own, but how and how far is for the future to determine in the ripeness of events.” Annexationists in the US would be re-energized at McKinley’s words.

1900

March: In an article in [The Atlantic Monthly](#), Richard B. Olney, who had been President Grover Cleveland's Secretary of State and was a wall Street lawyer and financier, wrote that actually [Cuba](#) already was annexed to the United States of America since "the Spanish War ended in the acquisition of [Cuba](#)..." He advised the federal Congress to make the island "in point of law what she already is in point of fact, namely United States territory."



In the course of the previous 250 years, the use of [sugar](#) had spread until it was at this point a regular part of the diet of working families. Despite the abolition of slavery, sugar was supplying approximately 20% of the calories consumed by the civilized!

SWEETS  
WITHOUT  
SLAVERY

By this point perhaps 25% of the US male population was [circumcised](#). The editor of the journal [Medical News](#), copping an attitude that there's no reason whatever, why sexual intercourse needs to be so very pleasant an activity, registered a plea on behalf of the further expansion of this surgical intervention:

Finally, circumcision probably tends to increase the power of sexual control. The only physiological advantages which the prepuce can be supposed to confer is that of maintaining the penis in a condition susceptible to more acute sensation than would otherwise exist. It may increase the pleasure of coition and the impulse to it; but these are advantages which in the present state of society can well be spared. If in their loss, increase in sexual control should result, one should be thankful.





## CUBA

## CUBA

April: A delegation of [Cubans](#) petitioned the American military governor, General Leonard Wood, that official documents not employ skin-color categories such as “mulatto, colored, and brown.” Such racist color-coding ought to be outlawed, the sole permissible category being that of “citizen” (Wood would ignore this petition).

April 13, Friday: Per an editorial in the [New-York Sun](#), “the attitude of the people of [Cuba](#) toward annexation seems to be this in brief: the wealth and intelligence of the island are generally in favor of it, and the agitators and their tools, the ignorant Negroes, are opposed to it.”

The initial contingent of Boer prisoners of war lined up and filed off the boat at James Bay, [St. Helena](#). Welcome to your new home.

They were marched inside a line of guards via Napoleon Street to the Camp. The line extended some hundreds of yards, and with the crowds of spectators who lined the streets on either side, presented a sight never witnessed in St. Helena by any of the present generation, and one not quickly to be forgotten – a motley crowd of beings of all ages, from boys of 14 to men of 60, some clean and decently clad, others poorly clad, dirty and unkempt, and sickly-looking, each with a dirty haversack, water kettle or bottle, or string of drinking pots and pans, some with bundles of clothing wrapped in blankets.

April 18, Wednesday: A new electoral law was passed for [Cuba](#), based on US Secretary of War Elihu Root’s plan for a restricted franchise. Potential voters must be males over 21 years of age, citizens of [Cuba](#) according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris, who satisfy at least of the following three requirements: be able to read and write; own property worth US\$250 in gold; received an honorable discharge for service in the Cuban army prior to July 18, 1898.

May: On [St. Helena](#) an epidemic of influenza produced 75 deaths.

There was a serious scandal in the [Cuban](#) postal system, in which Director-General Estes G. Rathbone, postal official Charles F. Neely, and others were implicated in the embezzlement of more than \$100,000 in Cuban currency.

May 16, Wednesday: For most years we don’t have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Cushtusha, Mississippi, Samuel Hinson, accused of having committed an assault, was [lynched](#).

Senator Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia rose in the federal Senate to oppose US occupation of [Cuba](#). He accused the military government of spending many times more for the comfort of American soldiers on the island than would have been the case had they been quartered in the US. This, he offered, was an extravagant and wasteful use of funds. Such a large occupation was not merely unnecessary, it was in fact illegal. He charged that the delay (there has been peace for almost two years) was due to a secret agenda of annexation.





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June 16, Friday: Boxers set fire to a large section of [Peking](#) wherein many businesses deal with foreigners. In Tientsin, Boxers attacked all [Christian](#) missions in the [Chinese](#) areas of the city. The Roman Catholic cathedral was destroyed. Boxers killed as many Chinese Christians as they could find. The Admirals of the foreign fleets off Tientsin agreed to demand that the Chinese hand over the Taku forts by 2:00AM on the following day.

The 1st municipal elections since the warfare of 1898 were held in Cuba. The results were a crushing defeat for those favoring annexation by the United States of America. In almost every city the Cuban National Party, the revolutionary element, took the most votes. The Republican Party also opposed annexation and won a large number of black voters. The Democratic Union Party representing Cuban moneyed interests, by openly favoring annexation, lost every city.

July 25, Wednesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in New Orleans, Louisiana, a mob of enraged white citizens went on a rampage and indiscriminately [lynched](#) (among other black Americans) Baptiste Fileau, Silas Jackson, Louis Taylor, August Thomas, and Anna Mabry.

General Leonard Wood's order for the election of delegates to a [Cuban](#) Constitutional Convention restricted voting to males over 21 years of age who had become Cuban citizens under the terms of the peace treaty and who had fulfilled at least one of the following: ability to read and write; ownership of property; service in the Cuban rebel army (much of the citizenry was of course disfranchised).

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July 28, Saturday: In [Zurich](#), [Albert Einstein](#) received his diploma from the Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule.

In New Haven, Connecticut, Louis Lassen invented the hamburger.



In [Beijing](#), the Roman Catholic [Xu Jingcheng](#), formerly the ambassador to Russia, Germany, Austria, and Holland, was decapitated at Caishikou Execution Grounds for having positioned himself in opposition to the Boxer faction of the Imperial Court, and the head was placed on display.

The editors of the United States Investor asserted that the US had “made a grand mistake when we promised to give the [Cuban](#) people independence. The promise ought to be broken because it is our interest to break it.”



CUBA

CUBA

## THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



August 13, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Corinth, Mississippi, Jack Betts, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).

General Leonard Wood was on a campaign tour promoting the election of men of “science and experience” as delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The [Cuban](#) public should not select “the disturber and malcontent” and needed to “bear in mind that no Constitution which does not provide a stable government will be accepted by the US.” Cisneros responded: “General Wood, on the eve of an election in the US, would not have dared to utter such words before a body of electors. Why should he, in [Cuba](#), endeavor to restrict the free suffrage, insult the people, and wound their just sense of dignity and manhood by such a threat?”

## CUBA

## CUBA

September 16, Sunday: British troops conducting a punitive expedition west of [Peking](#) destroyed a pagoda complex, including the 1,000-year-old White Pagoda made entirely of porcelain.



A similar porcelain pagoda soon to be completed elsewhere in China

Meanwhile, at Similoan in the Philippine Islands, a force of 90 Americans faced off against some 1,000 Filipinos, and 24 of the Americans were killed and 5 went missing in action (“kamplian rush” fights such as this would result in the development of the .45-caliber Colt Model 1911 semiautomatic pistol, firing a lead projectile designed with almost the force of a .12-gauge shotgun slug, sufficient stopping power to halt the flight of a body hurtling toward you).

A mob throwing rubbish drove the Mormons out of Mansfield, [Ohio](#).

In [The New-York Times](#), a special correspondent in [Havana](#) pointed out that “Maceo, one of the [Cuban](#) idols in the war of independence, was a black man. All Cubans, of whatever color, look upon him as one of the noblest of their countrymen.”

September 25, Tuesday: At the Marquette Club in Chicago, Senator Albert J. Beveridge suggested discarding the Teller Amendment. “The resolution hastily passed by all parties in Congress, at an excited hour, was an error which years of time, propinquity of location, common commerce, mutual interests and similar dangers surely will correct.”

November 1, Thursday: November 1. Writing in [The Independent](#), Leonard Wood stated, “there is no distrust of the US on the part of [Cubans](#) ... they have perfect confidence that this country will redeem every promise it has made.”

November 5, Monday: In the Teatro Martí in [Havana](#), 31 delegates representing 6 [Cuban](#) provinces initiated a Cuban Constitutional Convention. Delegates included Gonzalo de Quesada, General Emilio Núñez, Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, General Julio Sanguilly, Alfredo Zayas Alfonso, José M. Gómez, Juan Gualberto Gómez, Manuel Sanguily, and Domingo Mendez Capote.



## CUBA

## CUBA

November 6, Tuesday: AB J. Hamilton of the New South Wales Marine Light Infantry died at Tung Chao (this was the initial Australian fatality of the Australian expeditionary force to liberate [Peking](#)).

President William McKinley and Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt were re-elected by 53 percent of the votes.

December: On the island prison of [St. Helena](#), the initial issue of a Boer newspaper *Kamp Kruidels*.

Charles M. Pepper, correspondent to the [New-York Tribune](#) and the Washington [Star](#), opined that “the colored race in [Cuba](#) has reached a pretty unanimous decision that its future is not promising if the island becomes a State in the Union. That is the present sentiment, and it is in itself powerful enough to dampen any annexation movement.”



CUBA

CUBA

1901

January 30, 6:30AM Wednesday: The body of Giuseppe Fortunio Francesco Verdi was temporarily buried in the [Milan](#) municipal cemetery. In accordance to his wishes the ceremony was simple.

The finished draft of the Constitution of the Republic of [Cuba](#) was published. The document had been basically modeled after the US Constitution. The government was to consist of legislative, executive, and judicial branches, a president and Vice-President, a Congress composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives, and a Supreme Court. The President and Vice-President were to be elected for 4 years by popular vote. The Senate would consist of 6 members from each of the 6 departments; [Havana](#), Pinar del Rio, Santa Clara, Puerto Principe, Matanzas and Santiago, elected for 6 years, a third going out of office every 2 years, and chosen by an electoral college.

February: [Albert Einstein](#) became a Swiss citizen and secured employment as an assistant examiner at the Bern patent office.

Mark Twain publishes his anti-imperialist essay, "To the People Sitting in Darkness."

A series of strikes break out among workers of the Central Railway of the [Cuban](#) Company.

5 Boer POWs attempt an escape from [St. Helena Island](#) by clambering into a fishing boat at Sandy Bay. Whipping the water furiously with fragments of the floorboards, they pleaded with the fishermen to sell them the oars. When a camp guard arrived (fortunately for these adventurous ones) he escorted them back to their encampment.

## CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

February 21, Thursday: The meeting of chosen delegates in [Havana](#) adopted a new constitution for [Cuba](#).

February 25, Monday: The [Platt Amendment](#) was introduced to Congress by Senator [Orville Hitchcock Platt](#) (Republican, Connecticut). He would later explain what it was about those [Cubans](#) that made them so in need of our control: "In many respects they are like children."

The formally contested area of Amapá was incorporated into Brazil.

United States Steel was capitalized at \$1,400,000,000 by J. Pierpont Morgan, as one of the largest businesses in the world.





CUBA

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February 27, Wednesday: [Wilhelm Normann](#), head of a chemistry laboratory at a machine fat and oil factory known as Leprince & Siveke, learned how to transform cheap fats into fats that could be sold into the processed-foods industry at a considerably higher price, through an inexpensive industrial process known as “catalytic [hydrogenation](#) with dispersed nickel.” He termed his process “fat hardening.”

The federal Senate of the United States voted on the [Platt Amendment](#) and it passed as submitted, by a vote of 43 over 20.

The Russian Minister of Education, N.P. Bogolepov, was shot by a Socialist Revolutionary in St. Petersburg.

Dimitrie Alexandru Sturdza replaced Petre Carp as prime minister of Romania.

According to the composer’s wishes, the bodies of Giuseppe Verdi and his wife Giuseppina were moved from the Cimitero Monumentale and positioned together at the Casa di Riposa of Milan. This re-interment was attended by 300,000 people, including many eminent representatives of the Italian state and foreign governments. Also in attendance were Ruggero Leoncavallo, Giacomo Puccini, and Pietro Mascagni. Before the procession began a massed choir of 820 voices, directed by Arturo Toscanini, sang *Va pensiero* from *Nabucco*.

## CUBA

## CUBA

March 1, Friday: The US House of Representatives passed the Army Appropriation bill with the [Platt Amendment](#) as a rider, 161 over 137, not one Republican voting against this new colonialism and, to their eternal credit, not one Democrat voting for this new colonialism. The [Platt Amendment](#) stipulated that [Cuba](#) had only a limited right to conduct its own foreign policy and debt policy. It awarded the USA an open door to intervene in Cuban affairs. The Isle of Pines (now called “Isla de la Juventud”) was deemed outside the boundaries of [Cuba](#) until the title to it might be adjusted in a future treaty. [Cuba](#) also agreed to sell or lease to the US “lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points to be agreed upon.”



Per an editorial in [The State](#): “The action of the United States government in breaking its solemn pledge to the whole world as well as to [Cuba](#), in putting a pistol to the head of its protégé and demanding compensation for a volunteered kindness, will disgrace it in the eyes of civilization and mortify its own good citizens for generations to come. The loss and humiliation are ours. The penalty will be ours — the penalty of a national faithlessness which hereafter may well cause every people in the world to withhold all trust from ‘lying America.’”

Per the Chicago [Chronicle](#): “When the President talks about securing justice, liberty, and assured order in [Cuba](#) his words cause a sensation of nausea, for it is of record in the United States Congress that we demand not justice and liberty, but coaling stations, supervision of [Cuba](#)’s relations, and general suzerainty over the people who we once declared to be free and independent.”

March 2, Saturday: The 56th United States federal Congress passed the [Platt Amendment](#) as part of its Army Appropriations Bill, encoding into our legal structure our nation’s domination over the nearest and largest island of the Caribbean, [Cuba](#). President William McKinley immediately signed this into law. As soon as Cuba agreed to this, we would withdraw our soldiers from the island. That night, more than 15,000 protesters representing all classes and political groupings took part in a huge torchlight procession in [Havana](#), descending upon the Constitutional Convention, and then moving on to the Governor’s palace.

Meanwhile, in the hall of the Schola Cantorum of Paris, Vêpres pour le commun des vierges op.31 for organ by Ernest Chausson was performed for the initial time.

March 3, Sunday: Parades with Cuban flags and meetings with banners denouncing the [Platt Amendment](#) continued in [Havana](#) and throughout [Cuba](#), with increasing numbers of participants. This was what all that suffering and bloodshed have amounted to?



## CUBA

## CUBA

March 6, Wednesday: [US General Leonard Wood](#) wrote to Secretary of War Elihu Root: “Can you indicate our action in case the [Cuban](#) Convention should refuse to accept the [Platt Amendment](#)?”

Práxedes Mateo-Sagasta Escolar replaced Marcelo de Azcárraga y Palmero as Prime Minister of Spain.

March 7, Thursday: Edwin Lehman Johnson, an American soldier who had fought against Spain in [Cuba](#), wrote to the editor of [The State](#): “I wish to add a few words of protest to your own against this hypocritical treatment of [Cuba](#) on behalf of the American soldier who did the work of freeing her from Spain and who have a right to say whether the president and Congress shall dishonor them — degrading them from their proud position as champion of liberty to mere cats-paws in a game of national aggrandizement. If all we went through there and elsewhere was to give us a right to have a say as well as the president and the United States senators about what shall be done with [Cuba](#), then have our sacrifices and our services been in vain...”

Hubert Parry delivered “Style in Musical Art,” his Inaugural Lecture as a professor at Oxford University. So many sought admittance that the lecture was moved from the Sheldonian Theater to the Town Hall.

Lord Kitchener presented the British conditions for peace to Boer General Louis Botha (he would reject these).

Lola, a scène dramatique by Camille Saint-Saëns to words of Bordèse, was performed for the initial time, in Paris.

Violin Concerto no.1 by Charles Villiers Stanford was performed for the initial time, in Bournemouth, conducted by the composer.

March 10, Sunday: In the US, the newspaper [The State](#) reprinted an editorial from [La Patria](#), a journal that had been founded by José Martí. This editorial stated, in part, “There is no room for doubt that the passage of the [Platt Amendment](#) results from the error that the [Cuban](#) people will accept it. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to devote ourselves from this day on to energetically protest against this false supposition, because we entertain no doubt that once the American people become convinced of the real facts, they will retrace their steps, which will be equivalent to a return to the path of honor, as the good name and fame of the American nation are now subject to mistrust, thanks to the policy of audacity, snares, cupidity, and shame which has been systematically carried out by its directors.”

In spite of the growing number of protests and demonstrations all over [Cuba](#), [US General Leonard Wood](#) kept assuring Washington DC that there’s nothing to worry about, that “the people who matter, the conservative element-business men and wealthy Spaniards-favor adoption of the [Platt Amendment](#).”

Brumaire, ouverture pour le drame de Ed. Noël for orchestra by Jules Massenet was performed for the initial time, in Paris.

March 13, Wednesday: On the order of [US General Leonard Wood](#), the Rural Guard arrested 51 Spanish, [Cuban](#), and American strikers. Juan Rodriguez Martinez, chief leader of the railroad construction workers, would be sentenced to 8 years in prison for this “mutiny.”

## CUBA

## CUBA

March 15, Friday: At the Cuban Constitutional Convention in [Havana](#), Salvador Cisneros y Betancourt delivered “Voto Particular Contra La Enmienda Platt” describing the USA as attempting to exercise “the power of the strong against the weak” and accusing the colonial power that had departed from “the principles of justice in its arbitrary occupation of the Philippines and Puerto Rico,” of now seeking to do the same in [Cuba](#).



An Irish Idyll op.77, a cycle for voice and piano by Charles Villiers Stanford to words of O’Neill, was performed for the initial time, in St. James’ Hall, [London](#).

March 20, Wednesday: US Secretary of War Elihu Root erased all doubt, in his response to [US General Leonard Wood](#)’s inquiry of March 6th: They are mere lackeys who serve at our pleasure. “The [Platt Amendment](#) is, of course, final and the members of the Convention who may be responsible for refusing to establish relations on that basis will injure only themselves and their country. If the Convention takes such a course it will have failed to perform the duty for which it was elected and the duty must be performed by others.”

The Nocturne no.7, op.74 for piano, by Gabriel Fauré was performed for the initial time, at the Société National de Musique, Paris.

Cantique à lépouse from Deux mélodies op.36 for voice and piano by Ernest Chausson to words of Jounet was performed for the initial time.



CUBA

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March 21, Thursday: American Governor General Leonard Wood had distorted the views of Manuel Sanguily in regard to the [Platt Amendment](#), who had supported this legislation only as the lesser of two great evils. In the newspaper *La Discusion*, Sanguily explained himself: "Independence with some restrictions is preferable to a continuance of military rule, which would surely follow a rejection of the Platt Amendment...."

Tritons for orchestra by John Ireland was performed for the initial time, in Alexandra House, [London](#), conducted by Charles Villiers Stanford.

The New York [Times](#) carried an obituary for [William Francis Channing](#), who had on March 19th died of pneumonia at the Perry Hospital in Boston:

**Dr. William F. Channing.**

BOSTON, March 20.—Dr. William Francis Channing, noted scientist and son of the philosopher, Dr. William Ellery Channing, and cousin of the late Rev. William Henry Channing, once Chaplain of the United States Senate, died at the Perry Hospital to-day. He was taken with pneumonia on Washington's Birthday, which was also the eighty-first anniversary of his own birth, and though the symptoms were favorable to his recovery, his advanced age stood in the way, and he was unable to rally from the weakening effects of the disease.

Dr. Channing was born in Boston and was graduated from Harvard in 1839, being a classmate of Dr. Edward Everett Hale. He later took a course in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving his diploma in 1844, but never practicing his profession. Even while pursuing his studies he was engaged in active work of other sorts, for he assisted in the first geological survey of New Hampshire, in 1841-2, and for two years following was associated with Dr. Henry I. Bowditch in the editorship of *The Latimer Journal of Boston*.

With Prof. Moses G. Farmer Dr. Channing worked for the ten years following 1841 in developing a fire-alarm telegraph, and the apparatus, patented in 1857, is still in very general use. Nine years later he patented a railroad for transporting ships overland, and in 1877 invented a telephone, which was bought by the Bell Company. He was a frequent contributor to scientific journals on electrical subjects and wrote the first books on electricity as applied to medicine. Dr. Channing moved to Pasadena, Cal., sixteen years ago for the benefit of his wife's health. She died there and he returned to Boston six months ago.

March 26, Tuesday: At the [Cuban](#) Constitutional Convention, Juan Gualberto Gómez presented what Philip S. Foner has characterized as "the best expression of Cuban feeling throughout the entire period following the receipt of the American proposals ... and one of the finest expressions in the literature of anti-imperialism."

April 5, Friday: The [Havana](#) newspaper *La Discusión* offered a cartoon "The [Cuban](#) Calvary" that had a figure representing "the Cuban people" being crucified between two others, the two thieves, who looked like [US General Leonard Wood](#) and William McKinley. Senator Platt stood dressed as a Roman soldier, with a spear labeled "[Platt Amendment](#)." Wood immediately closed and sealed the offices of this newspaper and had the editor and the cartoonist arrested on a charge of criminal libel.



## CUBA

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April 6, Saturday: [US General Leonard Wood](#) released the editor and the cartoonist of [Havana](#) newspaper [La Discusión](#), after arrests on the previous day on charges of criminal libel. At the [Cuban](#) Constitutional Convention in [Havana](#) a motion to accept the [Platt Amendment](#) was defeated 24 over 2.

April 8, Monday: The [Havana](#) newspaper [La Discusión](#) resumed publication, with a banner “Suppressed by Weyler October 23, 1896; suspended by [Wood](#) April 6, 1901.”

April 12, Friday: Ernst Bloch became engaged with the pianist Margarethe Schneider during a performance of Siegfried.

By a vote of 18 over 10, the [Cuban](#) Constitutional Convention in [Havana](#) rejected the [Platt Amendment](#) a 2d time.

April 25, Thursday: In Washington DC, a commission of Cuban delegates met with President William McKinley and Secretary of War Elihu Root. During a long afternoon conference Root claimed that the USA had “always been a champion of Cuban independence” and had “never imposed obstacles in her path when [Cuba](#) sought to achieve liberation from Spain” (these, of course, were outrageous lies). Adding to this, Root mentioned that the controversial Article 3 of the [Platt Amendment](#), specifying a US right to military intervention, had amounted merely to “an extension of the Monroe Doctrine.”

May 28, Tuesday: The Constitutional Convention in [Havana](#) accepted by the narrowest of narrow margins, 15 votes over 14, the [Platt Amendment](#) that limited [Cuban](#) sovereignty as the price that had to be paid for the removal of US troops (the deciding vote was cast by Méndez Capote). The document included not only as it had been required the precise words of the Platt Amendment, but Article I of the Treaty of Paris, in addition to long extracts from Secretary of State Root’s various explanations, including the assurance that “the Platt law has for its object the guaranteeing of the independence of [Cuba](#), and does not mean interference with its government or the exercise of a protectorate or of sovereignty....” Root immediately rejected this action of the [Cuban](#) Constitutional Convention and pointed out that Cubans would not be able to look forward to the withdrawal of the American army until the Amendment had been adopted not only verbatim as specified, but also without any such additional material. Philip Foner would point out, in ANTONIO MACEO, “...the Administration’s own explanations of the Amendment had been repudiated when the Cubans used it....”

June 12, Wednesday: The [Cuban](#) Constitutional Convention acceded to the [Platt Amendment](#) verbatim by a vote of 16 to 11, effectively making the island an American protectorate (the acceptance of May 28th had included assurances from US Secretary of War Elihu Root that the US would never interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba, and Root had demanded that those assurances be removed). Officials in Washington announced that US troops would soon be withdrawn. Voting against had been: Juan Gualberto Gómez (Santiago), Salvador Cisneros Betancourt (Puerto Principe), José S. Aleman (Santa Clara), Manuel R. Silva (Puerto Principe), Rafaell Portuondo (Santiago), Eduardo Tamayo (Santiago), Rafael Manduley (Santiago), Alfredo Zayas ([Havana](#)), José Lacret Morlot ([Havana](#)), Luis Fortún (Matanzas), and José Fernández de Castro (Santiago). Nine of the eleven come from Oriente province, “seat of the most revolutionary fervor during the first and second wars of independence.”

June 27, Thursday: In the [Independent](#), Orville H. Platt, eponymous author of the [Platt Amendment](#), stated that [Cubans](#) are incapable of stable self-government. “In many respects,” he writes, “they are like children.”





## CUBA

## CUBA

July: The North American Trust Company of New York, which acted as the occupying government's fiscal agent, begins to operate under the name of Banco Nacional de [Cuba](#) (National Bank of [Cuba](#)).



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: In a parade in Nome, Alaska, survivors of the Spanish-American War marched and a good time was had by all.

A civilian colonial administration took power in the Philippines, replacing the American military government. William Howard Taft would be the initial governor-general.

Captain Billy Johnson dived from the *Maid of the Mist* into the [Niagara River](#) just below the Horseshoe Falls and swam downriver — and survived.

[Chinese](#) minister Wu Ting-Fang delivered an Independence Day oration at Independence Square in Philadelphia in which he predicted diplomatically that “this Republic will become the greatest power upon the earth.” (Outside of China, he presumably meant.)

In Courtland, Kansas, some folks laid a cornerstone for a monument proposed to mark the spot at which, in 1806, Zebulon M. Pike had raised the American flag over territory that would become part of Kansas.

Some citizens attempted to improve Pike's Peak in Colorado by detonating a pile of explosives (it's the sort of summit that, when you've finally gotten there, clearly seems to be in need of some improvement).

In Jackson, Mississippi, someone was allowed to read our [Declaration of Independence](#) out loud in public, for the 1st time since 1861.

In Santa Cruz, California the authorities allowed Minnie Cope to read our [Declaration of Independence](#) out loud in public, despite the fact that she was a woman.

**CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY**



August 18, Sunday: A group of prominent [Cubans](#) wrote to Estrada Palma urging him to seek the presidency. Led by José Miguel Gómez, the group included Domingo Méndez Capote, General Ruiz Rivera, Pedro Betancourt, and Diego Tamayo (Palma's reply dated September 7th would be read before a distinguished gathering on September 27th).

September 27, Friday: At the home of General Emilio Núñez, Estrada Palma accepts (by letter) the offer to run for president of the Republic of [Cuba](#). On the issue of the [Platt Amendment](#), he writes, “The Cuban government in making a treaty should try to interpret the Platt Amendment so as to give the meaning most favorable to the interests of [Cuba](#) and to her sovereignty and independence. She will fulfill the treaty but expects the United States to do likewise and to respect her independence which is recognized in one of the clauses of the Platt Amendment in the most solemn manner.” Estrada Palma is endorsed by a vote of 23 to 2, with Juan Gualberto Gómez and Ezequel García in opposition.

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September 28, Saturday: A manifesto written by Domingo Méndez Capote and Alfredo Zayas was widely distributed throughout [Cuba](#), urging the election of Estrada Palma as the 1st President of the Republic. The document was signed by 32 distinguished [Cubans](#), including General Máximo Gómez, Manuel Sanguily, and Gonzalo de Quesada.

October 28, Monday: [US General Leonard Wood](#) wrote to President Theodore Roosevelt, alerting him to the fact that “a highly dangerous situation” had arisen in [Cuba](#): Bartolomé Masó, who had opposed the [Platt Amendment](#), had gained the support of “the radical and discontented element” (yeah, boss, especially the Negroes). In appointing members of the Junta Central (Electoral Commission) to supervise the election, monitor the voting, and count the ballots, General Wood had of course selected political hacks who supported Estrada Palma, that being a political ploy that normally does the trick, but this sort of usual cheating would not seem in this case to be nearly enough to carry the day. When Masó would write to Washington DC demanding justice, he would be counseled that General Wood had complete authority to administer the presidential election as he saw fit, and, charging that the election was being rigged, Masó would formally withdraw.

December 31, Tuesday: Tomás Estrada y Palma won the presidential election of the Republic of [Cuba](#). As joint candidate of the National and Republican Parties, he was the sole candidate, his opponents having withdrawn making accusations favoritism on the part of the North American occupiers.



CUBA

CUBA

1902

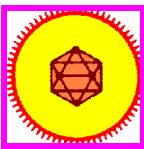
February 22, Saturday: Major Walter Reed of the US Army published a report showing that yellow fever was transmitted by mosquitoes.



February 24, Monday: On the 7th anniversary of Cuba's final revolt against Spain, the electoral college met and elected Estrada Palma.

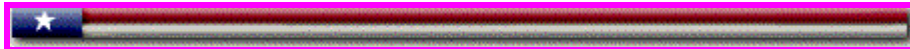
March: Charles Lindbergh, Jr.'s parents returned to their home in Little Falls, Minnesota with 5-week-old Charles.

When the Insular Department of the US War Department reported the discovery that yellow fever was transmitted by a certain species of mosquito, somehow they neglected to mention that a Cuban, Dr. Carlos Finlay, had originated this theory.



May 20, Tuesday: The US-supported United States citizen Tomás Estrada Palma was sworn in as the initial president of the Republic of Cuba after an uncontested election, and so, the Cuban flag was finally allowed to be raised over Havana. United States occupation of Cuba officially ended, except of course for a privilege to interfere at any point for any reason, in this island's internal affairs. Dog, you're on a short leash.

July 1, Tuesday: By an act of the US Congress, the Philippine Organic Act (c. 1369, 32 Stat. 691), the Philippine Islands became a territory of the USA.



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: 200,000 citizens heard President Theodore Roosevelt announce in Schenley Park, Pittsburgh that our 3-year war against the Philippine Islands was officially declared to be over. This had required the services of 126,468 American soldiers, 2,818 of whom had been wounded and 4,234 killed. In losing their independence roughly 16,000 Filipino soldiers had been killed, but guerrilla resistance would continue for many years (the last Filipino guerrilla leader on the island of Luzon would not be captured and executed until October 1911).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1903

Fear of hooliganism causes Parliament to pass the Pistol Act, which severely restricted handgun ownership in Britain. As the legislation would not stop firearm-related violence, the British would in 1996 ban all private handgun ownership.

From [CUBA: A SHORT HISTORY](#), edited by Leslie Bethell: “Lacking any tradition of self-government or political discipline, with a low level of public education, and impoverished by the war, the Cubans found themselves trapped between growing American control of land and sugar, and Spanish domination of commerce, virtually guaranteed by the peace treaty between the USA and Spain. Politics thus became the principal avenue to economic improvement and one access to national resources.”

25 US Marines were sent to Abyssinia to protect the US Consul General while he negotiated a treaty (they would remain into the following year).

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)



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## CUBA

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February 23, Monday: Agreement between the United States of America and [Cuba](#) for the Lease of Lands for Coaling and Naval Stations.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Can you spell “Guantánamo?” How about substituting, for “Coaling and Naval Stations,” since we don’t run our warships on coal anymore, “Indefinite Storage and [Torture](#) of Terrorist Suspects” — would that be just too weird? The treaty also included Bahía Honda. Since there is no 99-year clause, the treaty can only be terminated when both governments agree to the termination or when Bahía Honda freezes over, whichever happens first.



March 19, Thursday: At a party celebrating the 59th birthday of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov in St. Petersburg, Igor Stravinsky met the master for the initial time.

The US Senate ratified the treaty with [Cuba](#) which confirmed US naval bases at Guantamo and Bahia Honda.





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

July 2, Thursday: Lease to the United States of America by the government of [Cuba](#) of certain areas of land and water for naval or coaling stations at Guantánamo and Bahía Honda.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**



CUBA

CUBA

1904

From this year until 1914, 50,000 Caribbean workers would be employed on the Panama Canal construction project. Stay hydrated, guys.

AMANAPLANACANALPANAMA

Iced tea was invented at the St. Louis World's Fair by an enterprising British salesman, who discovered that fairgoers were not attracted to hot tea during summer weather.

February 5, Friday: [Japan](#) broke off diplomatic relations with Russia, asserting that Russia had been dragging its feet in negotiations over Manchuria.

The final contingent of US troops left [Cuba](#).



CUBA

CUBA

1905

June 17, Saturday: [Máximo Gómez y Báez](#) died in his villa near [Havana](#).



CUBA

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1906

After electing himself to an unprecedented and very unpopular 2d term, the President of the Republic of [Cuba](#), Tomás Estrada Palma, asked the US to intervene, invoking the [Platt Amendment](#) (and then, later, resigned).

[Friend Alfred Henry Love](#) was nominated for the [Nobel Peace Prize](#) by 8 United States Senators and Professor Hannis Taylor. In the wisdom of the committee the prize was awarded instead to President Theodore Roosevelt, a swashbuckler who had never hid the swash of his buckle. How such a man could be considered suitable for a peace prize is, of course, beyond comprehension (unless perchance the sort of peace they had in mind was the peace of the grave).

#### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

In THE ROUGH RIDERS in 1899 (his account of the aggression which led to the establishment of the permanent US naval facility on [Cuban](#) soil at Guantánamo Bay), Teddy had described an engagement with the enemy: “By this time we were all in the spirit of the thing and greatly excited by the charge, the men cheering and running forward between shots, while the delighted faces of the foremost officers, like Captain C.J. Stevens, of the Ninth, as they ran at the head of their troops, will always stay in my mind.”

September 28, Friday: US Secretary of War William Howard Taft declared himself governor of [Cuba](#) following the resignation of President Estrada Palma. He would attempt to quell hostilities between the government and liberal rebels, and organize new elections.

After serious revolutionary activity in [Cuba](#), a Provisional Marine Brigade of 2,800 men landed at [Havana](#) and would be seeking to restore order, protect foreigners, and establish a stable government (until January 23d, 1909).

#### US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

September 29, Saturday: US President Theodore Roosevelt named Secretary of War William H. Taft “US Governor of [Cuba](#)” (Taft had served as Governor of the Philippines).

October 6, Saturday: 900 US soldiers arrived in [Havana](#) to oversee the surrender of arms by [Cuban](#) government soldiers and rebels. 5,500 US soldiers would eventually be sent.

October 9, Tuesday: Incidental music to Drachmann’s play Master Oluf Rides by Carl Nielsen was performed for the initial time, under the direction of the composer, at the Royal Theater, Copenhagen.

Charles Magoon arrived in [Havana](#) from the United States to replace William Howard Taft as leader of a provisional government for [Cuba](#).

October 13, Saturday: US citizen Charles Magoon replaced Secretary of War William H. Taft as head of the provisional US military government of [Cuba](#). The US military would openly rule “independent” [Cuba](#) for longer than two years. On additional occasions, in 1912 and 1917, US military forces would “protect American interests” by seizing control of the Cuban government.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1907**

In the 1st United States census of [Cuba](#), we tabulated the Cuban native Americans from Mexico, and the Cuban Chinese (people who had in the census of 1860 been tabulated by the Spanish as “white”) as “colored.”

The Independent Party of Color was founded. Members accused the Republic of [Cuba](#) of betraying its black population.



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1908

March 31, Tuesday: United States troops departed from [Cuba](#), ending the 2d American occupation of the island.

April: [Herbert Wendell Gleason](#) gave an illustrated lecture on the Sierra Nevada to the Appalachian Mountain Club of Boston.

Charles Magoon officially formed a [Cuban](#) army capable of defeating an insurrection.

December: [Alfred Russel Wallace](#) received the Copley Medal of the Royal Society and the Order of Merit of the Crown. (He begged off from the opportunity of meeting the monarch in person, using illness as an excuse.)

José Miguel Gómez, allegedly a liberal, was elected President of the Republic of [Cuba](#) — he would go on to usher in an era of public corruption and would acquire a nickname, “The Shark.”





CUBA

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1909

January 28, Thursday: The 2d US military occupation of [Cuba](#) ended. In [Havana](#), to oppose the [Platt Amendment](#), *Liga Antiplastica* was established. When the *Moruá* law banned political parties based on race or religion, secret societies of black [Cubans](#), the so-called “*independistas*,” were formed, to struggle against this law.

The Naval Conference of London established as international law, that blockading was to be considered as an act of war. (This principle would be invoked by the USA in 1916 to assert that “no foreign power had the right to obstruct the exercise of free trade by non-involved countries, imposing a blockade when no state of war has been declared.”)

A servant to Giacomo Puccini and Elvira Puccini, Doria Manfredi, had ingested poison and died on January 23d while distraught at an accusation that Elvira Puccini had leveled, that she had been having sex with Giacomo Puccini. On this day an autopsy indicated that this could not have happened.

February 1, Monday: A year after his father and brother had been killed by revolutionaries, Manuel II became King of Portugal.

The family of Doria Manfredi had brought a lawsuit, charging that Elvira Puccini had defamed the character of their daughter, to the extent that this had resulted in her suicide. Found guilty, Elvira Puccini was sentenced to prison, but she would be able to avoid serving this sentence by settling with the family for a large sum of money.

In St. Petersburg, Sergei Prokofiev and his friend and fellow composer 21-year-old Nikolai Myaskovsky attended the Russian premiere of Alyeksandr Skryabin’s “Poem of Ecstasy.” They were embarrassed to discover, however, that they understood neither the music nor its meaning.

As Jose Miguel Gomez was installed as president, United States forces withdrew from [Cuba](#).



CUBA

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1912

May 20, Monday: Black *independientes* of the *Partido Independiente de Color* (Independent Color Party) rebelled in Oriente province, the southeast of [Cuba](#). This was deemed “Race War” and produced a general panic. The newspapers described this as the action of some who “had chosen to stop being Cubans, to be only blacks.” During the following 2 months the rebellion would be savagely put down, with the deaths of some 2,000 to 6,000 Afro-Cubans. All over the island innocent Afro-Cubans would be killed and left unburied on the sides of the roads or hanging in trees.

June 5, Wednesday: More than 1,500 US Marines disembarked at Guantánamo and Santiago de [Cuba](#). These all-white Americans would take no real part in the ongoing “Race War.” They would merely “protect American interests” in the province of Oriente, and in [Havana](#) (until August 2d).

#### US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS



“Equally alarmed, the United States government landed Marines in Daiquiri and announced further actions if the Cuban government failed ‘to protect the lives or properties of American citizens’. Protesting against such intervention, President Gómez ordered the army to crush the rebellion. By June the leaders of the insurrection were dead and their followers killed or disbanded. The fear and resentment left by the episode hindered black participation in Cuban politics for many years.”

June 27, Thursday: Evaristo Estenoz, a leader of the *independientes*, was shot in the back of the head, and the body, covered with flies, would be put on display in Santiago de [Cuba](#) before being deposited in a common grave.

July 15, Monday: [Cuban](#) constitutional guarantees were reestablished.

National Health Insurance went into effect in Great Britain.

The Madeira to Mamoré Railroad was completed in Brazil to remove rubber from distant Acre Province to the Atlantic coast. Over 3,000 had died during the construction of this railway.

Fantasy for violin and piano by Bohuslav Martinu was performed for the initial time, in Policka.

July 18, Thursday: In [Cuba](#), Pedro Ivonnet, a leader of the *independientes*, was captured and then killed while “trying to escape,” and the body would be displayed to the public before being deposited in a common grave.

August 2, Friday: The last US Marines to leave [Cuba](#) embarked on the USS *Prairie*.

November: In [Cuba](#), the opposition Conservative Party won the presidential election.



CUBA

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1913

May 20, Tuesday: [General Mario García Menocal](#), a conservative who had been elected after the distressing “Race War,” was sworn in as President of the Republic of [Cuba](#). He would go on to serve for a 2d term.

December 10, Wednesday: The United States Navy opened a recoaling base at Guantánamo Bay, [Cuba](#).

Maurice Ravel’s piano work A la manière de... was performed for the initial time, at the Salle Pleyel, Paris, played by Alfredo Casella. Also premiered was Reflets for voice and piano by Lili Boulanger to words of Maeterlinck, with the composer at the piano.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1915**

The Sociedad [Cubana](#) del Derecho Internacional began an unrelenting campaign against the [Platt Amendment](#), attacked as “the humiliation of 1901.”

1917

February: [General Mario García Menocal](#) had begun a 2d term as conservative President of [Cuba](#). Under the leadership of [José Miguel Gómez](#), liberals rebelled in several provinces, accusing the government of “persistent repression.” They captured Santiago de [Cuba](#) and Camagüey.



March 7, Wednesday: Robert Erickson was born in Marquette, Michigan, the only child of Charles and Edith Erickson.

Surrounded by the [Cuban](#) army in Las Villas, [José Miguel Gómez](#) surrendered (by May the remainder of the liberal rebellion would have petered out).



## CUBA

## CUBA

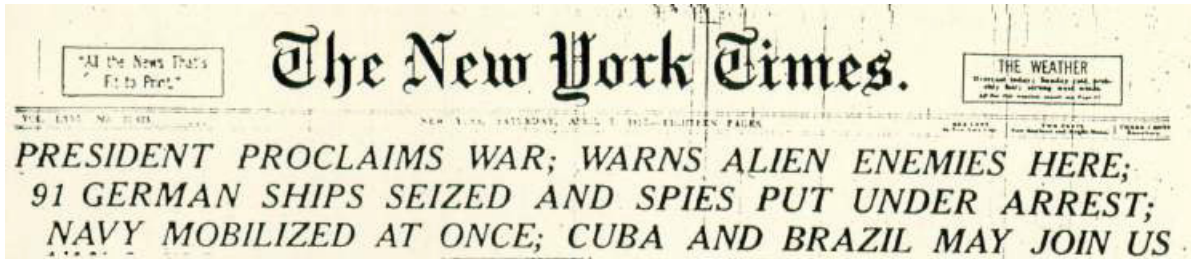
April 7, Saturday: Kaiser Wilhelm II promised universal suffrage for Prussia.

The Finnish Senate gave cautious approval to independence from the Russian provisional government.

Sergei Rakhmaninov gave a charity concert at the Bolshoi Theater, performing three concertos: his own 2d, Tchaikovsky, and Liszt, the proceeds to go to army relief. This was his final performance in Moscow.

El corregidor y la molinera, a pantomime by Manuel de Falla to words of Martínez Sierra after Alarcón, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Eslava, Madrid, conducted by Joaquín Turina. It was wildly popular.

The United States of America, [Cuba](#), and Panama entered World War I.



**US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS**

There would be an US Army testing program headed by R. Yerkes.

**EUGENICS**



Lenin would occur. The Russian Revolution would occur. Russia would capitulate and withdraw. Etc.

James Montgomery Flagg, a notorious stage-door Johnny (womanizer), for the nonce painted himself in an Uncle Sam costume. Instead of depicting himself saying, for purposes of sexuality, “I want your sweet ass” to one or another chorus-line cutie, for purposes of war he depicted himself as our national government saying “I want YOU for U.S. Army” to a young male victim:



We would lose far more of our boys to disease than to any bullet or shrapnel or [poison gas](#):



Of the 118,497 men from [Minnesota](#) who would serve in the war, 1,432 would die in uniform. At the end of the war, the so-called Spanish [influenza](#) pandemic which would begin on our troopships bringing the boys home would spread to Minnesota and kill 7,521 initially and 4,200 more over the following two years.

It is possible to go to almost any cemetery in the world and find a similar cluster of graves from the fall of 1918. Between September and November of that year, as the First World War came to an end, an extraordinarily lethal strain of influenza swept the globe, killing between twenty million and forty million people. More Americans died of the flu over the next few months than were killed during the First World War, the Second World War, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War combined. The Spanish flu, as it came to be known, reached every continent and virtually every country on the map, going wherever ships sailed or cars or trucks or trains traveled, killing so many so quickly that some cities were forced to convert streetcars into hearses, and others buried their dead in mass graves, because they ran out of coffins.

– Malcolm Gladwell, “The Dead Zone,”  
in The New Yorker for September 29, 1997



CUBA

CUBA

1919

During the Age of Prohibition in the United States, from this year until 1933, [Cuba](#) would become the American playground of the Caribbean.

In Finland, the smuggling of [liquor](#) was rising to the level that the nation's prohibition effort was being entirely defeated.

Idaho law (this would be amended in 1921) declared marriage between whites and Mongolians, Negroes, or Mulattoes to be illegal and void; the penalty for cohabitation was established as imprisonment for up to six months with a maximum fine of \$300.

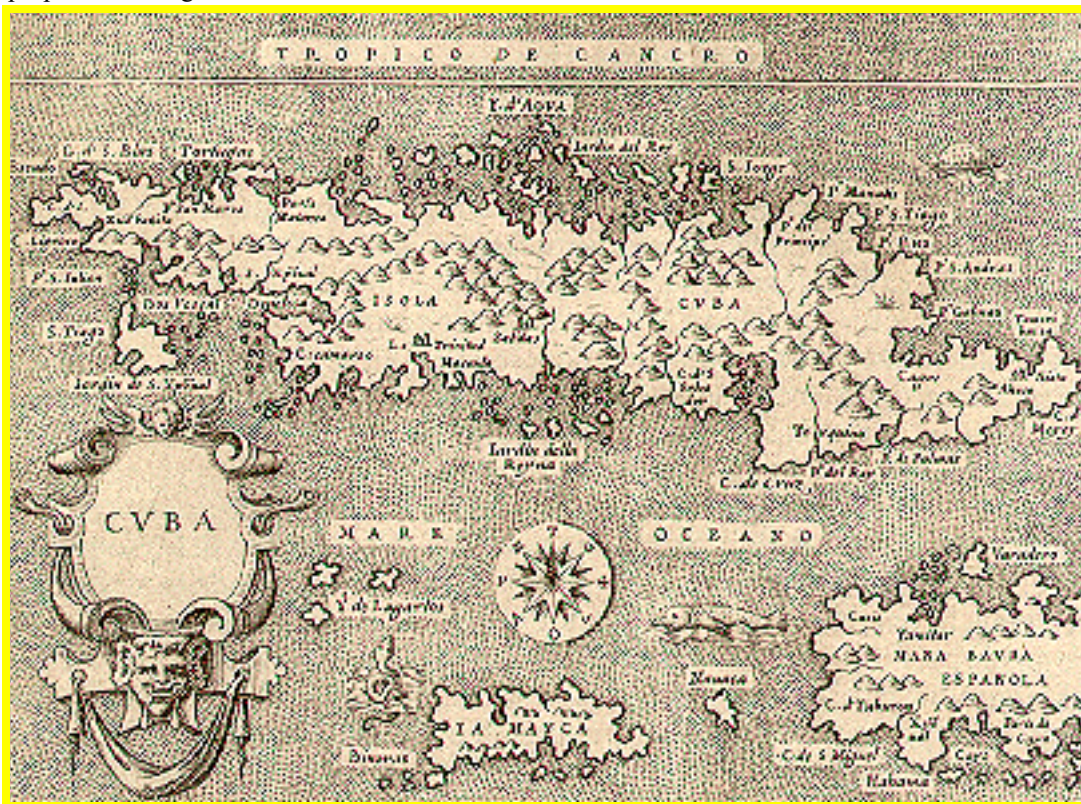
A rise in [heroin](#) use was reported among urban male youths, that would promote in 1924 a ban of its manufacture and import. By the end of this period, the fear of the "[dope](#) fiend" would be firmly established.

The Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye.

The Reverend Thomas Dixon, Jr.'s THE WAY OF A MAN. Racial conflict is an epic struggle with the future of civilization at stake. Maybe we can't have [human slavery](#) anymore but American blacks cannot be allowed to be politically equal with American whites as that would lead to social equality, and social equality would lead to miscegenation, and miscegenation would lead to the destruction of the family, and the destruction of the family would lead to the destruction of civilized society. Everything we admire and respect would fall like a row of damn dominoes, you fool.

1920

Sugar prices had risen since 1919, when an average price had been 5½¢ per pound, and on March 2d were at 10¢, on March 18th, 11¢, on March 27th 12¢, on April 8th 15½¢, on April 15th 18¢, and on May 19th 22½¢, in what has been referred to as the “Dance of the Millions,” but then by the end of June sugar had gone back to 17½¢, by the end of July back to 15¼¢, by late August 11¢, in September 8¢, in late November 4¾¢, and by late December 3¾¢ per pound. The new low price wasn’t, however, the problem, the problem was that while this commodity had been high, the Cuban economy had gone into a spasm of high living and wild speculation. When the dance was over and everyone had to sit down, US investors were able to buy up all sorts of island properties at bargain rates.





## CUBA

## CUBA

January 10, Saturday: The new League of Nations held its initial meeting in London. Its 1st official act was ratification of the Treaty of Versailles thus officially bringing World War I to a close. On November 1, 1920 the headquarters of the League would be moved to Geneva, Switzerland, where on November 15, 1920 the initial general assembly of 41 nations of the League would take place.



[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Sir James Eric Drummond of Great Britain would be the 1st Secretary-General. Founding members were Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, [Cuba](#), Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Italy, [Japan](#), Liberia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Liberia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Persia, Poland, Portugal, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Siam, Spain, Sweden, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, Uruguay and Venezuela (the list does not include the United States of America due to the determined opposition of Republican Senators Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and William E. Borah of Idaho).

[WORLD WAR I](#)

Eupen and Melmédy were united with Belgium.

Poèmes juifs op.34, a cycle for voice and piano by Darius Milhaud, was performed for the initial time, in Paris, the composer at the keyboard.

June 16, Wednesday: Giovanni Giolitti replaced Francesco Saverio Nitti as prime minister of Italy.

Puerto Rican brothers Sosthenes and Hernand Behn incorporate International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation to hold Puerto Rico Telephone Company, the Cuban Telephone Company, and one-half of the [Cuban](#) American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Near the Duluth police station, at 1AM, the three black bodies were finally cut down. Sheriff Magie asked the state governor to provide a battery of state militia and a machine gun detachment, and despite rumors that there were to be more [lynchings](#), an additional 14 black men would be brought to the county jail for questioning. There was never any hard evidence produced, that there had been an actual rape or inter-racial assault. All the actual evidence was consistent, rather, with a presumption that the two white teenagers had simply gone out into the dark of the field to hump each other as teenagers will, but had been noticed there by an idle group of young black men — who had found that situation rather amusing and had made some comments. Only 19 members of the lynch mob would ever be charged in the riot, and only 3 would ever be convicted, and not for murder but for mere rioting. After three or four others would be acquitted of all charges by the juries, charges



against the remainder would have to be simply dropped. After the lynching, one of the surviving black



prisoners, Max Mason would be tried and convicted and sentenced to 30 years in the [Minnesota](#) state penitentiary at Stillwater. The evidence against him at his trial was that the alleged rape victim had an advanced case of gonorrhea, and allegedly he also had gonorrhea. It would appear that the legal system would not comment on the fact that if having gonorrhea were proof of a man's having raped someone, then a very significant percentage of the white population of the city were rapists. Mason continually demanded to be tested for gonorrhea –alleging that in fact he did not have it– but his demands for testing were ignored. However, after three years in the pen without any treatment for this alleged case for gonorrhea, an entirely unusual and totally unexplained event would occur — the state parole board would suddenly without preserving any records of their decision release him from the prison, on parole! “Go thou and sin no more.”

December 31, Friday: Without consulting the Cuban government, President Woodrow Wilson posted General Enoch Crowder to [Havana](#) as his personal representative.



CUBA

CUBA

1921

January 6, Thursday: [General Enoch Crowder](#) entered the harbor of [Havana](#) aboard the battleship *Minnesota*, and proclaimed March 15th as the date of a new election.

March 7, Monday: Karol Szymanowski and Artur Rubinstein arrived in [Cuba](#) from Florida for a stay of 5 days. He would find the Cubans to be much more congenial than the Americanos. This would prove to be the best part of his American tour.

May 20, Friday: Alfredo Zayas assumed the role of President of the Republic of [Cuba](#).

June 13, Monday: [José Miguel Gómez](#) died in [New York](#).





CUBA

CUBA

1922

The Lincoln Memorial was dedicated.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established.

Manuel Sanquily again spoke against the selling of [Cuban](#) lands to foreigners.

April 7, Friday: Jemal Azmi, the governor-general of Trebizond during the massacres, and Behaeddin Shakir were assassinated in Berlin.

[ARMENIAN GENOCIDE](#)

Ramon Santamaria (later known as Mongo Santamaria) was born in Jesus Maria, [Havana](#).

After Republican riots in Belfast, with 232 dead the Parliament of Northern Ireland had passed a [Special Powers Act](#), and on this day the act received Royal assent and went into effect. The British would create a military force of over 40,000 “special forces” and 16 Army divisions in the 6 northern counties of [Ireland](#). The Act allowed:

- Arrests & Searches without warrant or warning
- Detention without trial or arrest, and interrogation without cause for up to 48 hours, with no legal representation
- Outlawed public meetings or demonstrations
- Confiscation of private property without court order
- Outlawed membership in any “unapproved” organization
- Imposed curfews and allowed roadblocks at will.

June: A British “White Paper” on Palestine.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Under [General Enoch Crowder](#)’s watchful eyes, a new [Cuba](#) Cabinet was formed and nicknamed the “honest cabinet.” Congress adopted a resolution condemning the American general’s interventions in [Cuban](#) affairs.



CUBA

CUBA

1924

[Gerardo Machado y Morales](#), who had been a general during the Cuban war for independence, was elected President of the Republic of [Cuba](#). He would be receiving diplomatic and financial support from the USA until his downfall in 1933.

Concern grew among the white land-owning population of the island of Jamaica over the its demoralizing, criminogenic influence of [ganja](#) smoking among poor native laborers. Being a poor native laborer ought not to be so much fun. The Dangerous Drugs Law of 1924 increased penalties for use of [opium](#) or [cannabis](#).

The increase in [heroin](#) use among urban male youths led to a fear of the “[dope](#) fiend,” and to a ban of its manufacture and import.

In England, the Rolleston Committee emphasized that it considered that non therapeutic use of [opiates](#) did not represent a serious threat. After assessing the situation that obtained in the USA subsequent to the federal Harrison Act, it again affirmed the legal right of British physicians to prescribe opiates.

June 8, Sunday: Frédéric François-Marsal replaced Raymond Nicolas Landry Poincaré as prime minister of France.

The Orquesta Filarmónica of [Havana](#) opened its initial season.

1925

In Jamaica, the Great Depression, the rise of Rastafarianism, and racial fears increased concern over the use of [marijuana](#). The Panama Canal Zone Report concluded that there was no credible evidence that [cannabis](#) was habit forming or that it was having any “appreciably deleterious influence” on American soldiers in the Zone, and recommended that no action be taken. However, urban legends that associated horrible crimes with [marijuana](#) and [Mexicans](#) were given credence in a Surgeon General’s Report.

The [Cuban](#) Communist party was founded by labor organizers Carlos Baliño, student organizer Julio Antonio Mella, and others. (Opiate of the masses, anyone?)

During the era of [prohibition](#), Sanka would be introduced and [coffee](#) consumption would reach new highs. By this year, in the United States, a widespread illicit liquor trade had become well established. “Speakeasies” had made their appearance, and consumption had increased particularly among women. A local businessman named Al Capone, none too smart, none too efficient, and not at all charismatic, was able to seize primacy in [Chicago](#)’s underworld due to opportunities offered by [prohibition](#) of the legal sale of alcoholic beverages.



In the midst of all this, a young graduate of Englewood Technical Prep Academy on the South Side of [Chicago](#), [Milton Sanford Mayer](#), matriculated at the University of Chicago.

May 20, Wednesday: General [Gerardo Machado y Morales](#), a liberal, became [Cuba](#)’s 5th president after winning 5 of the 6 provinces. According to Philip Foner’s ANTONIO MACEO, “The first two years of his term fulfill many Cuban hopes. The government was honest; legislation to protect Cuban products, diversify agriculture and regulate the sugar industry was promulgated, while a vast programme of public works and road construction, including a central highway from [Havana](#) to Santiago de [Cuba](#), gave jobs to thousands of Cubans.”

A flood on the Murrumbidgee River of Australia killed 8.

While in Prague, Alban Berg confessed his love to Hanna Fuchs-Robettin. (During July he would write to her, “I am no longer myself since this greatest of events. I have become a madman staggering about with an ever pounding heart, to whom everything, yes, everything that once moved him ... has become completely indifferent, inexplicable even hateful ... One thought alone animates me, one desire, one longing: you!”)



CUBA

CUBA

1927

*AZÚCAR Y POBLACIÓN EN LAS ANTILLAS* ([SUGAR](#) AND POPULATION IN THE ANTILLES), the most serious and influential criticism of latifundismo in [Cuba](#), was published by Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez.

[Gerardo Machado y Morales](#) took a step toward dictatorship — a pro-Machado Constitutional Assembly extended [Cuban](#) presidential terms to 6 years and invited Machado to accept a new term.

The United States Supreme Court ruled that illegal income was taxable income, giving the federal government a new and exceedingly powerful weapon against the underworld — for in this year, due to Prohibition, Al Capone had an income of \$105,000,000, which was the highest annual income ever attained by any private US citizen.



CUBA

CUBA

1928

November 1, Thursday: After the [Cuban](#) Congress passed an Emergency Law had outlawed any presidential nominations other than those of the Liberal, Conservative, and Popular parties, [Gerardo Machado y Morales](#) was able to declare himself the sole legitimate candidate for the Presidency of the Republic of Cuba. He was therefore re-elected, unopposed, to a new, 6-year term. From Chapter 2 of Ramon Eduardo Ruiz's [CUBA, THE MAKING OF A REVOLUTION](#), "The Roots of Cuban Nationalism," page 39: "By the late 1920's the people disturbed by the role of American diplomacy in Cuban affairs which, in their opinion, had prostituted local politics, included not merely intellectuals and the militant nationalists of the past but students, professional men from socially prominent families, and countless members of clandestine labor organizations."



CUBA

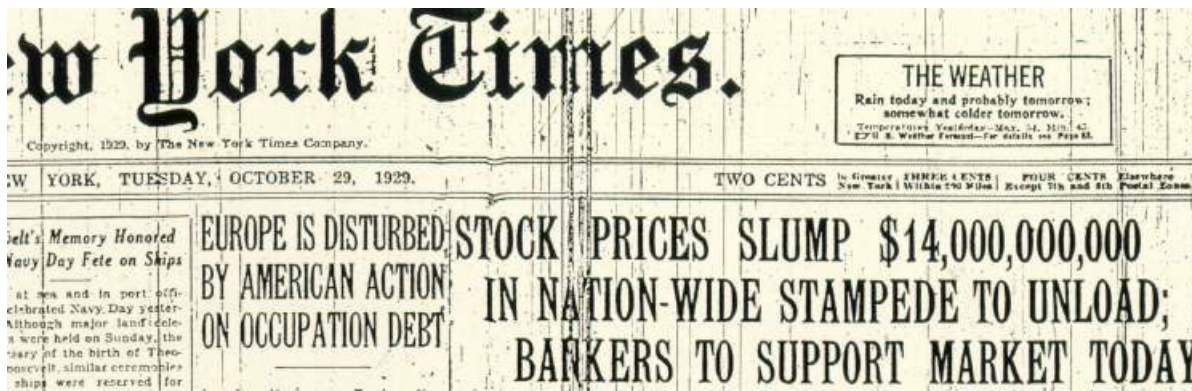
CUBA

1929

October 28 and 29, Black Monday followed by Black Tuesday: The [New York](#) Stock Exchange, on [Wall Street](#), crashed. During a single day, the 29th, 16,410,030 shares changed hands.

The crash dragged [Cuba](#) into its worse economic crisis. From 1928 to 1932 the price of [sugar](#) would plummet from 2.18¢ per pound to an all-time low of 57/100ths of a cent per pound.

During the early 1930s, about 30% of our nation's workforce would be unemployed.



With the Wall Street crash, capitalists in the United States would begin to recall loans they had made in Europe. The [German](#) economy in particular had been reliant on US investment. This calling in of loans would produce a rapid rise in unemployment. Before the crash, German unemployment had been at 1,250,000 but by the end of 1930 the number of unemployed would reach almost 4,000,000. Many Germans who still had paychecks would find themselves working only part-time. Hourly incomes would also plummet.





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1930**

December 28, Sunday: Piano Concerto by Henry Cowell was performed completely for the initial time, in [Havana](#), with the composer himself at the piano.

1931

August: Heinrich Himmler began an intelligence and security corps, the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD), under Richard Heydrich. The corps would be kept distinct from the [Nazi](#) Party's uniformed *Schutzstaffel* because senior politicians feared that [Adolf Hitler](#) might use his stormtroopers to seize power and dispense with them. Led by Ernst Röhm, the *Schutzstaffel* had come to contain over 400,000 men in uniform, while under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the [German](#) army was restricted to 100,000 men and was therefore entirely outnumbered. Those who feared communism were coming to fear a [Nazi](#) coup more. Heinrich Bruening therefore would ban the *Sturm Abteilung*.

Mendieta and Menocal attempted an uprising in the interior of [Cuba](#), supposedly coordinated with members of [Gerardo Machado y Morales](#)'s army. The two leaders were readily captured, however, in Río Verde in Pinar del Río.



December 27, Sunday: In the Teatro Nacional of [Havana](#), Charles Ives's Decoration Day for orchestra was performed for the initial time.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1932**

November 9, Wednesday: A hurricane struck [Cuba](#) killing more than 3,000, mostly one destroyed town, Santa Cruz del Sur.



CUBA

CUBA

1933

As the year began [Gerardo Machado y Morales](#) was deeply entrenched in power in [Cuba](#), using official brutality to intercept any and all opposition.

The [Japanese](#) army invaded the Hebei province of [Manchuria](#).

Following the condemnation of this occupation, [Japan](#) left the League of Nations.

The US in this year would have 3,027 armed Americans on the mainland of [China](#). This sort of troop disposition was regarded at the time as protective and as fully legitimated by the spirit, if not the verbiage, of treaties we had entered into in good faith with China between 1858 and 1901 — at least, it was regarded in such a manner **by us**, and the issue, whether it was so regarded **by them**, apparently is a topic that seldom came up. What are friends for?

#### US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

During a revolution against [Cuban](#) President Gerardo Machado, US naval forces demonstrated their force and presence but no landing took place.

The following is an excerpt from a speech by Major General Smedley Butler, USMC, twice awarded the Medal of Honor (1914, 1917):

War is just a racket. A racket is best described, I believe, as something that is not what it seems to the majority of people. Only a small inside group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few at the expense of the masses. I believe in adequate defense at the coastline and nothing else. If a nation comes over here to fight, then we'll fight. The trouble with America is that when the dollar only earns 6 percent over here, then it gets restless and goes overseas to get 100 percent. Then the flag follows the dollar and the soldiers follow the flag.

I wouldn't go to war again as I have done to protect some lousy investment of the bankers. There are only two things we should fight for. One is the defense of our homes and the other is the Bill of Rights. War for any other reason is simply a racket. There isn't a trick in the racketeering bag that the military gang is blind to. It has its 'finger men' to point out enemies, its 'muscle men' to destroy enemies, its 'brain men' to plan war preparations and a 'Big Boss' Super-Nationalistic-Capitalism. It may seem odd for me, a military man to adopt such a comparison. Truthfulness compels me to. I spent thirty-three years and four months in active military service as a member of this country's most agile military force, the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from Second Lieutenant to Major General. And during that period, I spent most of my time being a high class muscle-man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the Bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism.

I suspected I was just part of a racket at the time. Now I am sure of it. Like all members of the military profession, I never had a thought of my own until I left the service. My mental faculties remained in suspended animation while I obeyed the orders of higher-ups. This is typical with everyone in the

military service.

I helped make Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefits of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912 (where have I heard that name before?). I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. In China I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

During those years, I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. Looking back on it, I feel that I could have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three districts. I operated on three continents.

April: An attempt was made to create a lobster industry on St. Helena.

Benjamin Sumner Welles entered the US Department of State, as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs.

Nazi rule compelled Max Born, Richard Courant, James Franck, and many other scientists to leave the universities of Germany.

WORLD WAR II  
ATOM BOMB



"Our prayer is: Lord God, let us never hesitate, let us never play the coward, let us never forget the duty which we have taken upon us."

- Adolf Hitler, March 1933



WORLD WAR II  
GERMANY

May: The Judischer Kulturbund was established in Berlin.

United States ambassador Benjamin Sumner Welles, who had gained extensive diplomatic experience while in the Dominican Republic, arrived in Havana as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's special envoy to Cuba.

August 4, Friday: A minor strike of the bus drivers in Havana became a general strike that paralyzed the city. To break the strike Gerardo Machado y Morales reached a compromise with Communist leaders but, before any action could be taken, a radio announcement that he had resigned sent jubilant crowds into the streets.

August 9, Wednesday: President Gerardo Machado y Morales resigned when a general strike closed down the city of Havana and then spread throughout the island. Under US support, Carlos M. Céspedes, a son of Cuba's legendary leader, succeeded Machado.



## CUBA

## CUBA

August 20, Sunday: The American [Jewish](#) Congress declared a boycott against [Nazi Germany](#).

The New York [Times](#) fronted [Benjamin Sumner Welles](#), President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's special envoy, as "Our Man of the Hour in [Cuba](#)."

September 4, Monday: The [Cuban](#) uprising known as the "Revolt of the Sergeants," led by [Fulgencio Batista](#).

A new revolutionary government would take over in [Havana](#), one led by [Ramón Grau San Martín](#) and [Antonio Guiteras y Holmes](#) (who gets the credit for holding this government together while it lasted). In its 100 days, this government engineered some radical changes in [Cuban](#) society. For one thing, it nullified the [Platt Amendment](#) (except for the Guantánamo naval base lease), plus, it created an 8-hour working day, established a Department of Labor, opened the university to the poor, granted peasants the land they were farming, and gave women the vote. Over and above that it reduced electric rates by 40%. Franklin Delano Roosevelt's adviser, Sumner Welles, would refer to these changes as "communistic" and "irresponsible" — of course, the United States government, loyal to the three principles on the basis of which our nation had been ever governed, would refuse to recognize such a government.



[Meyer Lansky](#) would meet with [Batista](#) and the two thugs would forge a friendship and business relationship that would endure for 3 decades. Batista would also form a relationship with Franklin Delano Roosevelt's adviser [Benjamin Sumner Welles](#), who would encourage his political ambition. (Dustin Hoffman plays the role of Meyer Lansky in the 2005 film "The Lost City." Lee Strasberg plays the role of Meyer Lansky and Tito Alba plays the role of Fulgencio Batista in the 1974 Academy Award-winning film "The Godfather Part II.")

October 3, Tuesday: Universal Edition suspended its publishing contract with Kurt Weill.

AS [Cuban](#) army units defeated a coup by US-backed rebels operating out of the National Hotel in [Havana](#), 119 people were killed.

Idyll: Once I Passed Through a Populous City, for soprano, baritone and orchestra, by Frederick Delius to words of Whitman, was performed for the initial time, in Queen's Hall, London.

Red Autumn for two pianos by Arnold Bax was performed for the initial time, in the College of Nursing Hall, London.





CUBA

CUBA

1934

January 14, Sunday: In [Cuba](#), [Antonio Guiteras y Holmes](#) announced the nationalization of American-owned Electric Bond and Share Company. This would be his last governmental act.

January 15, Monday: [Fulgencio Batista](#), with the blessing of the United States federal government, forced the resignation of the [Ramón Grau San Martín/Antonio Guiteras y Holmes](#) government in [Cuba](#).

The USMC published its TENTATIVE MANUAL FOR LANDING OPERATIONS.

[WORLD WAR II](#)

January 20, Saturday: The federal government of the United States of America recognized the [Batista](#)-installed government in [Cuba](#). Let the good times roll!

May 29, Tuesday: President [Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) signed a “Treaty on Relations” with Cuba, repealing the [Platt Amendment](#). The United States of America would no longer claim a right to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

(We would of course, however, maintain our lease on Guantánamo Bay — one never can tell when such a thingie might come in handy for this or that.)

# CUBA

# CUBA

May 31, Thursday: A 3-day synod of [German](#) Protestant leaders concluded in Barmen. They announced their opposition to the attempt to massage Christianity into a pro-[Nazi](#) stance.

The United States and [Cuba](#) signed a treaty affirming US sovereignty over Guantánamo Bay in perpetuity. (This would be purposed as a wonderful place at which to resupply our steam-driven warships at sea with coal for their boilers, and then eventually, when we no longer had steam-driven warships, would be repurposed as a wonderful place at which to hold the prisoners whom we need to [torture](#). Since we're not [Nazis](#), in effecting said transition we would perceive no immediate need to massage our Christianity into a pro-torture stance.)





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1935**

May 8, Wednesday: While preparing to leave [Cuba](#) to organize an armed invasion similar to that of José Martí 40 years earlier, [Antonio Guiteras y Holmes](#) was killed by the [Cuban](#) army.



CUBA

CUBA

1936

July 18, Saturday: July 17: There was a right-wing military uprising in Spanish Morocco, one that would come to be led by General Francisco Franco, who would receive unstinting support from his pals Hitler and Mussolini. About 1,000 [Cubans](#) would be fighting with the International Brigades, in defense of the elected Spanish government and representative democracy. People sure can get on each other's nerves!

[WORLD WAR II](#)



CUBA

CUBA

1937

Senator [Harry S Truman](#) was named as vice-chairman of a subcommittee of the Interstate Commerce Committee to investigate American railroad finances. During this year he met with Justice Louis D. Brandeis on several social occasions, and discussed transportation regulation.

[Benjamin Sumner Welles](#) became President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Under Secretary of State.

Brown & Root, a minor company which later would become a division of mighty Halliburton, called upon freshman United States Congressman Lyndon Baines Johnson to procure \$10,000,000 in federal funding for its Mansfield Dam project. This guy knew how to haul the freight, on the floor of the federal congress, and eventually would deliver to his industrial lobbyists the necessary authorization and funding for their project. Said project was to become, indeed, the cornerstone of Brown and Root's financial empire. Herman Brown was an industrialist who knew how to be grateful, and would fund Congressman Johnson's political rise. LBJ biographer Ronnie Dugger notes that this "was a totally corrupt relationship and it benefited both of them enormously. Brown & Root got rich, and Johnson got power and riches," adding that the congressman "wouldn't have been in the running without Brown & Root's money and airplanes."<sup>296</sup>

296. Fast forward, if you please: in the Year of Our Lord 2000, the Bush/Cheney campaign would be relying upon Halliburton's airplane transportation during the all-important Florida recount, triggering a federal investigation. A spokesperson for the Democratic National Committee would level the accusation that "The Bush administration literally flew into power on Enron's and Halliburton's private jets."



CUBA

CUBA

1938

Joe Louis's trainer Jack Blackburn informed reporters that "The science of boxing is to avoid getting hit, but if you do get hit, hit the other fellow before he hits you again."

In [Havana](#), [Fulgencio Batista](#) allowed the legalization of the [Cuban](#) Communist Party.

Gus McKey had claimed in a pamphlet that the 6,000th year since Creation would come between 1931 and 1938, signifying the end of the world (Abanes, Richard. END-TIME VISIONS. NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1998, page 283) [Tick, tick.](#)

MILLENNIALISM

November 10, Thursday: Anti-semitic legislation was passed in Italy.

ANTISEMITISM

Henri Hinrichsen and his wife Martha returned to Leipzig from Vienna. They found their apartment, and their firm, C.F. Peters, ransacked and vandalized.

President Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, died in Istanbul. He was succeeded by Mustafa Abdülhalik Renda ad interim.

"Metamorphosis for piano" was performed in Seattle by John Cage, perhaps for the initial time.

Under Secretary of State [Benjamin Sumner Welles](#) went to meet [Fulgencio Batista](#) as he arrived at Union Station in Washington DC.





CUBA

CUBA

1939

Early in this year Great Britain would begin the mass manufacture of large quantities of stout and impermeable treated-cardboard coffins, and would begin the stockpiling of these grisly objects in case of national need for them. Better safe than sorry.

*Éire* declared itself neutral. There was an [Irish](#) Republican Army campaign in Great Britain. In *Éire*, army members were interned.

Senators [Harry S Truman](#) and Burton Wheeler introduced a bill to reorganize the railroads and place them under the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. During this year, as a member of the Military Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, Senator Truman would visit defense installations in the United States, Panama, [Cuba](#), and Puerto Rico. Be prepared.

WORLD WAR II

May 8, Monday: Spain left the League of Nations.

The largest anti-semitic demonstration in [Cuba](#)'s history took place in [Havana](#), as a protest against the impending departure from Hamburg of the *SS St. Louis* with almost 1,000 [Jewish](#) refugees bound for [Cuba](#).

Piano Sonata no.1 op.3 by Vincent Persichetti was performed for the initial time, at Philadelphia Conservatory, by the composer.

May 13, Saturday: The [German](#) liner *SS St. Louis* sailed from Hamburg. On board were 938 passengers, almost all of them [Jewish](#) refugees. Their destination was [Havana](#), where most of the Jews would await entry visas for the United States of America, land of the free and home of the brave.

Prelude and Fugue for strings and four trumpets by Roy Harris was performed for the initial time, at the High School of Music and Art, New York.

May 27, Saturday: Marc Blitzstein arrived in Boston for the local premiere of his "The Cradle Will Rock." Sponsored by the Harvard Student Union, this was put on by a Harvard senior named Leonard Bernstein who served as accompanist, took two roles, and had cast his 15-year-old sister as the prostitute. Blitzstein and Bernstein spent the afternoon chatting as they walked along the Charles River. The performance, held on this evening, enthralled Blitzstein, and the two musicians would become life-long friends.

The *SS St. Louis* arrived in [Havana](#) harbor, 14 days out of Hamburg. Of the 938 mostly [Jewish](#) refugees aboard, the [Cuban](#) government allowed merely 22 to disembark. Attempts by the others to get entry visas to the United States would be denied.

May 28, Sunday: An attorney for the [Jewish](#) Joint Distribution Committee arrived in [Havana](#) to try to negotiate with the [Cuban](#) government to allow the hapless refugees from the *SS St. Louis* to disembark. He would fail.



## CUBA

## CUBA

June 2, Friday: Six days after docking in [Havana](#), President Federico Laredo Brú ordered the *SS St. Louis* to depart [Cuban](#) waters.

June 6, Tuesday: The *SS St. Louis* departed [Havana](#) for Europe. The hapless [Jewish](#) refugees on board would be taken in by Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. Of the 907 who thus returned to Europe, 254 would be consumed in the holocaust.



CUBA

CUBA

1940

[Italy](#), [Germany](#), and [Japan](#) signed a tripartite pact as the “axis powers.” The [Japanese](#) military occupied French Indochina ([Vietnam](#)) with approval by France (which is to say, with the approval of the Vichy government of collaborators) and announced that its intention was the creation of a “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.”

US troops were sent to guard air and naval bases obtained in Newfoundland, Bermuda, St. Lucia, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, Trinidad, and British Guiana by negotiation with Great Britain (these would sometimes be referred to as “lend-lease” bases).

#### US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

Founding in 1815 in Boston by William Tudor and the journalist Nathan Hale, the [North American Review](#), the oldest American literary magazine, had come to be owned by a hack writer named Joseph Hilton Smyth. In this year this owner was unmasked as having received \$125,000 from Manhattan’s Vice Consul Shintaro Fukushima in payment for publishing pro-[Japanese](#) sentiments, and so the magazine discontinued publication).

The [Japanese](#) tradition of the Cherry Blossom Pageant was introduced in [Washington DC](#).



The [Japanese](#) military dropped bombs on the city of Ningbo in [China](#) containing fleas which they had carefully infected with the [bubonic plague](#).

The [Japanese](#) military introduced [typhoid fever](#) and [cholera](#) into [China](#) by way of Chekiang Province.

WORLD WAR II  
GERM WARFARE

The [Cuban](#) Constitution of 1940 was established by a national assembly that included Blas Roca, a young shoemaker who had helped organize the Revolution of 1933. The document struck a balance between the rich and the working class, protected individual and social rights, supported full employment and a minimum wage, extended social security, called for equal pay for equal work, and outlawed the huge plantations known as latifundias. What could go wrong?

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





CUBA

CUBA

July 30, Tuesday: At the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics, 21 nations signed the Act of [Havana](#) calling for unified action.

WORLD WAR II

October 10, Thursday: The Romanian government permitted [German](#) troops into the country.

Virgil Thomson was hired as music critic for the New York Herald Tribune.

A mulatto man, [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#), became president, or dictator, of [Cuba](#).

WORLD WAR II



CUBA

CUBA

1941

February 3, Monday: Firing the heads of the Army, Navy, and Police, President Fulgencio Battista of [Cuba](#) took over personal command of the armed forces and suspended civil rights.

April 8, Tuesday: British forces captured Massawa (Mits'iwa) in Ethiopia.

[German](#) troops occupied Thessaloniki, capturing 70,000 Greek soldiers.

A bombe exploded in the [German](#) consulate in [Havana](#) (no injuries were reported).

WORLD WAR II

December 10, Wednesday: [Cuba](#) declared war upon [Japan](#).

WORLD WAR II

The Japanese landed on Camiguin Island and at Gonzaga and Aparri on the island of Luzon in the Philippine Islands. They captured the British-controlled islands of Abemama, Makin (Butaritari) and Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati). The US Marine garrison on Guam surrendered to a [Japanese](#) landing force.

*Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) commented that [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#)'s words on the previous day had amounted to a de facto declaration of war.

[German](#) and [Italian](#) forces began a full retreat to the west from Tobruk (Tubruq).

S.S. Commander Heinrich Himmler ordered that the ill, mentally ill and those otherwise unfit for work be removed from concentration camp populations and gassed to death.

Brazil froze all the [German](#), [Italian](#), and [Japanese](#) assets it could get its hands on. Argentina froze all [Japanese](#) assets.

The British warships HMS *Repulse* and HMS *Prince of Wales* were sunk off Kuantan, Malaya. The ships had been spotted by submarine I-58 just before dawn and a flight of nine "Betty" torpedo-carrying planes of the Japanese 22nd Naval Air Flotilla led by Lieutenant Haruki Iki had scrambled from the Japanese base at [Saigon](#). The battleship *Prince of Wales* was hit by 4 torpedoes and sank at 12:33PM. 327 died. The cruiser *Repulse* was hit by 14 torpedoes and sank at 1:20PM. 513 died. The Far Eastern Fleet commander, Admiral Sir Tom Phillips, went down with his ship. The Japanese lost 4 planes. A total of 2,081 would be plucked from the water by escort destroyers HMS *Electra*, *Vampire*, and *Express* and would be dropped off at Singapore.

Cavite Navy Yard, Philippine Islands was heavily damaged by enemy air attack. United States naval vessels damaged at Cavite, Philippine Islands:

- Destroyer *Peary* (DD-226), by horizontal bomber
- Submarine *Seadragon* (SS-194), by horizontal bomber
- Submarine *Sealion* (SS-195), by horizontal bomber
- Minesweeper *Bittern* (AM-36), by horizontal bomber

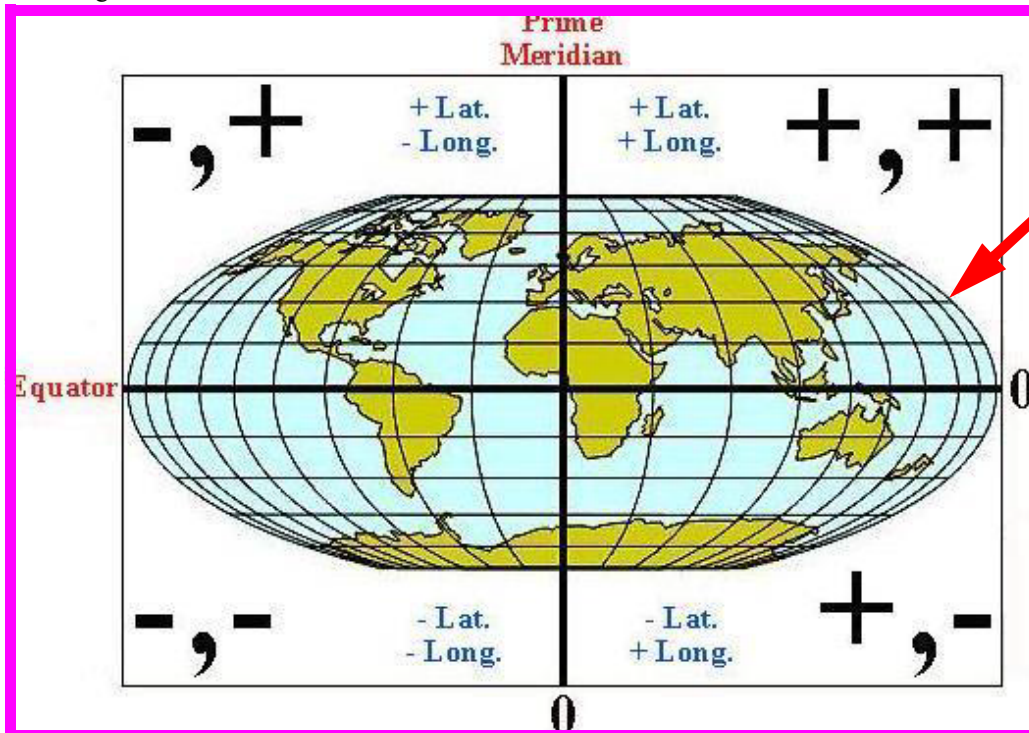
Japanese naval vessels sunk:



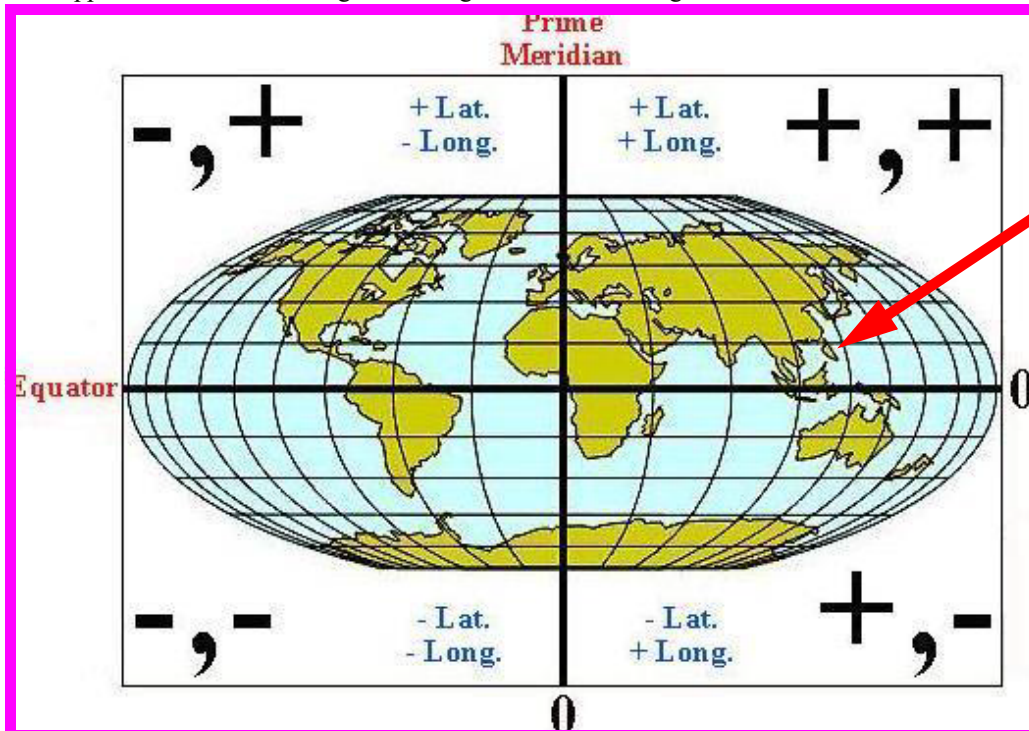
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- Submarine I-170, by carrier-based aircraft, Hawaiian Islands area, 23 degrees 45 minutes North, 155 degrees 35 minutes West



- Minesweeper No. 10, by Army aircraft, Philippine Islands area, 17 degrees 32 minutes North, 120 degrees 22 minutes East
- Minesweeper No. 19, damaged by Army aircraft and grounded by own forces (total loss), Philippine Islands area, 18 degrees 22 degrees North, 121 degrees 38 minutes East



Helen Clarke Grimes, in Spragueville near [Smithfield](#) northwest of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#), as in



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many homes in America, the radio was being kept constantly on, not for the soap operas that filled the daytime airwaves, but for the sporadic news flashes about the war situation. Helen made notes for her diary:

Dec. 10 – From London comes news that the ill-fated and short-lived Prince of Wales has been sunk by Japanese aircraft. In the year of its service it saw action with the Bismark from which it emerged badly crippled, and later served as the meeting place of Churchill and Roosevelt in the mid-Atlantic.

The Repulse has been lost, too.

Keeping the radio tuned-in all day means listening to an endless series of "soap operas," the daytime serials for moronic women. The sensible thing is to listen to regular news broadcasts at stated intervals, but I find myself compelled to listen almost continuously for every stray bulletin, which is downright idiotic of me.

There is a report that American bombers have sunk one Japanese transport and hit five others, three by direct hits.

Noon 12:00 – The Japanese attempt to land troops on Luzon has been beaten back by our forces.

The British report a heavy battle going on in Hong Kong.

No news from Germany.

the last of the trans-Atlantic steamship service has been discontinued. Only planes now link us to Europe.

Some idiot in Washington has chopped down four of the Japanese cherry trees along the Potomac, and pinned messages to the hacked trunks.

December 11, Thursday: Canti di prigionia for chorus, two pianos, two harps and percussion by Luigi Dallapiccola, to words of Mary, Queen of Scots, Boethius and Savonarola, was performed completely for the initial time, in the Teatro delle Arti of Rome.

Lieutenant Haruki Iki flew over the area of ocean in which his flight of torpedo bombers had struck two ships on the previous day, killing 840, and dropped a bouquet of flowers.<sup>297</sup>

In [Washington DC](#), four of the cherry trees were found to have been chopped down in what must have been a retaliation for the [Japanese](#) bombing of Pearl Harbor (because messages had been pinned to the stumps). In hope to prevent future vandalism, for the duration of the war the government would be referring to these trees

297. Maybe he should have been a florist. ([Albert Einstein](#) would suspect that maybe he should have been a plumber.)

as “Oriental” flowering cherries.



Soviet forces captured Istra, 50 kilometers west of Moscow. As [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) had hoped and expected, [Germany](#) and [Italy](#) declared a state of war with the United States.

## GERMAN WAR DECLARATION

At this point in time there were a grand sum total of two developed nations on this planet that explicitly restricted citizenship on the basis of race, the United States of America and Germany, which makes it curious that on this day these two nations that had so very much in common with one another were going to war against one another! Wow, what a curious coincidence! –What was this, some sort of twin-brother hullabaloo?

[Adolf Hitler](#) addressed the *Reichstag* in regard to these “circumstances brought about by President Roosevelt,” saying that he had been given information of “a plan prepared by President Roosevelt ... according to which his intention was to attack Germany in 1942 with all the resources of the United States. Thus our patience has come to a breaking point.”

The United States immediately declared by joint resolutions of the Congress a state of war with Germany and Italy. Costa Rica, [Cuba](#), Guatemala, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic declared war against Germany and Italy. Poland declared a state of war with Japan. [Mexico](#) severed diplomatic relations with Germany and



Italy.



Wake Island's Marine defenders repulsed a [Japanese](#) landing attempt and sank two of its destroyers:

- Destroyer *Hayate*, by Marine shore batteries.
- Destroyer *Kisaragi*, by Marine aircraft.

The [Japanese](#) effected landings at Legaspi, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

**WORLD WAR II**

At the home of Helen Clarke Grimes, in Spragueville near [Smithfield](#) northwest of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), as in many homes in America, the radio was being kept constantly on, not for the soap operas that filled the daytime airwaves, but for the sporadic news flashes about the war situation. Helen made notes for her diary:

Dec. 11 – Now that President Roosevelt has all the power he has demanded in his insatiable desire to rule absolute, it remains to be seen if he is capable of applying it wisely – or if he will continue his Grand Court of Lagado.

It is no time for national disunity, the people must stand or fall with the man thrice acclaimed by the majority.

An early report gives news of a Japanese battleship sunk by American bombers off the Phillipines.

This morning, Hitler in one of his high flown speeches declared Germany at war with the United States. Italy obediently tailed along.

By 10 o'clock we had received word that the United States had declared war against Germany.

A late bulletin reveals that there were four attacks on our fleet in Pearl Harbor: three on Sunday and a fourth on Monday, which may have been the basis of a preposterous rumor emanating from Washington itself the early part of this week that ninety percent of the fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor had been destroyed.

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December 12, Friday: Haiti, Panama, and Honduras declared war against Germany and Italy. The Polish government-in-exile declared war on Japan. Japanese forces occupied Legaspi in southern Luzon. Japanese troops pushed Indian defenders out of Jitra, Malaya, 670 kilometers northwest of Singapore, while Japanese planes bombed Pinang, killing 600 people.

Slovakia declared war on the United States and Great Britain. Rumania declared a state of war with the United States.



WORLD WAR II

Cuba instituted a draft. Cuba, Uruguay, and Venezuela froze all German, Italian and Japanese assets. Several demonstrations supporting the United States were dispersed by police in Buenos Aires. Prime Minister Winston Churchill boarded the battleship Duke of York to meet with United States representatives at the Arcadia conference.

The Naval Air Transport Service (NATS) was established.

In retaliation for an attempt to kill a German officer, 743 Jews were arrested in Paris and imprisoned at Compiègne.

ANTISEMITISM

At the home of Helen Clarke Grimes, in Spragueville near Smithfield northwest of Providence, Rhode Island, as in many homes in America, the radio was being kept constantly on, not for the soap operas that filled the daytime airwaves, but for the sporadic news flashes about the war situation. Helen made notes for her diary:

Dec. 12 - Tin Pan Alley is said to be swatting out patriotic



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songs at a great rate of speed, although with the war only five days old none has as yet hit the air waves. Of course we have had Irving Berlin's "Any Bonds Today" for some time, but that might be classed as a pre-war song, as E.B. White remarked, "innocently combining patriotic fervor with a definite rate of interest." It is a tuneful affair and as such has become very popular. However, it is my belief that music will appeal to the heart, the soul, or the feet, but seldom touches the pocket book....<sup>298</sup>

298. Within ten days, a song entitled "Good-Bye Mama, I'm Off to [Yokohama](#)" would be written, published, on the air waves, and on sales racks in music stores. Within just a few months, Frank Loesser's "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" would be achieving top ratings. Irving Berlin would author "Any Bonds today" as the official song of the US Treasury Department's National Defense Savings Program. There would also be "Cash for Trash," "Get Out and Dig, Dig, Dig," "Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy," "I left My Heart at the Stage Door Canteen," "This Is the Army," "As Time Goes By," "I'll Be Seeing You," "Rosie the Riveter," and "We Did It Before and We'll Do It Again."





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1942

June 18, Thursday: United States Naval Air Facility, La Fe, [Cuba](#), was established.

A 2d team of 4 [German](#) saboteurs, led by Edward Kerling, landed at Ponte Vedra Beach in Florida.

WORLD WAR II

June 26, Friday: United States Naval Auxiliary Air Station (Lighter-than-Air), San Julian, [Cuba](#), was established.

[Germany](#) announced unrestricted submarine warfare off United States Atlantic Coast.

WORLD WAR II

September 7, Monday: The 6th and last of the radio dramas An American in England, entitled "The Anglo-American Angle," with music by Benjamin Britten, was broadcast for the initial time, over the CBS radio network, originating in New York.

American troops attacked the [Japanese](#) base at Taivu in the Guadalcanal Islands, doing great damage.

[Japanese](#) forces pushed Australians back from Efogi, Papua, northeast of Port Moresby.

A massive [German](#) attack at Stalingrad was repulsed.

The United States of America and [Cuba](#) concluded an agreement for naval and military cooperation.

A teacher of American Literary History at the University of Berlin, Mildred Fish Harnack, was arrested by the Gestapo on suspicion of being involved with some members of a spy ring the [Nazis](#) were referring to as "The Red Orchestra," and taken to their headquarters at No.8, Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse.

4,100 Jews were marched into an anti-tank ditch near Mineralniye Vody, Ukraine, and shot.

ANTISEMITISM

General de St. Vincent, military governor of Lyons, was dismissed for refusing to round up Jews.

WORLD WAR II



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1944

Fall: [Fidel Castro](#), a student about to enter a Jesuit high school in [Havana](#), was proclaimed the best high school athlete on the entire island for the school year 1943/1944. [Ramón Grau San Martín](#) was elected as president of [Cuba](#).



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1945

October 12, Friday: Colombia, [Cuba](#), and Guatemala ratified the Charter of the United Nations.

[Egypt](#), Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria warned the United States that war would ensue if there was an attempt to set up a Jewish state in Palestine.

ANTISEMITISM

Symphony no.3 by Bohuslav Martinu was performed for the initial time, in Boston.

October 24, Wednesday: The 2d revision of Igor Stravinsky's Suite from "The Firebird" was performed for the initial time, in New York.

Serenade Concertante for orchestra by Arthur Berger was performed for the initial time, in Rochester, New York conducted by Howard Hanson.

With the ratification of the USSR, Cuba and Colombia, the Charter of the United Nations went into effect between the nations that had ratified the charter (at an early point, there has been said to have been some speculation that it might be most appropriate were this organization to be situated in the historically important town of Concord, Massachusetts — however, up to this point in my research, I have been unable to identify a single personage **outside** the town of Concord who was even cognizant of the existence of such a proposal).

In Oslo, Vidkun Quisling, leader of the Norwegian government under Nazi occupation, was executed by firing squad.

Banks, insurance companies, and industries representing 61% of the workforce of Czechoslovakia were nationalized by presidential decree.

A Japanese cameraman shooting footage in [Nagasaki](#) was ordered by an American military policeman to stop his camera. Then his exposed film was confiscated. Soon the rest of the 26,000 feet of footage held by his employer, Nippon Eisasha, would be confiscated by the US occupation headquarters. Then an order would be issued, banning any such filming. Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) Daniel A. McGovern, who as a wartime Lieutenant had directed the US military filmmakers in occupied Japan, has commented about this: "I always

had the sense that people in the Atomic Energy Commission were sorry we had dropped the bomb. The Air Force — it was also sorry. I was told by people in the Pentagon that they didn't want those [film] images out because they showed effects on man, woman and child.... They didn't want the general public to know what their weapons had done — at a time they were planning on more bomb tests. We didn't want the material out because ... we were sorry for our sins." McGovern says that in his opinion Americans should have been allowed to view the damage wrought by the new megaweapon. "The main reason it was classified was ...



because of the horror, the devastation." Erik Barnouw, author of landmark histories of film and broadcasting, has commented that "I feel that classifying all of this filmed material was a misuse of the secrecy system since none of it had any military or national security aspect at all. The reason must have been —that if the public had seen it and Congressmen had seen it—it would have been much harder to appropriate money for more bombs."

WORLD WAR II  
ATOM BOMB

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS



**Hiroshima Cover-up Exposed**

**By Greg Mitchell**

**Posted on August 4, 2005**

**<http://www.alternet.org/story/23914/>**

In the weeks following the atomic attacks on Japan almost 60 years ago, and then for decades afterward, the United States engaged in airtight suppression of all film shot in Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the bombings. This included footage shot by



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US military crews and Japanese newsreel teams. In addition, for many years all but a handful of newspaper photographs were seized or prohibited.

The public did not see any of the newsreel footage for 25 years, and the US military film remained hidden for nearly four decades.

The full story of this atomic coverup is told fully for the first time at Editor & Publisher, as the 60th anniversary of the atomic bombings approaches later this week. Some of the long-suppressed footage will be aired on television this Saturday.

Six weeks ago, E&P broke the story that articles written by famed Chicago Daily News war correspondent George Weller about the effects of the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki were finally published, in Japan, almost six decades after they had been spiked by US officials. This drew national attention, but suppressing film footage shot in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was even more significant, as this country rushed into the nuclear age with its citizens having neither a true understanding of the effects of the bomb on human beings, nor why the atomic attacks drew condemnation around the world.

As editor of Nuclear Times magazine in the 1980s, I met Herbert Sussan, one of the members of the US military film crew, and Erik Barnouw, the famed documentarian who first showed some of the Japanese footage on American TV in 1970. In fact, that newsreel footage might have disappeared forever if the Japanese filmmakers had not hidden one print from the Americans in a ceiling.

The color US military footage would remain hidden until the early 1980s, and has never been fully aired. It rests today at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, in the form of 90,000 feet of raw footage labeled #342 USAF.

When that footage finally emerged, I corresponded and spoke with the man at the center of this drama: Lt. Col. (Ret.) Daniel A. McGovern, who directed the U.S. military filmmakers in 1945-1946, managed the Japanese footage, and then kept watch on all of the top-secret material for decades.

"I always had the sense," McGovern told me, "that people in the Atomic Energy Commission were sorry we had dropped the bomb. The Air Force - it was also sorry. I was told by people in the Pentagon that they didn't want those [film] images out because they showed effects on man, woman and child. ... They didn't want the general public to know what their weapons had done - at a time they were planning on more bomb tests. We didn't want the material out because ... we were sorry for our sins."

Sussan, meanwhile, struggled for years to get some of the American footage aired on national TV, taking his request as high as President Truman, Robert F. Kennedy, and Edward R. Murrow, to no avail.

More recently, McGovern declared that Americans should have seen the damage wrought by the bomb. "The main reason it was classified was ... because of the horror, the devastation," he said. Because the footage shot in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was hidden for so long, the atomic bombings quickly sank, unfronted and unresolved, into the deeper recesses of American awareness, as a costly nuclear arms race, and nuclear proliferation, accelerated.

The atomic cover-up also reveals what can happen in any country that carries out deadly attacks on civilians in any war and then



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keeps images of what occurred from its own people. Ten years ago, I co-authored (with Robert Jay Lifton) the book "Hiroshima in America," and new material has emerged since. On August 6, and on following days, the Sundance cable channel will air "Original Child Bomb," a prize-winning documentary on which I worked. The film includes some of the once-censored footage – along with home movies filmed by McGovern in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

### **The Japanese newsreel footage**

On August 6, 1945, the United States dropped an atomic bomb over Hiroshima, killing at least 70,000 instantly and perhaps 50,000 more in the days and months to follow. Three days later, it exploded another atomic bomb over Nagasaki, slightly off target, killing 40,000 immediately and dooming tens of thousands of others. Within days, Japan had surrendered, and the U.S. readied plans for occupying the defeated country – and documenting the first atomic catastrophe.

But the Japanese also wanted to study it. Within days of the second atomic attack, officials at the Tokyo-based newsreel company Nippon Eigasha discussed shooting film in the two stricken cities. In early September, just after the Japanese surrender, and as the American occupation began, director Sueo Ito set off for Nagasaki. There his crew filmed the utter destruction near ground zero and scenes in hospitals of the badly burned and those suffering from the lingering effects of radiation.

On September 15, another crew headed for Hiroshima. When the first rushes came back to Tokyo, Akira Iwasaki, the chief producer, felt "every frame burned into my brain," he later said.

At this point, the American public knew little about conditions in the atomic cities beyond Japanese assertions that a mysterious affliction was attacking many of those who survived the initial blasts (claims that were largely taken to be propaganda). Newspaper photographs of victims were non-existent, or censored. Life magazine would later observe that for years "the world ... knew only the physical facts of atomic destruction."

Tens of thousands of American GIs occupied the two cities. Because of the alleged absence of residual radiation, no one was urged to take precautions.

Then, on October 24, 1945, a Japanese cameraman in Nagasaki was ordered to stop shooting by an American military policeman. His film, and then the rest of the 26,000 feet of Nippon Eisasha footage, was confiscated by the US General Headquarters (GHQ). An order soon arrived banning all further filming. It was at this point that Lieutenant Daniel McGovern took charge.

### **Shooting the U.S. Military footage**

In early September, 1945, less than a month after the two bombs fell, Lieutenant McGovern – who as a member of Hollywood's famed First Motion Picture Unit shot some of the footage for William Wyler's "Memphis Belle" – had become one of the first Americans to arrive in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He was a director with the US Strategic Bombing Survey, organized by the Army the previous November to study the effects of the air campaign against





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Germany, and now Japan.

As he made plans to shoot the official American record, McGovern learned about the seizure of the Japanese footage. He felt it would be a waste to not take advantage of the newsreel footage, noting in a letter to his superiors that "the conditions under which it was taken will not be duplicated, until another atomic bomb is released under combat conditions."

McGovern proposed hiring some of the Japanese crew to edit and "caption" the material, so it would have "scientific value." He took charge of this effort in early January 1946, even as the Japanese feared that, when they were done, they would never see even a scrap of their film again.

At the same time, McGovern was ordered by [General Douglas MacArthur](#) on January 1, 1946 to document the results of the US air campaign in more than 20 Japanese cities. His crew would shoot exclusively on color film, Kodachrome and Technicolor, rarely used at the time even in Hollywood. McGovern assembled a crew of eleven, including two civilians. Third in command was a young lieutenant from New York named Herbert Sussan.

The unit left Tokyo in a specially outfitted train, and made it to Nagasaki. "Nothing and no one had prepared me for the devastation I met there," Sussan later told me. "We were the only people with adequate ability and equipment to make a record of this holocaust.... I felt that if we did not capture this horror on film, no one would ever really understand the dimensions of what had happened. At that time people back home had not seen anything but black and white pictures of blasted buildings or a mushroom cloud."

Along with the rest of McGovern's crew, Sussan documented the physical effects of the bomb, including the ghostly shadows of vaporized civilians burned into walls; and, most chillingly, dozens of people in hospitals who had survived (at least momentarily) and were asked to display their burns, scars, and other lingering effects for the camera as a warning to the world. At the Red Cross Hospital in Hiroshima, a Japanese physician traced the hideous, bright red scars that covered several of the patients - and then took off his white doctor's shirt and displayed his own burns and cuts.

After sticking a camera on a rail car and building their own tracks through the ruins, the Americans filmed hair-raising tracking shots that could have been lifted right from a Hollywood movie. Their chief cameramen was a Japanese man, Harry Mimura, who in 1943 had shot "Sanshiro Sugata," the first feature film by a then-unknown Japanese director named Akira Kurosawa.

### **The suppression begins**

While all this was going on, the Japanese newsreel team was completing its work of editing and labeling all their black & white footage into a rough cut of just under three hours. At this point, several members of Japanese team took the courageous step of ordering from the lab a duplicate of the footage they had shot before the Americans took over the project.

Director Ito later said: "The four of us agreed to be ready for 10 years of hard labor in the case of being discovered." One incomplete, silent print would reside in a ceiling until the Occupation ended.

The negative of the finished Japanese film, nearly 15,000 feet



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of footage on 19 reels, was sent off to the US in early May 1946. The Japanese were also ordered to include in this shipment all photographs and related material. The footage would be labeled SECRET and not emerge from the shadows for more than 20 years. The following month, McGovern was abruptly ordered to return to the US. He hauled the 90,000 feet of color footage, on dozens of reels in huge footlockers, to the Pentagon and turned it over to General Orvil Anderson. Locked up and declared top secret, it did not see the light of day for more than 30 years.

McGovern would be charged with watching over it. Sussan would become obsessed with finding it and getting it aired.

Fearful that his film might get "buried," McGovern stayed on at the Pentagon as an aide to General Anderson, who was fascinated by the footage and had no qualms about showing it to the American people. "He was that kind of man, he didn't give a damn what people thought," McGovern told me. "He just wanted the story told."

In an article in his hometown Buffalo Evening News, McGovern said that he hoped that "this epic will be made available to the American public." He planned to call the edited movie "Japan in Defeat."

Once they eyeballed the footage, however, most of the top brass didn't want it widely shown and the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was also opposed, according to McGovern. It nixed a Warner Brothers feature film project based on the footage that Anderson had negotiated, while paying another studio about \$80,000 to help make four training films.

In a March 3, 1947 memo, Francis E. Rundell, a major in the Air Corps, explained that the film would be classified "secret." This was determined "after study of subject material, especially concerning footage taken at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is believed that the information contained in the films should be safeguarded until cleared by the Atomic Energy Commission." After the training films were completed, the status would be raised to "Top Secret" pending final classification by the AEC. The color footage was shipped to the Wright-Patterson base in Ohio. McGovern went along after being told to put an ID number on the film "and not let anyone touch it - and that's the way it stayed," as he put it. After cataloging it, he placed it in a vault in the top-secret area.

"Dan McGovern stayed with the film all the time," Sussan later said. "He told me they could not release the film [because] what it showed was too horrible."

Sussan wrote a letter to President Truman, suggesting that a film based on the footage "would vividly and clearly reveal the implications and effects of the weapons that confront us at this serious moment in our history." A reply from a Truman aide threw cold water on that idea, saying such a film would lack "wide public appeal."

McGovern, meanwhile, continued to "babysit" the film, now at Norton Air Force base in California. "It was never out of my control," he said later, but he couldn't make a film out of it any more than Sussan could (but unlike Herb, he at least knew where it was).

### **The Japanese footage emerges**

At the same time, McGovern was looking after the Japanese footage. Fearful that it might get lost forever in the military/



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government bureaucracy, he secretly made a 16mm print and deposited it in the US Air Force Central Film Depository at Wright-Patterson. There it remained out of sight, and generally out of mind. (The original negative and production materials remain missing, according to Abe Mark Nornes, who teaches at the University of Michigan and has researched the Japanese footage more than anyone.)

The Japanese government repeatedly asked the US for the full footage of what was known in that country as "the film of illusion," to no avail. A rare article about what it called this "sensitive" dispute appeared in The New York Times on May 18, 1967, declaring right in its headline that the film had been "Suppressed by US for 22 Years." Surprisingly, it revealed that while some of the footage was already in Japan (likely a reference to the film hidden in the ceiling), the US had put a "hold" on the Japanese using it – even though the American control of that country had ceased many years earlier.

Despite rising nuclear fears in the 1960s, before and after the Cuban Missile Crisis, few in the US challenged the consensus view that dropping the bomb on two Japanese cities was necessary. The United States maintained its "first-use" nuclear policy: Under certain circumstances it would strike first with the bomb and ask questions later. In other words, there was no real taboo against using the bomb. This notion of acceptability had started with Hiroshima. A firm line against using nuclear weapons had been drawn – in the sand. The US, in fact, had threatened to use nuclear weapons during the Cuban Missile Crisis and on other occasions.

On September 12, 1967, the Air Force transferred the Japanese footage to the National Archives Audio Visual Branch in Washington, with the film "not to be released without approval of DOD (Department of Defense)."

Then, one morning in the summer of 1968, Erik Barnouw, author of landmark histories of film and broadcasting, opened his mail to discover a clipping from a Tokyo newspaper sent by a friend. It indicated that the United States had finally shipped to Japan a copy of black & white newsreel footage shot in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese had negotiated with the State Department for its return.

From the Pentagon, Barnouw learned in 1968 that the original nitrate film had been quietly turned over to the National Archives, so he went to take a look. Soon Barnouw realized that, despite its marginal film quality, "enough of the footage was unforgettable in its implications, and historic in its importance, to warrant duplicating all of it," he later wrote. Attempting to create a subtle, quiet, even poetic, black and white film, he and his associates cut it from 160 to 16 minutes, with a montage of human effects clustered near the end for impact. Barnouw arranged a screening at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and invited the press. A throng turned out and sat in respectful silence at its finish. (One can only imagine what impact the color footage with many more human effects would have had.) "Hiroshima-Nagasaki 1945" proved to be a sketchy but quite moving document of the aftermath of the bombing, captured in grainy but often startling black and white images: shadows of objects or people burned into walls, ruins of schools, miles of razed landscape viewed from the roof of a building.

In the weeks ahead, however, none of the (then) three TV networks



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expressed interest in airing it. "Only NBC thought it might use the film," Barnouw later wrote, "if it could find a 'news hook.' We dared not speculate what kind of event this might call for." But then an article appeared in Parade magazine, and an editorial in the Boston Globe blasted the networks, saying that everyone in the country should see this film: "Television has brought the sight of war into America's sitting rooms from Vietnam. Surely it can find 16 minutes of prime time to show Americans what the first A-bombs, puny by today's weapons, did to people and property 25 years ago."

This at last pushed public television into the void. What was then called National Educational Television (NET) agreed to show the documentary on August 3, 1970, to coincide with the 25th anniversary of dropping the bomb.

"I feel that classifying all of this filmed material was a misuse of the secrecy system since none of it had any military or national security aspect at all," Barnouw told me. "The reason must have been - that if the public had seen it and Congressmen had seen it - it would have been much harder to appropriate money for more bombs."

### **The American footage comes out**

About a decade later, by pure chance, Herb Sussan would spark the emergence of the American footage, ending its decades in the dark.

In the mid-1970s, Japanese antinuclear activists, led by a Tokyo teacher named Tsutomu Iwakura, discovered that few pictures of the aftermath of the atomic bombings existed in their country. Many had been seized by the US military after the war, they learned, and taken out of Japan. The Japanese had as little visual exposure to the true effects of the bomb as most Americans. Activists managed to track down hundreds of pictures in archives and private collections and published them in a popular book. In 1979 they mounted an exhibit at the United Nations in New York.

There, by chance, Iwakura met Sussan, who told him about the U.S. military footage.

Iwakura made a few calls and found that the color footage, recently declassified, might be at the National Archives. A trip to Washington DC verified this. He found eighty reels of film, labeled #342 USAF, with the reels numbered 11000 to 11079. About one-fifth of the footage covered the atomic cities. According to a shot list, reel #11010 included, for example: "School, deaf and dumb, blast effect, damaged ... Commercial school demolished ... School, engineering, demolished. ... School, Shirayama elementary, demolished, blast effect ... Tenements, demolished."

The film had been quietly declassified a few years earlier, but no one in the outside world knew it. An archivist there told me at the time, "If no one knows about the film to ask for it, it's as closed as when it was classified."

Eventually 200,000 Japanese citizens contributed half a million dollars and Iwakura was able to buy the film. He then traveled around Japan filming survivors who had posed for Sussan and McGovern in 1946. Iwakura quickly completed a documentary called "Prophecy" and in late spring 1982 arranged for a New York premiere.

That fall a small part of the McGovern/Sussan footage turned up



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for the first time in an American film, one of the sensations of the New York Film Festival, called "Dark Circle." It's co-director, Chris Beaver, told me, "No wonder the government didn't want us to see it. I think they didn't want Americans to see themselves in that picture. It's one thing to know about that and another thing to see it."

Despite this exposure, not a single story had yet appeared in an American newspaper about the shooting of the footage, its suppression or release. And Sussan was now ill with a form of lymphoma doctors had found in soldiers exposed to radiation in atomic tests during the 1950s – or in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In late 1982, editing Nuclear Times, I met Sussan and Erik Barnouw – and talked on several occasions with Daniel McGovern, out in Northridge, California. "It would make a fine documentary even today," McGovern said of the color footage. "Wouldn't it be wonderful to have a movie of the burning of Atlanta?"

After he hauled the footage back to the Pentagon, McGovern said, he was told that under no circumstances would the footage be released for outside use. "They were fearful of it being circulated," McGovern said. He confirmed that the color footage, like the black and white, had been declassified over time, taking it from top secret to "for public release" (but only if the public knew about it and asked for it).

Still, the question of precisely why the footage remained secret for so long lingered. Here McGovern added his considerable voice. "The main reason it was classified was ... because of the horror, the devastation," he said. "The medical effects were pretty gory. ... The attitude was: do not show any medical effects. Don't make people sick."

But who was behind this? "I always had the sense," McGovern answered, "that people in the AEC were sorry they had dropped the bomb. The Air Force – it was also sorry. I was told by people in the Pentagon that they didn't want those images out because they showed effects on man, woman and child. But the AEC, they were the ones that stopped it from coming out. They had power of God over everybody," he declared. "If it had anything to do with nukes, they had to see it. They were the ones who destroyed a lot of film and pictures of the first U.S. nuclear tests after the war."

Even so, McGovern believed, his footage might have surfaced "if someone had grabbed the ball and run with it but the AEC did not want it released."

As "Dark Circle" director Chris Beaver had said, "With the government trying to sell the public on a new civil defense program and Reagan arguing that a nuclear war is survivable, this footage could be awfully bad publicity."

## Today

In the summer of 1984, I made my own pilgrimage to the atomic cities, to walk in the footsteps of Dan McGovern and Herb Sussan, and meet some of the people they filmed in 1946. By then, the McGovern/Sussan footage had turned up in several new documentaries. On September 2, 1985, however, Herb Sussan passed away. His final request to his children: Would they scatter his ashes at ground zero in Hiroshima?

In the mid-1990s, researching "Hiroshima in America," a book I would write with Robert Jay Lifton, I discovered the deeper context for suppression of the U.S. Army film: it was part of a



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broad effort to suppress a wide range of material related to the atomic bombings, including photographs, newspaper reports on radiation effects, information about the decision to drop the bomb, even a Hollywood movie.

The 50th anniversary of the bombing drew extensive print and television coverage – and wide use of excerpts from the McGovern/Sussan footage – but no strong shift in American attitudes on the use of the bomb.

Then, in 2003, as adviser to a documentary film, “Original Child Bomb,” I urged director Carey Schonegevel to draw on the atomic footage as much as possible. She not only did so but also obtained from McGovern’s son copies of home movies he had shot in Japan while shooting the official film.

“Original Child Bomb” went on to debut at the 2004 Tribeca Film Festival, win a major documentary award, and this week, on August 6 and 7, it will debut on the Sundance cable channel. After 60 years at least a small portion of that footage will finally reach part of the American public in the unflinching and powerful form its creators intended. Only then will the Americans who see it be able to fully judge for themselves what McGovern and Sussan were trying to accomplish in shooting the film, why the authorities felt they had to suppress it, and what impact their footage, if widely aired, might have had on the nuclear arms race – and the nuclear proliferation that plagues, and endangers, us today.

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1946

May 15, Wednesday: Formation of the [Cuban](#) People's Party (*Partido Del Pueblo [Cubano](#)*). This would be better known as the Orthodox Party (*Partido Ortodoxo*).

December 24, Tuesday: Famed mobster Lucky Luciano had called a summit in [Havana](#). Attendees at the [Hotel Nacional](#) meeting include: [Meyer Lansky](#), Frank Costello, Tommy Lucchese, Vito Genovese, Joe Bonanno, Santo Trafficante Jr., and Moe Dalitz. Among the topics discussed was "The Siegel Situation," the proposed assassination of Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel, one of the founders and leaders of "Murder, Inc.," because of a reported enormous overrun in construction costs at the new Flamingo resort hotel in Las Vegas (they suspected that Bugsy was cheating them, diverting millions of dollars of this construction money into his own numbered Swiss bank account).



Coincidentally, [Frank Sinatra](#) was making his singing debut in [Havana](#), and was a social contact of the Cosa Nostra mobsters, and was photographed casually socializing with some of them during Christmas-season festivities.



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1948

[Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) was elected in Las Villas to the [Cuban](#) Senate.

John V. Dennis and Davis H. Crompton found 3 Ivory-billed Woodpeckers [Campephilus principalis](#) in the eastern mountains of [Cuba](#).



March 24, Wednesday: In a signing ceremony in [Havana](#), the International Trade Organization was created by the United Nations.

April 30, Friday: British forces entered the Battle for Jaffa on the side of the Arabs. Their tank assault was halted by Jewish infantry.

Land Rover automobiles were introduced at the Amsterdam Auto Show.

The public prosecutor in München decided not to appeal the court decision of October 17th, 1947 exonerating Werner Egk.

The charter of the Organization of American States was signed in Bogotá by representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, [Cuba](#), Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, [Mexico](#), Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela (this was to take effect on December 13th, 1951).

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

June 1, Tuesday: [Egyptian](#) forces attacked kibbutz Negba near Ashdod without success.

Nine Preludes op.231b for organ by Darius Milhaud were performed for the initial time, in Paris.

Carlos Prío Socarrás was elected president of [Cuba](#).



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1949

December 9, Friday: The People's Republic of [China](#) distributed 300,000 articles of clothing held by the military, to the poor.

The UN General Assembly voted to put Jerusalem under UN jurisdiction, as provided for in the original Palestine resolution of 1947. Both Israel and Jordan announced that they would not give up any part of Jerusalem they presently held.

The Battle of Stalingrad, a film with music by Aram Khachaturian, was released.

Piano Sonata in e flat minor op.26 by Samuel Barber was performed for the initial time, in [Havana](#).



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1950

The Census revealed that 56% of [New York City](#)'s population was foreign-born, or of foreign or mixed parentage.

Mayor William O'Dwyer resigned to become ambassador to [Mexico](#). City council president Vincent J. Impellitteri was named acting mayor. Heading the ticket for the Experience Party, he defeats Democrat-Liberal Ferdinand Pecora and Republican Edward Ciorsi to win the post on his own, serving to 1953.

Frank Loesser's musical "Guys and Dolls" opened.

The [New York Times](#) began publishing a daily crossword puzzle.

Publisher Sid Silverman, son of [Variety](#) founder-publisher Sime Silverman, died at the age of 51.

[New York City](#) began experimenting with alternate-side-of-the-street parking regulations, on the Lower East Side.

Carol Channing starred in "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes."

Mary Martin won a Tony for "South Pacific."

The mambo was introduced to US dance floors, from [Cuba](#).

August 24, Thursday: Over the following 3 days [Cuba](#) would be closing two leftist newspapers and a radio station.

October 24, Tuesday: [China](#) announced that troops had been ordered into Tibet to "liberate three million Tibetans from imperialist aggression, to complete the unification of the whole of [China](#), and to safeguard the frontier region of the country."

Television service began in [Cuba](#).

1951

August 5, Sunday, 1:30PM: The dream of a fitting memorial to daredevil father William “Red” Hill, Sr. had weighed so heavily on his namesake William “Red” Hill, Jr. that he had schemed a stunt ride over the Horseshoe Falls of the [Niagara Falls](#). At the age of 38 he made his rendezvous with his destiny. Due to lack of funds and lack of support, he had been able to construct only a cheapo protection device, which he was terming “The Thing.” It consisted of 13 heavy-duty truck innertubes lashed together with three-inch canvass straps and encased in heavy-gauge commercial fishnet. This contraption he painted silver, painting the name “The Thing” here and there upon it. The thing was launched at 1:30PM at Ushers Creek on the Canadian shoreline some three miles upstream from the Horseshoe Falls. At 3:30PM, before a large crowd of onlookers, he rode the upper rapids to the lip of the Horseshoe falls and the silver ball vanished. The crowd waited in silence for “The Thing” to reappear. After a couple of minutes pieces of rubber began to come to the surface. His mother began to call out for him. His wife and 10-year-old daughter stayed with his mother while his brothers Major Lloyd Hill, Norman Hill, and Wesley Hill searched unsuccessfully for a body or at least body parts.



Senator Eduardo Chibás, presidential candidate of the People’s Party, shot himself after his regular radio broadcast in [Havana](#). Critically wounded, he related that he had done this in order to focus attention on the corruption of President Carlos Prío Socarrás and his administration.

September 24, Monday: The offices of [Hoy](#), a leftist newspaper in [Havana](#), were ransacked by masked men, and its equipment was destroyed.

December: The popular weekly magazine [Bohemia](#) held a public opinion poll that revealed that [Fulgencio Batista](#), one of the candidates for [Cuban](#) president, was only a distant 3d.

The Canadian Parliament passed the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Act.



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1952

[Fidel Castro](#), 2 years out of law school, ran for the [Cuban](#) Congress as a candidate of the Orthodox Party.

The United States fielded its first Greco-Roman wrestling team. There would be little interest in the sport outside Minnesota for decades, and American Greco-Roman wrestlers would not place in international competition until 1968, or win Olympic gold until 1984, a year in which the Soviets decided to boycott the Olympics.

March 10, Monday: In a bloodless coup d'état, [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) overthrew President Carlos Prio Socarras and made himself for a 2d time dictator of [Cuba](#). Elections, 3 months away, were canceled.

The United States Supreme Court ruled that foreign citizens might be deported for the sole reason that once upon a time they had been a member of the Communist Party.

Quintet for clarinet, two violas and two cellos by David Diamond was performed for the initial time, in Town Hall, New York.

March 17, Monday: National Police in [Havana](#), on orders of the new dictator [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#), prevented congressmen from entering the Capitol Building.

March 21, Friday: Two Soviet officials were barred from [Cuba](#) for refusing to allow Cuban customs to inspect their luggage.

March 27, Thursday: [President Harry S Truman](#) reestablished residence in the [White House](#) after living in Blair House, the official government guest house, since November 1948, while the White House was being gutted inside its external shell and then reconstructed.

The United States of America recognized the new [Cuban](#) dictatorship of [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#).

Singin' in the Rain, a film starring Gene Kelly.

In the Concert Hall of the Juilliard School of Music in New York, John Cage 1st read his "Juilliard Lecture."

April 3, Thursday: The USSR broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).





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1953

July 26, Sunday: 165 young revolutionaries led by [Fidel Castro](#) and Raúl Castro attacked the Moncada barracks of the [Cuban](#) army near Santiago de [Cuba](#). More than half of them were killed, most of them [tortured](#) before being killed, and the survivors, including the two leaders, fled.

August 1, Saturday: Great Britain joined Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Nyasaland (Malawi) into the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

In order to end killings of innocent civilians by [Cuban](#) government troops, Raúl Castro and [Fidel Castro](#) surrendered.

October 16, Friday: At his defense trial [Fidel Castro](#) delivered a historic statement that ended with the phrase “la historia me absolverá” (history will absolve me). He was sentenced to 15 years in [Cuban](#) prison.



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1954

November 1, Monday: The Front de Libération Nationale (Algerian National Liberation Front) fired the 1st shots of the Algerian War for Independence, making several small attacks on French installations throughout the country during which 9 Frenchmen were killed.

[Chinese](#) aircraft attacked the Tachin Islands off Chekiang Province.

All French possessions in the subcontinent of India were turned over to Indian administration.

Major General [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) and his followers were swept back into power in [Cuba](#).



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**1955**

May 15, Sunday: [Fidel Castro](#) and his [Cuban](#) revolutionaries were released from prison in a general amnesty.

June 24, Friday: [Fidel Castro](#) departed from [Cuba](#), for [Mexico](#).



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1956

April 30, Monday: The 1st elected parliament in Somaliland convenes in Mogadishu.

[Cuban](#) President [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) suspended constitutional rights and imposed censorship for 45 days.

June 25, Monday: According to the official results if you need to believe them, [Egyptian](#) voters had simultaneously approved a new constitution and a 6-year term as President for Gamal Abdel Nasser.

This day's edition of *Sovetskii Muzykant* identified Sofia Gubaidulina, a student at Moscow Conservatory, as the winner of 1st prize in gymnastics at an athletic competition of students at all of Moscow's higher education institutions.

Robert Briscoe became the first Jew to be Lord Mayor of Dublin.

20 [Cuban](#) exiles, one of whom was named [Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz](#), were arrested in [Mexico City](#) on a charge of plotting to assassinate [Cuban](#) President [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#).

Darius Milhaud's Piano Concerto no.5 was performed for the initial time, at Lewisohn Stadium, New York.

June 26, Tuesday: 17 people were arrested in [Havana](#) charged with plotting to kill [Cuban](#) President [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#).

When Guatemalan troops fired on students in Guatemala City who were protesting the suspension of constitutional rights, they killed 4 and injured 19. Martial law was declared, to protect the government troops from the violence of such student protesters against suspension of constitutional rights. Law and order, folks, we must have law and order.

October 28, Sunday: Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy reorganized the Communist Party leadership to include a six-member Presidium which replaced the Central Committee. [Stalinists](#) were denied seats. Placing their faith in Nagy, Soviet troops pulled off the streets of Budapest.

Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński was released from detention by the Polish government. He resumed his position as Primate of Poland.

The leader of [Cuban](#) military intelligence, Antonio Blanco Rio, was gunned down as he exited a Havana nightclub. Two companions were seriously injured.

November 25, Sunday: A diesel-powered 60-foot yacht in poor repair, the *Granma*, motored down the Tuxpan River of [Mexico](#) into the Gulf conveying 82 insurgents of the "M-26-7" (26th of July Movement) including [Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz](#), Raúl Castro, [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#), and Camilo Cienfuegos, destination the coast of [Cuba](#).

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## CUBA

November 30, Saturday: The TV program “Douglas Edwards and the News” featured a new technological item — they played a news clip that was on videotape.

Piano Piece 1956 by Morton Feldman was performed for the initial time, in Vienna.

Cinque canti for baritone and 8 instruments by Luigi Dallapiccola to ancient Greek texts translated by Quasimodo, was performed for the initial time, at the Library of Congress, Washington.

[President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#) ordered emergency shipments of oil to Europe.

When 200 armed [Cubans](#) attacked national police stations in [Havana](#) they were routed.



In Santiago de Cuba 300 young men, led by Frank País, wearing olive green uniforms and red and black armbands with the July 26 emblem, attacked police headquarters, the Customs House, and the harbor headquarters.

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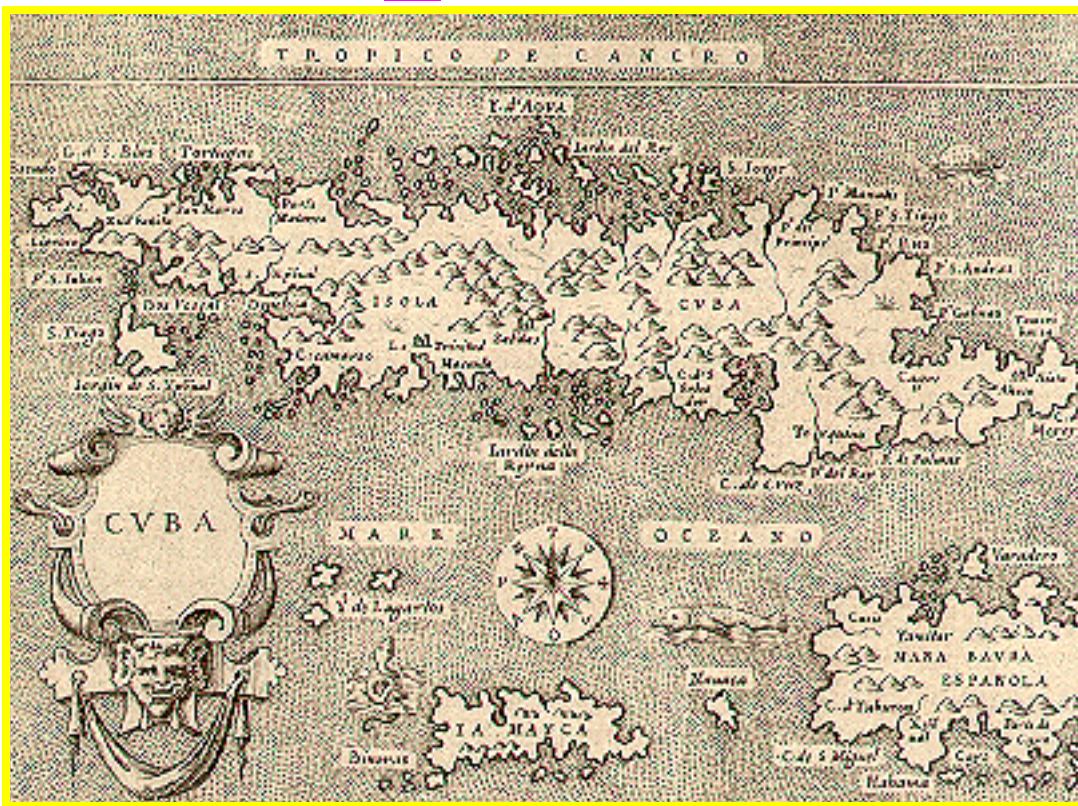
## CUBA

December 2, Sunday: Israel announced that its forces had withdrawn to more than 50 kilometers east of the [Suez Canal](#).

After a sea voyage from [Mexico](#) on the 60-foot yacht *Granma*, 81 revolutionaries under the leadership of [Fidel Castro](#) landed in Oriente province on the southeastern coast of [Cuba](#). Poor communications between the expeditionaries and the Cuban underground, bad weather, and government knowledge of their arrival would enable dictator [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#)'s forces to kill or capture most of them. A dozen survivors would find refuge in the Sierra Maestra mountainous jungles west of Santiago, including the Castro brothers Fidel and Raúl, and [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#).

December 5, Wednesday: The *Granma* rebels were surprised by the dictator [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#)'s troops while resting on the edge of a cane field at Alegria de Pio, in the foothills of the Sierra Maestra of [Cuba](#). The majority of the revolutionaries were killed or captured, but a few escaped into the mountains, including the Castro brothers [Fidel](#) and Raúl, and [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#).

December 18, Tuesday: Twelve survivors of the *Granma* expedition regrouped and organized the initial guerilla unit in the Sierra Maestra mountains of [Cuba](#).



The Empire of [Japan](#) was admitted to the United Nations.

Israeli forces withdrew to a line 75 kilometers east of the [Suez Canal](#).





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1957

On Cuban property owned by US corporations, George Lamb and Nancy Lamb managed to locate 13 **Ivory-billed Woodpeckers**, [Campephilus principalis](#). (A couple of years later, conservation efforts in this district of [Cuba](#) would be brought to a halt due to the [Castro](#) revolution.)

January: [Cuban](#) Defense Minister Santiago Rey visited Washington DC as an official guest of the United States government.

The Soviet Union proposed a permanent division of [Vietnam](#) into North and South, with the two nations to be admitted separately to the United Nations. The US, unwilling to recognize Communist North Vietnam, rejected this proposal.



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January 2, Wednesday: The [Egyptian](#) government imposed rationing of kerosene.

A New York judge ruled that Dr. Harry Slochower (sometimes known as “The Laughing Philosopher”), who had been fired from his position as a tenured associate professor of German and Comparative Literature at Brooklyn College with 27 years of service for having refused to answer questions posed by the US Senate’s [Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary](#) about an alleged involvement with communism some dozen years earlier, had to be reinstated with more than \$40,000 in back pay, interest, and court costs.<sup>299</sup>

In Santiago de [Cuba](#), 4 youths were found dead in an empty building. They had been arrested as suspects in revolutionary activities, and tortured. One of the youths, William Soler, had been 14 years of age.



January 4, Friday: The [Suez Canal](#) was reopened, enough to permit the passage of medium-sized vessels.

A procession of 500 women, headed by the mother of tortured, murdered 14-year-old William Soler, dressed in black, moved slowly through the streets of Santiago de [Cuba](#). Their banner: “Stop the murders of our sons.”

299. The college paid up but then almost immediately suspended the professor on an accusation that at the Senate hearing in question, while under oath, he had committed “untruthfulness and perjury.” Dr. Slochower would spend the balance of his life in the practice of psychoanalysis while teaching at the privately funded New School of Social Research rather than at this publicly funded Brooklyn College. He would be the author, in 1970, of MYTHOPOESIS: MYTHIC PATTERNS IN THE LITERARY CLASSIC.



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## CUBA

January 14, Monday: [Fidel Castro](#)'s insurrection began in [Cuba](#) with a successful attack on a small army garrison at the mouth of the La Plata River.

February 17, Sunday: [New York Times](#) journalist Herbert Matthews arrived in the Sierra Maestra mountains of [Cuba](#) to interview [Fidel Castro](#) and his rebels.

March 13, Wednesday: Great Britain and Jordan officially ended the 1948 treaty defense treaty. All British troops would be withdrawn from Jordan within six months and the annual British subsidy would end.

Pablo Picasso made a graphite sketch of Francis Poulenc in Paris.

Jimmy Hoffa, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was arrested in Washington by the FBI. He was charged with trying to hire an attorney to join the staff of the Senate committee investigating him, to spy for him.

Student leader José Echeverría and a small group took over a radio station in [Havana](#). He was machine-gunned while retreating to the university. In a simultaneous attack on the Presidential Palace, Capitol Building, and Health Ministry, 35 rebels and 5 palace guards died.

March 30, Saturday: The new Shell Oil Refinery in [Cuba](#) was inaugurated by [Fulgencio Batista](#).

April 6, Saturday: The [Havana](#) Hilton opened with a party attended by half of [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#)'s cabinet.

April 19, Friday: Great Britain paid its 1st toll for use of the [Suez Canal](#).

Captain Esteban Ventura of the police, acting under orders from [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#), gunned down in an apartment on Humboldt Street in [Havana](#) 4 of the surviving student leaders of the March 13th attack on the Presidential Palace.

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May 11, Saturday: In Santiago de [Cuba](#), at the Urgency Court trial of *Granma* survivors, judge Manuel Urrutia declared that all should be acquitted. However, 2 other judges sent men to prison for varying periods of up to 8 years.



May 14, Tuesday: Arthur Gardner, US Ambassador to [Cuba](#), was removed from office because he was such a close friend of [Fulgencio Batista](#) that it was inferred that he would not be able to deal fairly with the insurgency under [Fidel Castro](#). He would be replaced a month later by Earl Smith.



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## CUBA

May 26, Sunday: In Matanzas, [Cuba](#), a bomb seriously damaged the old Tinguaro mill.



May 28, Tuesday: The first major battle of the new hostilities in [Cuba](#) was a rebel attack on the El Uvero garrison, in a small town south of the Sierra Maestras. “For us,” [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#) would write, “it was a victory that meant that our guerrillas had reached full maturity. From this moment on, our morale increased enormously, our determination and hope for victory also increased, and though the months that followed were a hard test, we now had the key to the secret of how to beat the enemy.”

July 12, Friday: After days of discussion in the Sierra Maestra mountains, a general manifesto was issued, signed by [Fidel Castro](#), Raúl Chibás, and Felipe Pazos. Most of this was written by Castro, and it called on all [Cubans](#) to form a civic revolutionary front to “end the regime of force, the violation of individual rights, and the crimes of the police.”

July 30, Tuesday: The Chief of Police, Colonel José Salas Cañizares, had gunned down Frank País, a 23-year-old leader of the July-26-Movement and a [Fidel Castro](#) ally. Almost the entire city of Santiago de [Cuba](#) had come out for the funeral and the crowds were dangerously large, too large for the police to control. The city was closed down for 3 days.





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## CUBA

August 1, Thursday: [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) suspended human rights in [Cuba](#), including freedom of the press. He feared not only [Fidel Castro](#)'s rebels but also a general strike.

August 13, Tuesday: Syria ordered the expulsion of 3 top members of the US embassy in Damascus, accusing them of fomenting a *coup d'état* against the Syrian government.

In Miami, US customs agents seized rifles, machine guns, and ammunition apparently intended for the forces of [Fidel Castro](#) in [Cuba](#). Former officials Alfred Gonzales Garcia and Gil de Gibaja (a naturalized US citizen) were taken into custody on charges of violating the Neutrality Act.

Sinfonietta La Jolla for piano and chamber orchestra by Bohuslav Martinu was performed for the initial time, in the high school auditorium in La Jolla, California.

August 15, Thursday: A large number of arrests were carried out by the [Cuban](#) police of [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#), including Francisco Pérez Rivas, María Urquiola Lechuga, Mercedes Urquiola Lechuga, José Manuel Álvarez Santa Cruz (student, age 17), Francisco Míares Fernández (student, age 18), Manuel de Jesús Alfonso (age 15), Enrique Delgado Mayoral (age 18), Eliecer Cruz Cabrera (age 18), Eladio Carrera (age 16), Ignacio Alfonso Carrera (age 19), José Herrera León (age 16), Ubaldo Fiallo Sánchez (age 20), Antonio Fernández Segura, Jorge Álvarez Tagle (age 19), Juan Fernández Segura, Francisco Gómez Bermejo (age 17), Pastor Valiente Hernández, Norberto Belanzoarán López, and others.

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## CUBA

September 5, Thursday: Mayor Woodrow Mann of Little Rock deemed the calling of the National Guard by Governor Faubus a “disgraceful political hoax,” accusing the governor of seeking to “create tension where none existed.”

[Cuban](#) rebels, members of the July-26-Movement, joined by sailors from a nearby naval base, attacked Cienfuegos southeast of [Havana](#). They managed to take the naval police headquarters and the garrison of the Rural Guards until driven out by government troops. The pilots of government planes sent to bomb the rebels instead disposed of their bombs harmlessly by dropping them over the Bay of Jagua.



ON THE ROAD by Jack Kerouac was published by Viking Press.

Le Travail du peintre, a cycle for voice and piano by Francis Poulenc to words of Eluard, was performed officially for the initial time, in Edinburgh. Also premiered was Poulenc’s Deux mélodies 1956 to words of Apollinaire. The composer was at the keyboard for both.



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September 17, Tuesday: The Federation of Malaya was admitted to the United Nations.

A military coup led by Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat overthrew the government of Prime Minister Plaek Pibulsongkram of Thailand.

12 pilots in the [Cuban](#) Air Force received sentences of 8 to 10 years for refusing to drop their bombs upon attacking rebels at Cienfuegos on September 5th.

In Grand Forks, North Dakota, Louis Armstrong confirms that he had canceled a tour of the USSR sponsored by the US federal government because “the way they are treating my people in the South, the government can go to hell.” “Its getting almost so bad, a colored man hasn’t got any country.”

Persian Set for chamber orchestra by Henry Cowell was performed for the initial time, in Gulestan Palace, Teheran.

Symphony no.11 “1905” by Dmitri Shostakovich was performed for the initial time, in a 2-piano reduction in the House of Composers, Leningrad, with the composer at one keyboard.

October: A radio telephone link was achieved from [St. Helena](#) to Europe via Ascension, connected by Cable & Wireless.

The [Vallecitos light-water uranium reactor \(VBWR\)](#) became the initial privately owned and operated nuclear power plant to deliver significant quantities of electricity to a public utility grid (plant license #1). By December 1963 it would have delivered something like 40,000 megawatt-hours of clean, affordable, peaceful electrical electricity. This facility would then become [GE’s test reactor \(GETR\)](#).

Fire destroyed the core of a reactor at Britain’s [Windscale nuclear complex](#), sending clouds of radioactivity into the atmosphere, and for sure everybody hoped nothing like that would ever happen again.<sup>300</sup>

The Jet Propulsion Laboratory proposed that we out-Sputnik the Russkis with a lunar program they called “Red Socks,” that would set off an [atomic bomb](#) on the surface of the moon, not only to collect samples of lunar rock as meteorites, but also, JPL’s director Pickering was quick to point out, to create “beneficial psychological results.” Shock and awe, folks, shock and awe. Moon dust. Terrorism. Terrorists ’R Us.

An ex-president of the [Cuban](#) Medical Association, Dr. Augusto Fernandez Conde, denounced the atrocities of the [Batista](#) regime at the World Medical Association meeting in Istanbul, Turkey.

A weekly news magazine, *Revista Carteles*, reported that 20 members of the [Batista](#) government owned numbered Swiss bank accounts, each with deposits of upward of \$1,000,000.

American firms made profits of \$77,000,000 from their [Cuban](#) investments while employing little more than 1 percent of the country’s population. By the late 1950s, US capital controlled 90% of [Cuba](#)’s mines, 80% of its public utilities, 50% of its railways, 40% of its sugar production, and 25% of its bank deposits.

300. For many years it would be considered impolite to make reference to this unfortunate affair — it would become the elephant in many a classroom. It was just an accident.



## CUBA

## CUBA

October 29, Tuesday: When Moshe Duek, an Israeli Jew, threw a hand grenade into the Knesset chamber in Jerusalem, several people were injured including Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, Foreign Minister Golda Meir, and 3 other cabinet members.

US-backed dictator [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) suspended the [Cuban](#) Constitution.

The Society for the Experimental Analysis of Behavior was incorporated in Washington DC, to begin in the following year the [Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior](#) (and in 1968 to begin the [Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis](#)). Incorporation papers were signed by Joseph V. Brady, Richard J. Herrnstein, and Donald S. Blough. Murray Sidman would be president pro tem of the organization's board of directors when it would 1st meet on April 11, 1958.

November 19, Tuesday: The Czechoslovak National Assembly elected First Secretary Antonín Novotný to succeed Antonín Zapotocký as President.

31 [Cubans](#) were arrested near Key West, Florida while attempting to convey arms and other materials to the rebels in Cuba.

Leonard Bernstein was named Music Director of the [New York](#) Philharmonic.



CUBA

CUBA

1958

Early in this year [Dalton Trumbo](#), who had been blacklisted because of his defiance of the House of Representatives's [Un-American Activities Committee](#), used a pseudonym when he turned Howard Fast's [Spartacus](#) into a [movie script](#).

Early in this year [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) received \$1,000,000 in military aid from the USA. All of Batista's arms, planes, tanks, ships, and military supplies were coming from the US and of course the [Cuban](#) army was being trained by a joint mission of the 3 branches of our armed forces. We were invested in having a stable, prosperous, and well-disciplined neighbor.

January 14, Tuesday: [Cuban](#) rebels raided Manzanillo, in the southeast of the island.

January 27, Monday: Ferenc Münich replaced János Kádár as Prime Minister of Hungary.

[President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower](#) urged Congress to enact an "emergency" program to improve education, in particular science and engineering. The USA and the USSR signed an agreement in Washington DC to expand their exchanges of culture, education, and science.

About 200 rebels, mostly students from Havana University, attacked [Cuban](#) military posts between Trinidad and Sancti Spiritus.

Harp Sonata by Ernst Krenek was performed for the initial time, in Town Hall, [New York](#).

February 24, Monday: On the 63rd anniversary of the beginning of José Martí's War of Independence, RADIO REBELDE began transmission from "the free territory of [Cuba](#)."

March 1, Saturday: Raúl Castro left the Sierra Maestra with a column of 67 men to open a 2d front north of Santiago de [Cuba](#) — in the Sierra Cristal mountains.

During March 45 civic institutions would be signing an open letter supporting the July-26th Movement — including the national organizations of lawyers, architects, public accountants, dentists, electrical engineers, social workers, professors, and veterinarians.

March 12, Wednesday: Indonesian federal troops took Pakanbaru, Sumatra.

President [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) suspended civil liberties in Cuba after the courts attempted to arrest and try national military and police figures for [torturing](#) and murdering political prisoners.

A Philadelphia court sentenced Billie Holiday to a year's probation for possession of narcotics.

Incidental music to Kerr's (after Aristophanes) play The Birds by Lejaren Hiller was performed for the initial time, at the University of Illinois, Urbana.



## CUBA

## CUBA

March 17, Monday: The International Maritime Organization was established.

After 3 months of failures, the United States launched a 2d satellite, Vanguard I.

[President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) of [Cuba](#) received a petition to resign from a broad spectrum of 42 organizations, signed by thousands of people. At the same time, [Fidel Castro](#) distributed a declaration of “total war” against the government, total war that was to begin as of April 1st.

March 20, Thursday: Elections in [Cuba](#) scheduled for June 1st were postponed until November 3d at the insistence of followers of President [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#).

Three members of the [Ku Klux Klan](#) were convicted in Charlotte, [North Carolina](#) of conspiracy to blow up, and attempting to blow up, a predominantly black school. They would receive sentences ranging from 2 to 10 years. Two others were acquitted.

The Dutch Society of Group Psychotherapy was founded. Its initial scientific meeting would be on May 16th.

March 27, Thursday: General Secretary Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev appointed himself Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, replacing Nikolai Alyeksandrovich Bulganin.

A federal district court found 34 of 35 defendants guilty of a conspiracy to run guns to the [Cuban](#) revolution.

March 31, Monday: The USSR declared a unilateral halt to [atomic testing](#) and called on the US and UK to do the same.

The Mixed Armistice Commission enforced a ceasefire along the Israel-Syria border after a week of fighting.

Pierre Frieden replaced Joseph Bech as Prime Minister of Luxembourg.

President [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) of [Cuba](#) was granted “extraordinary powers” by his Congress.

The Progressive Conservative Party of Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker won an enormous victory in parliamentary elections, capturing 208 of 265 seats.

Pentagramm for woodwind quintet by Ernst Krenek was performed for the initial time, in Schoenberg Hall at the University of California at Los Angeles.

April 1, Tuesday: 6 people were wounded and 200 arrested in Tyre in demonstrations following the conviction of 3 men for abusing the Lebanese flag.

Spain returned Tarfaya to Morocco.

About a million workers in the transport and public utility fields struck in France for 24 hours to support wage demands.

A new offensive by rebels in [Cuba](#) cut of Santiago de Cuba from the rest of the country.

The Radiophonic Workshop opened at the Maida Vale Studios of the BBC in London. It was created to electronically produce sound for radio dramas, science programs, and other radio and television programs.





## CUBA

## CUBA

April 9, Wednesday: The Ceylon House of Representatives voted to nationalize all tea, rubber and coconut plantations.

Scattered street fighting broke out in [Havana](#) between rebels and government troops.

When a national strike failed due to timing errors and lack of popular support, this was a serious setback for the [Cuban](#) rebels.

April 17, Thursday: About 6,000 Indonesian federal troops landed on the west coast of Sumatra and captured the rebel stronghold of Padang.

King Baudouin officially opened the Brussels Worlds Fair.

[President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) of [Cuba](#) declared all public employees to be members of the armed forces subject to “military jurisdiction.”

The Rock for orchestra by Bohuslav Martinu was performed for the initial time, in Cleveland.

May: The military forces of [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) conducted a vast offensive against the guerillas in the Sierra Maestra mountains of [Cuba](#).

June 26, Thursday: The 6th attempt by the United States to put a Vanguard satellite in orbit failed. Only 1 of the 6 has succeeded.

[Cuban](#) rebels attacked Moa and kidnapped 12 US civilian engineers.

June 28, Saturday: Lebanese rebels began a major offensive against Beirut and Tripoli.

[Cuban](#) rebels kidnapped 29 US military personnel riding in a bus outside their Guantánamo base.

June 29, Sunday: In Santo Domingo, on the Sierra Maestra mountains of [Cuba](#), the rebels achieved a serious victory with many captured prisoners and supplies (these prisoners would later be released).

Mid-July: In [Cuba](#), a battle began at [Jigüe](#). The hostilities would go on for about 10 days and, it is said, would reveal “the complex nature of the war” (after being obliged to surrender the commander of the government force, Major José Quevedo, a former classmate of Fidel’s at the University of Havana, would join the rebellion, along with many of his soldiers).

July 18, day: French Minister of Information Jacques Soustelle, a leading figure of the Algerian coup, was given direct control over all television and radio and press services in the nation. He announced the formation of the conservative Union for French Renewal to work for the “moral reconstruction” of France, headed by Prime Minister de Gaulle.

The [Cuban](#) rebels freed all remaining US and Canadian hostages.

Music for Cello and Piano by Earle Brown was performed for the initial time, in Darmstadt.



## CUBA

## CUBA

August 12, Tuesday: Removal of 1,700 US troops began in Lebanon.

[Fidel Castro](#) was quoted as claiming the liberation of the Sierra Mastre area of Oriente Province, [Cuba](#).

September 10, Wednesday: When their boat ran aground at Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, US authorities arrested 31 [Cuban](#) rebels.

October 31, Friday: Representatives of the USSR, UK, and US met in Geneva for talks on discontinuing [atomic weapons testing](#).

United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his wife dined with the [Cuban](#) Ambassador at the Cuban Embassy in Washington DC to commemorate Teddy Roosevelt — who had in 1898 refused to allow the Cuban liberating army to enter Santiago de Cuba.

Arabs began 2 days of rioting in Aden against the British arrest of 2 journalists who had charged the colonial administration with corruption.

Trio Concertante for oboe, violin and piano by Charles Wuorinen was performed for the initial time, in Sloan Hall at the Emma Willard School, Troy, New York.

November 30, Sunday: The 2d round of elections to the 1st National Assembly of the 5th French Republic returned a large majority for Gaullists and Conservatives. Socialists and Communists were reduced to a total of 50 seats out of 546.

Dimitur Ganev Vurbanov replaced Georgi Kulishev Gugov as Chairman of the Presidium of the National Assembly of Bulgaria.

The [Cuban](#) government announced that it had arrested 6 army officers who had been refusing to take part in its war against the rebels.

The television series Lincoln Presents Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic began with a performance of the 9th Symphony of [Ludwig van Beethoven](#).

Rote Rosen, a song for voice and piano by Richard Strauss to words of Stieler, was performed for the initial time, in Carnegie Hall, New York, 75 years after it was composed.

Adagio for flute and string trio by Gunther Schuller was performed for the initial time, in Carl Fischer Hall, New York.

December 10, Wednesday: The [Hotel Gran Caribe Habana Riviera](#) opened on the waterfront in [Havana](#) (this extravagant thing had cost \$14,000,000, most of which had been supplied by the [Cuban](#) government on behalf of [Meyer Lansky](#)). The floor show in the Copa Cabaret Room was headlined by Ginger Rogers and Lansky remarked that although Ginger could “wiggle her ass,” she couldn’t sing “a goddam note” (Ginger’s career was on the decline and she hadn’t been paired with Fred Astaire since 1949; by the end of this year, by way of radical contrast, some 11,500 [Cuban](#) women would be earning their living as sex workers).



## CUBA

## CUBA

December 12, Friday: French Prime Minister Charles de Gaulle appointed a civil administrator in Algeria to replace the military regime that had held power since May.

The Republic of Guinea was admitted to the United Nations.

The Territorial Assembly of French Somaliland voted 27 over 4 to retain its status as a French Overseas Territory.

The [Cuban](#) Congress extended the state of emergency for another 45 days and legitimated [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#)'s rule by decree.

December 26, Friday: Alan Robert Nye of Whiting, Indiana, who had during the Korean police action been a US Navy pilot, was seized by [Cuban](#) rebels who accused him of attempting to assassinate [Fidel Castro](#). At his trial it would be asserted that he had been contacted by Daniel Vasquez in Coral Gables, Florida, where he had been working as a crop duster and airplane small-parts salesman, and had accepted an offer of \$100,000 from the head of Batista's FBI, Orlando Piedra. They claimed to have tracked him as landing in Havana on November 12th, where he had run up a bill of \$694 at the Comodoro Hotel under the name "George R. Collins" (his bill had been paid by the head of Batista's Air Force, [Brigadier General Carlos Tabernilla Palmero](#)). They claimed to have noticed a gun muzzle protruding from a window in a farmhouse along Castro's scheduled route and, raiding the house, discovered Nye in it with a rifle equipped with a telescopic sight. The story Nye would tell at his trial was that he had come to aid the Cuban revolution, perhaps through flying bombing missions for them.

# CUBA

# CUBA

December 29, Monday: The group led by [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) occupied the city of Santa Clara, [Cuba](#), taking more than 1,000 prisoners.



December 31, Wednesday: The International Geophysical Year ended.

[Cuban](#) rebels captured Santa Clara as increasing numbers of government troops went over to the rebel side. (Terrence Cannon would analyze the situation in the following manner: “The US did not send in the Marines for one basic reason: it did not fear the Revolution. It was inconceivable to the US policy makers that a revolution in [Cuba](#) could turn out badly for them. After all, US companies owned the country.”)



CUBA

CUBA

1959

From this year into 1960, during the crisis in [Cuba](#), the 2d Marine Ground Task Force would be deployed in the Caribbean to protect US nationals.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

January 1, Thursday: The private practice of medicine was ended in Czechoslovakia.

[Egyptian](#) authorities arrested about 200 communists and closed two publishing companies.

France granted full internal autonomy to French Cameroon.

At about 2AM, President [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) of [Cuba](#) and his family and closest associates boarded a plane at Camp Columbia, fleeing toward the Dominican Republic. The plane seemed so heavy as to have difficulty getting airborne at the end of the runway (maybe it was overloaded with lead ballast). [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) and Camilo Cienfuegos led the rebels into [Havana](#). The Cuban General Staff ordered a ceasefire throughout the country. Rebels entered Santiago. Celebrations in [Havana](#) over the departure of Batista turned into riots. Rebel leader [Fidel Castro](#) called a general strike in [Havana](#) against the formation of a new government by Supreme Court Justice Carlos Piedra. Castro assumed power, the culmination of a 6-year revolution that had toppled the government of General Fulgencio Batista.

January 2, Friday: The first Soviet space probe, Daydream, was launched toward the moon (this was the 1st object of artifice to escape the gravity of Earth).

Great Britain ended its embargo on the sending of scientific instruments and apparatus to the USSR and PRC.

6,000 rebel soldiers entered [Havana](#) and put down rioting that had begun on the previous day. In a radio address from [Santiago de Cuba](#), rebel leader [Fidel Castro](#) designated Manuel Urrutia as provisional president. Urrutia was installed as President and Jose Mira Cardona as Prime Minister. The United States Department of State estimated that about 500 of [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#)'s closest associates and family members had already sought asylum in the USA (one wonders, how many of the Cuban thugs who did security for Batista –and would come to work for President Nixon and burglarize for him the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate office complex in Washington DC– might have been among these 500 early asylum-seekers).

Suite no.1 for unaccompanied violin by Ernest Bloch was performed for the initial time, in London.





## CUBA

## CUBA

January 4, Sunday: Fighting between Indonesian troops and rebels in Aceh Province, Sumatra ended with a truce agreement.

The Soviet space probe Daydream reached within 7,500 kilometers of the Moon and passed into orbit around the Sun (this was the 2d object of artifice to escape the gravity of Earth).



3 days of nationalist rioting began in Léopoldville, Belgian Congo.

[Supreme Court Justice Carlos Piedra](#) abandoned attempts to form a new government in [Cuba](#).

January 5, Monday: While staying briefly with Richard Rodney Bennett in Hamstead, Cornelius Cardew left his bride of 9 months, Ruth Aaronberg. That evening he flew back to the WDR in Cologne.

[Provisional President Manuel Urrutia](#) arrived in [Havana](#) to take charge of the new [Cuban](#) government.

In [Rome](#), 2 new works of John Cage were performed for the initial time: Aria for solo voice, and Fontana Mix for tape.

January 6, Tuesday: In Léopoldville, Belgian Congo, 3 days of rioting produced 35 corpses, plus 100 injuries, because Belgian and colonial troops fired on the rioters.

The [Cuban Congress](#) was dissolved and all provincial governors and mayors were removed.

January 7, Wednesday: On his 60th birthday, Francis Poulenc was elected an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Academy of Arts and Letters.

[Fidel Castro](#) arrived in [Havana](#).

The United States made itself the 7th nation to recognize the new [Cuban](#) government. So much property in Cuba belonged to United States citizens that the prevailing attitude at this time was that [we had nothing to fear](#).

Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan landed in Cleveland and began a 2-week tour of the United States of America, as a guest of the industrialist Cyrus Eaton.

January 8, Thursday: Charles de Gaulle took office as the first initial of the Fifth French Republic. He appointed Michel Debré of the Union for the New Republic (Gaullist) as Prime Minister.

Rebel leader [Fidel Castro](#) entered [Havana](#) at the head of 5,000 troops, received by [jubilant crowds](#). Trials and executions of ex-[Batista](#) officials on charges of murder and [torture](#) began throughout [Cuba](#).

Thea Musgrave's Obliques for orchestra was performed for the initial time, over the airwaves of BBC Scotland.





## CUBA

## CUBA

January 9, Friday: A federal judge in Montgomery, Alabama mandated that circuit judge George C. Wallace must open the voter registration records of Barbour and Bullock counties to agents of the Federal Civil Rights Commission. A federal judge in Atlanta ruled that the racial segregation laws governing the city's public transportation were unconstitutional.

The new regime in [Cuba](#) lifted the [ban](#) that had been imposed by [Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) on the [Communist Party of Cuba](#).

January 23, Friday: A military court in [Havana](#) found [Jesus Sosa Blanco](#), commander of government military forces in Oriente, guilty of 120 counts of murder, theft, arson and looting. He was sentenced to death by [firing squad](#).

January 27, Tuesday: Nikita Khrushchev told the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that his country had begun production of sufficient ICBMs to ensure the utter destruction of any enemy in any world war.

Belgian and colonial troops were called out to quell violence on this day and the following one in Léopoldville.

The new [Cuban](#) government removed thousands of “[no-shows](#)” from government payrolls, who had been doing no work. It reported that properties seized from former [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) and his associates had already reached a collective valuation of \$40,000,000.

February 2, Monday: Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, is chosen as president of the ruling Congress Party.

Soviet authorities detain a US Army truck convoy headed for West Germany from West Berlin at the Marienborn border crossing and demand to inspect it.

In Arlington, Virginia, 4 black children attend previously all-white Stratford High School.

The new government of [Cuba](#) began implementation of a land reform program that was to distribute 33 to 100 acres of land to each landless farmer. Alan Robert Nye, former US Navy pilot, was put on trial for attempting to assassinate [Fidel Castro](#) with a rifle with a telescopic sight, in return for payment of \$100,000 from [Air Force commander Gen. Carlos Tabernilla Palmero](#). Nye, who had been captured by rebels on December 26th in Oriente province, denied the charge, insisting that he had come to Cuba to aid the revolution, perhaps flying bombing missions for them.

February 4, Wednesday: Soviet authorities released the truck convoy after detaining it for 54 hours. They had not been allowed to inspect it.

[Havana](#) University was seized by its students. They announced that all professors who collaborated with the [Batista](#) regime were to be [sacked](#).

After a 5-year attempt to extract \$9,655 in taxes from Paul Robeson's \$25,000 [Stalin](#) Prize of 1953, the US Internal Revenue Service decided that the prize had been, after all, indeed tax-exempt.

Estampes for orchestra by Bohuslav Martinu was performed for the initial time, in Louisville.



## CUBA

## CUBA

February 7, Saturday: [Cuba](#)'s Constitution of 1940 was reinstated (it had been suspended by [President Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar](#) after his [coup](#) in 1952).

February 11, Wednesday: The Prime Ministers of Greece and Cyprus announce in Zürich that they have reached a settlement of the Cyprus issue. According to the agreement, Cyprus will become an independent republic with a power sharing arrangement between the two communities. British bases will remain. A mixed force of Greek and Turkish troops will maintain order on the island.

[Felipe Pazos](#), President of the National Bank of [Cuba](#), reported that the nation's cash reserves had fallen to under 111,000,000 pesos, a sum that was below the minimum allowed by law. He accused the [Batista](#) dictatorship of having systematically looted the nation's assets of more than 424,000,000 pesos.

February 16, Monday: Anti-British demonstrations and riots broke out in Nyasaland (Malawi).

Rival African groups began 3 days of rioting in Brazzaville in which 120 would be killed and 300 injured.

[Fidel Castro](#), Commander of the Rebel Army, replaced [Miró Cardonas](#) as Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of [Cuba](#).

Suite for guitar by Ernst Krenek was performed for the initial time, in Los Angeles County Auditorium.

March 3, Tuesday: The [Cuban](#) government nationalized the [Cuban Telephone Company](#), an affiliate of ITT, and reduced telephone rates.

March 4, Wednesday: Pioneer 4 became the 2d artifactual object to pass the earth's moon and continue into its own orbit around the sun.

The new [Cuban](#) government took over management of the [Cuban Telephone Company](#).

April 12, Saturday: A report was issued by 35 Roman Catholic priests who served with the French army in Algeria describing how they had witnessed numerous examples of arbitrary arrest, [torture](#), killing of wounded prisoners, and summary execution.

Former US Navy pilot Alan Robert Nye was sentenced to death in [Havana](#) for plotting to kill [Fidel Castro](#). Castro interceded –insisting that as the victim of this plotting he had “special privilege”– and suspended the sentence provided the American leave the [island](#) promising never to return. Nye immediately flew to New Orleans (he would in fact lead a quiet life, never attempting to return, and by now is deceased).

An episode of the CBS television program The Twentieth Century entitled “Submarine!” with music by Ulysses Kay was broadcast for the initial time, over the airwaves of the network.

Ensemble for string orchestra by Henry Cowell was performed for the initial time, in New School Auditorium, New York.



## CUBA

## CUBA

April 15, Tuesday: [Fidel Castro](#) of [Cuba](#) arrived in Washington DC for a speaking tour of the eastern states sponsored by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He would meet with Secretary of State Christian Herter and, when President Eisenhower refused and went out of town to play golf for a week, for 2 hours and 20 minutes on Saturday afternoon (the 19th) with [Richard Milhous Nixon](#) in his Vice Presidential office (he would return to Cuba on the 26th after placing a wreath at the Lincoln Memorial).



Catalogue des Oiseaux for piano by Olivier Messiaen was performed for the initial time, in the Salle Gaveau, Paris.

May 13, Wednesday: Prime Minister Debré of France announced that his government intended to remain permanently in Algeria. European residents of Algeria boycotted observances of the 1st anniversary of the uprising because of what they saw as President de Gaulle's failure to carry out its purpose.

The [Cuban](#) government voted to expropriate the assets of 117 companies owned by 18 persons.

May 17, Sunday: China resumed bombardment of the Matsu Islands.

[Fidel Castro](#) of [Cuba](#) signed an Agrarian Reform Act, which expropriated farmlands over 1,000 acres and forbade foreign land ownership, attempting to address the fact that 70% of the country's farm land was owned by foreigners. The government paid the landholders the assessed value and distributed the land to ordinary [Cubans](#).

Mirandolina, an opera by Bohuslav Martinu to his own words after Goldoni, was performed for the initial time, in Prague.

Ulysses Kay's cantata Phoebus, Arise for soprano, bass, chorus and orchestra was performed for the initial time, in Town Hall, [New York](#).

May 23, Saturday: The [Cuban](#) government voted to expropriate 7 airline and airport companies owned by members of the [Batista](#) dictatorship.

A film of Modest Musorgsky's opera "Khovanshchina," with music reorchestrated by Dmitri Shostakovich, was shown for the 1st time.

Recitatives from Lou Harrison's Political Primer to his own words were performed for the initial time, at the University of Buffalo.

June: Queen Elizabeth and [President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower](#) officially dedicated the St. Lawrence Seaway.

A new lock was added to Wilson Dam on the Tennessee River. Extensive improvements on the Sensée were begun.

[CANALS](#)

In Cairo, [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) made the 1st official contact of the new government in [Cuba](#) with the Soviet Union.



## CUBA

## CUBA

June 1, Monday: The US embassy in Baghdad announced that the Iraqi government, because this might compromise their neutrality, had renounced all military aid from the USA.

A [Havana](#) court sentenced 36 people, including 34 high-ranking members of the [Batista](#) military, to prison terms ranging from 5 to 25 years.

July: American journalist Walter Lippmann wrote, in regard to [Cuba](#), “For the thing we should never do in dealing with revolutionary countries, in which the world abounds, is to push them behind an iron curtain raised by ourselves. On the contrary, even when they have been seduced and subverted and are drawn across the line, the right thing to do is to keep the way open for their return.”

North [Vietnam](#) sent south, as infiltrators, some 4,000 Viet Minh originally born in South Vietnam.

July 17, Friday: Mary Leakey found *Zinjanthropus* in Olduvai Gorge. This would be dated at 1,750,000 years and rewrite human prehistory.

**PALEONTOLOGY**

[Cuban](#) Prime Minister [Fidel Castro](#) resigned due to “moral differences” with [President Manuel Urrutia Lleó](#).

Billie Holiday died in New York.

July 18, Saturday: [President Manuel Urrutia Lleó](#) resigned and [Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado](#) was appointed President of [Cuba](#) by the cabinet. Urrutia and his family would seek refuge in the embassy of Venezuela and he would wind up in Queens, New York as a professor.

Sonata for cello and piano op.377 by Darius Milhaud was performed for the initial time, in Vancouver.

July 26, Sunday: Tapes of Vice President [Richard Milhous Nixon](#) and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev confronting one another in their “Kitchen Debate” were played on all 3 US television networks.

[Fidel Castro](#) resumed the post as prime minister of [Cuba](#) from which he had resigned on the 17th.

August 7, Friday: The [Cuban](#) government restored the right of habeas corpus.

August 20, Thursday: An interview appeared in the Greek daily [Ta Nea](#) in which Mikis Theodorakis attacked his country’s musical establishment: “they inevitably drive backwards every aspect of our musical life.”

Former [Cuban](#) dictator [Batista](#), having been granted political asylum in Oliveira Salazar’s Portugal, arrived in Lisbon from the Dominican Republic.

October 15, Thursday: Raúl Castro became the defense minister of [Cuba](#) (his title would later become “Minister of the Armed Forces”).

October 19, Monday: Huber Matos, a leading figure in the [Cuban](#) revolution, resigned his post as military commander of Camagüey province, along with 14 officers, on account of the rising influence of Communism in the revolution.



CUBA

CUBA

October 21, Wednesday: The United Nations General Assembly voted 45-9-28 to deplore the events in Tibet, and called for restoration of the civil and religious rights of Tibetans.

The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum opened in [New York](#) in a building designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.

After Major Huberto Matos resigned in protest against too much communist influence in the new [Cuban](#) regime, he was taken into custody by government agents.

October 25, Sunday: During a night flight over [Cuban](#) waters, Camilo Cienfuegos Gorriarán's plane disappeared mysteriously. To this day no-one knows whether this was intentional or an accident.

October 28, Wednesday: Turkey and the USA signed an agreement to install 15 [nuclear](#)-tipped Jupiter missiles in underground silos in Turkey.

November 26, Thursday: [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) was placed in charge of the National Bank of [Cuba](#).

December 15, Tuesday: In [Havana](#), 21 former officers in the revolutionary army of [Cuba](#) were found guilty of treason, including Hubert Matos, a close military aide to [Fidel Castro](#). Matos received a sentence of 20 years in prison, while the others received sentences ranging from 2 to 7 years (13 others were acquitted). Per [CUBA, A SHORT HISTORY](#), Edited by Leslie Bethell: "Of the twenty-one ministers appointed in January 1959, twelve had resigned or had been ousted by the end of the year. Four more would go out in 1960 as the revolution moved toward a Marxist-Leninist political system."

Blue Flame, an opera by Alan Hovhaness, was performed for the initial time, in San Antonio.



CUBA

CUBA

1960

February 4, Thursday: Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan visited [Cuba](#) to attend the opening of a Soviet trade exhibit in [Havana](#) (until the 13th). During his trip, Mikoyan negotiated economic and trade agreements that would help Prime Minister [Fidel Castro](#) wean [Cuba](#) of its economic dependence on the United States of America. The Soviet Union would commit to purchase 5,000,000 tons of sugar over a 5-year period. The Soviets would supply crude oil and petroleum products, as well as wheat, iron, fertilizers, and machinery. They would grant a \$100,000,000 line of credit at an interest rate of merely 2.5%.

February 13, Saturday: At 7AM France exploded its initial [nuclear device](#), south of Reggane in the Sahara.

In an agreement signed in [Havana](#), the USSR agreed to purchase 1,000,000 tons of sugar from [Cuba](#) over the following 5 years. The deal was that this would create credits with which Cuba might obtain goods from the Soviet Union.

March 4, Friday: The United States of America turned over the Ben Slimane air force base to Morocco.

When the French freighter *La Coubre*, with a load of Belgian arms for [Cuba](#), was destroyed by a series of explosions in the port of [Havana](#), somewhere between 75 and 100 were killed and 200 were injured — and of course [Fidel Castro](#) could blame the United States of America (ships full of explosives don't blow up all by themselves, as we know from the case of the *USS Maine*).

Tempi concertati for flute, violin, two pianos and chamber ensemble by Luciano Berio was performed for the initial time, in Hamburg.

March 17, Thursday: [President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower](#) approved a covert action plan against [Cuba](#) that included the use of a "powerful propaganda campaign" intended to overthrow [Fidel Castro](#). The scheme included:

- a) no US purchasing of Cuban sugar,
- b) no US deliveries of oil,
- c) continuation of the arms embargo in effect since mid-1958, and
- d) secret sponsorship of a paramilitary force of [Cuban](#) exiles to capture the island.

April 25, Monday: A new non-party cabinet was formed by President Rhee of South [Korea](#). Street demonstrations against Rhee resumed in Seoul and other major cities.

Talks in New Dehli between Prime Ministers Chou En-lai of China and Jawaharlal Nehru of India, aimed at solving their border dispute, ended in failure.

The [Cuban](#) government nationalized all imports and exports.

Woodwind Quintet by Gottfried Michael Koenig was performed for the initial time, in Cologne.

May 8, Sunday: [Cuba](#) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics established diplomatic relations.





## CUBA

## CUBA

May 16, Monday: The long-planned summit conference between leaders of the “Big Four” nations begins in Paris. Present were Charles de Gaulle, President of France, Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and General Secretary of the CPSU, Harold MacMillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and [Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#), President of the United States. The meeting would almost immediately collapse because Khrushchev demanded a public apology from Eisenhower for sending a U-2 spy plane over the Soviet Union, because Eisenhower refused. After meeting for 3 hours in the Elysée Palace, the leaders adjourned indefinitely.

A federal judge in New Orleans ordered that Orleans Parish begin racial integration of its schools this September (since the parish had refused to create a desegregation plan, the judge imposed one of his own).

The [Cuban](#) government announced it had completed nationalization of all 109,921 hectares of land formerly owned by the United Fruit Company.

Theodore Maiman of the Hughes Research Laboratory in California made a laser function for the 1st time.

3 works for chamber ensembles by Gunther Schuller were performed for the initial time, in the Circle on the Square Theater, [New York](#), conducted by the composer: Abstraction, Variants on a Theme of John Lewis and Variants on a Theme of Thelonius Monk.

May 17, Tuesday: An anti-[Fidel Castro](#) radio station created by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), “Radio Swan,” went on the air as part of the [Eisenhower](#)-approved plan for covert operations. By the summer several clandestine US stations, and CIA-funded licensed stations, would join Radio Swan in broadcasting to [Cuba](#).

May 27, Friday: The United States of America discontinued all its foreign aid to [Cuba](#).

June 7, Tuesday: Radical elements of the current wave of protest in [Japan](#) promised to harm [President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#) and Emperor Hirohito if the President visited as planned.

When blacks demonstrating against unpopular government decisions in the Pondoland African Reserve in Southeast Cape Province, South Africa, were fired on by black police, 25 civilians and 5 policemen died.

Just before the 1st shipment of Soviet oil arrived in [Cuba](#), the foreign companies –Shell, Esso, and Texaco– indicated that they would refuse to refine it (we now know that the US government was initiating this). At the same time US companies, obliging the US government, were refusing to sell fuel to [Cuba](#).

June 15, Wednesday: Rioting resumed in [Tokyo](#) against the government and the visit of [President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#). 20,000 demonstrators battled 5,000 police, breaking through their lines and into the Diet compound where they were able to do significant damage. They also made it into a US Air Force area and set fire to 14 police trucks. Police used tear gas to restore order.

The constitution of South [Korea](#) was changed to provide for a parliamentary government.

Manuel Beaton, Cipriano Beaton, and Felipe Martinez Noma were executed in Santiago de [Cuba](#) for counterrevolutionary activities (they had led an anti-[Fidel Castro](#) guerrilla band).

In Cologne, String Quartet no.3 by Isang Yun was performed for the initial time, and Variations I for any number of players with any means of producing sounds by John Cage was performed for the initial time (with David Tudor at the piano).



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

June 16, Thursday: Prime Minister Kishi of [Japan](#) formally postponed a visit by [President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#) scheduled to begin in 3 days. There had been 3 weeks of riots and demonstrations against Kishi’s government and the visit.

The British governor of Nyasaland lifted the state of emergency imposed 15 months earlier.

[Cuba](#) ordered 2 legal attaches in the United States embassy in Havana off the island, accusing them of having conspired with counterrevolutionaries.

“Psycho,” by Alfred Hitchcock, had its initial screening in New York.

June 18, Saturday: The United States retaliated against the [Cuban](#) actions of June 16th by expelling 2 members of the [Cuban](#) mission in Washington DC.

June 29, Wednesday: The Communist Party newspaper [People’s Daily](#) of Peking rejected Nikita Khrushchev’s belief that war was not inevitable. “Only when the imperialist ... and the capitalist system ... are really abolished can there really be lasting world peace.”

At the end of 4 days of negotiations between FLN leaders and French officials at Melun, France, no agreement had been reached.

A US-owned Texaco oil refinery at Santiago de [Cuba](#) refused a government order to refine Soviet oil, and was nationalized by the [Cuban](#) government.

July: The United States of America suspended the [Cuban](#) sugar quota, effectively cutting off 80% of Cuban exports to the US, whereupon the Soviet Union promised to purchase sugar previously destined for the US market.

July 1, Friday: [Cuba](#) nationalized Esso and Shell oil refineries on the island.

The Soviets were able to shoot down a US Air Force RB-47 flying along their northern border and over the Barents Sea, and capture 2 survivors.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

July 3, Sunday: In response to nationalization by [Cuba](#) of the Texaco, Esso, and Shell oil refineries on the island, the United States federal congress passed a “Sugar Act” eliminating [Cuba](#)’s remaining sugar quota. (Tit for tat this for that. Family values. You hurt me I’ll hurt you back. Did I mention this was the Lord’s Day?)

July 5, Tuesday: [Cuba](#) retaliated to the US’s “Sugar Act,” eliminating the remainder of [Cuba](#)’s sugar quota, by nationalizing all businesses and commercial property owned on the island by US citizens. Pow, pow!

July 6, Wednesday: [President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#) canceled the 700,000 tons remaining in [Cuba](#)’s sugar quota for the current year. We’re so eager to hurt you, we’re tripping over our own shoelaces.



## CUBA

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July 8, Friday: The United States suspended the [Cuban cane sugar](#) quota, effectively cutting off 80% of Cuban exports to the United States and thus threatening the destruction of their economy. The Soviet Union immediately announced that it would be purchasing the 700,000 tons of sugar refused by the US.

July 9, Saturday: The Soviet Union agreed to buy [Cuban cane sugar](#) previously destined for the US market.

General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev threatened military action if the United States of America were to attempt to overthrow [Fidel Castro](#).

July 12, Tuesday: Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev supported [Cuba](#) in its dispute with the United States of America over the US military base on Guantánamo Bay.

July 19, Tuesday: British authorities arrested 3 leaders of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia.

The United Nations Security Council voted 9-0-2 to send the dispute between the United States of America and [Cuba](#) to the Organization of American States. Please, you, get the fuck out of our faces!

August 16, Tuesday: A CIA official was handed a box of [Fidel Castro](#)'s favorite [cigars](#) and instructed to poison them. It is unknown whether any serious attempt was later made by the Mafia contacts of these US officials, to pass these poisoned cigars on to Castro — for certain they didn't actually do so since the botulinum toxin that had been applied was the deadliest material in the world, so utterly deadly that all he would have needed to have done was place one between his teeth.<sup>301</sup> According to a 1975 Senate investigation, this would become 1 of at least 8 assassination plots (probably many more than 8) devised by the US government against the leader of [Cuba](#) between 1960 and 1965.<sup>302</sup>

August 28, Sunday: Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba of the Congo demanded that all UN troops withdraw from the country as soon as all the Belgian soldiers were out.

When an Organization of American States meeting of foreign ministers in San José, Costa Rica adopted resolutions condemning “communist intervention” in the Americas, the [Cuban](#) delegation walked out.

The United States of America imposed an embargo on trade with [Cuba](#).

301. This was the same breath-paralyzing poison that Mildred Geraldine Mattox Smith had attempted to administer to John Paul Smith in a spoonful of home-canned corn kernels some six years earlier — what goes around comes around.

[ASSLEY](#)

302. We have now made it technically illegal for our government to kill people, when they are foreign heads of state, and when they have been singled out to be killed. If you kill someone, they ask “Well, but was he a foreign head of state?” And if you go “Well, yes, he was,” then they go “Well, but did you single him out to kill him?” And if you go “Well, yes, I did,” then they go “Well, you know, that’s very much against the law, next time you should just kill somebody ordinary, or, if you need to kill a foreign head of state, you should kill a bunch of other people alongside him so you can show that he hadn’t been singled out to be killed. One can’t be too careful about these things.” Then they can go “No, but before we killed him we got the President to sign a secret finding saying that he needed to be dead. We can’t show you the document because then we’d need to kill you.” Then you have to go “If the President indeed signed a secret finding that it was OK, well, OK then. I don’t need to see it, so you don’t need to kill me.”

## CUBA

## CUBA

September: The initial large Soviet Bloc arms shipment arrived in [Cuba](#). Soon afterward, Czech and Soviet technicians would be reportedly assisting the [Cuban](#) military in assembling this equipment, and installing weapons such as anti-aircraft batteries. Soviet Bloc personnel also would begin to be employed as military instructors, advisers, and technicians. Things were going to hell in a handbasket.

From the [Cambridge Friends Bulletin](#): “[Joan Baez](#), daughter of [Albert and Joan Baez](#), has won considerable fame recently as a folk singer. Her name is frequently billed as an attraction for various events. Among these is a concert of folk songs to be given at Jordan Hall on January 14. She is continuing her father’s peace interest by singing at the large rally scheduled by the Greater Boston Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy being held in Boston on October 1. Joan may also be heard on a folk song record entitled ‘Round the Square.’”<sup>303</sup>



JOAN BAEZ

September 13, Tuesday: The political parties of Indonesia were suspended by President Sukarno.

The Parliament of the Congo voted in joint session, 88 over 25, to award special powers to Prime Minister Lumumba against President Kasavubu. Independent observers, doubting that there were that many members present, insisted there had not been a quorum. At the demand of 3 African nations and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Nations ended control of Léopoldville radio and opened the nation’s airports. Lumumba petitioned the United Nations for specific military aid and threatened to “seek such assistance elsewhere.”

When representatives of 19 American republics signed a sweeping economic aid program for Latin America, the Act of Bogotá, [Cuba](#) refused to sign (the Dominican Republic had been barred from the meeting).

The Department of Justice sued 27 people and 2 banks in Memphis federal court, to stop a campaign that was intended to discourage black citizens from voting.

303. The convention in this [Quaker](#) publication is to underscore the names of members and associate members of the monthly meeting.



## CUBA

## CUBA

September 17, Saturday: When a compromise Security Council resolution on the Congo crisis, drafted by Ceylon and Tunisia, was vetoed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it was necessary to hold a special meeting of the General Assembly.

In [Havana](#), the [Cuban](#) government nationalized 3 US banks.

Dialoghi for cello and orchestra by Luigi Dallapiccola was performed for the initial time, in Teatro La Fenice, Venice.

September 18, Sunday: Colonel Mobutu withdrew all Congolese troops from the secessionist provinces of Katanga and Kasai.

[Fidel Castro](#) and a delegation from [Cuba](#) arrived in [New York](#) to attend the opening of the 15th session of the United Nations General Assembly. They decided against the Shelburne Hotel when the hotel made “unacceptable cash demands,” moving to the Theresa Hotel in Harlem.

Parliamentary elections in Sweden left the Social Democratic Party of Prime Minister Tage Erlander in power and the parties virtually unchanged.

Dimensions of Time and Silence for chorus and instruments by Krzysztof Penderecki was performed for the initial time, in Warsaw.

September 24, Saturday: [Cuba](#) officially recognized the [People’s Republic of China](#) (it was the 1st Latin American nation to do this).

A performance by John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Earle Brown and others at the Teatro La Fenice, during the Venice Biennale, caused a near riot.

September 28, Wednesday: Initiation of the “neighborhood watch” system in [Cuba](#), that would be known as [Committees for the Defense of the Revolution](#). Be suspicious, be very suspicious, for anybody you decide you don’t like might be a traitor, plus, on the downside, anybody who doesn’t like you may decide that you’re a traitor.

September 29, Thursday: President Kasavubu of the Congo turned over all administrative authority to the College of Commissioners.

The Department of State urged embassy personnel in Havana, and some 4,000 US citizens in [Cuba](#), to send their dependents stateside, on account of continuous harassment by [Cuban](#) police.



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September 30, Friday: On this day and the following one, French police raided 3 leftist periodicals, making 10 arrests.

The Department of State urged that US citizens not visit [Cuba](#) “unless there are compelling reasons.”

Quaestio Temporis for chamber orchestra by Ernst Krenek was performed for the initial time, over the airwaves of Norddeutsche Rundfunk, originating in Hamburg, the composer conducting.

Toccata festiva for organ and orchestra by Samuel Barber was performed for the initial time, at Philadelphia Academy of Music. The work had been commissioned to inaugurate the Academy’s new Aeolian-Skinner organ.

Introduction, Scherzo and Fugue op.74 for cello, winds and timpani by Wallingford Riegger was performed for the initial time, in Rochester, New York.

October 6, Thursday: Citing the suspension of the [Cuban cane sugar](#) quota, the government of the island nationalized US private investments worth approximately \$1,000,000,000.

October 11, Tuesday: Peace negotiations chaired by Prince Souvanna Phouma began in Vientianne between the right-wing leader Phoumi Nosavan and the communist Pathet Lao.

The UN command in Léopoldville refused Congolese demands for the arrest of Patrice Lumumba.

5 anti-[Castro](#) rebel leaders were executed by [firing squad](#) in Santa Clara, [Cuba](#).

The British government’s Monckton Commission recommended that power in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland be devolved to more local levels and that each part of the federation be given the right to secede. They also recommended increased African representation in the Assembly.

October 13, Thursday: Cambridge [Friends](#) Monthly Meeting minutes: “A request was received from the Acton Meeting that they be recognized as a Preparative Meeting under our care.”

General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev departed [New York](#) for home.

In [Cuba](#), 382 locally owned firms, including the sugar mills, banks, and large industries, were nationalized.

Seven [Cubans](#) and a US citizen were executed by [firing squad](#) in Santiago de Cuba after being convicted of invading Oriente Province. 18 others received jail terms.

Il pigmalione, a scena drammatica was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Donizetti, Bergamo (this had been Gaetano Donizetti’s 1st stage work, written during his student days in 1816).

October 14, Friday: The [Cuban](#) government nationalized about 400 private companies, including foreign banks.

Walter Piston’s Violin Concerto no.2 was performed for the initial time, in Pittsburgh.





## CUBA

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October 16, Sunday: 2 US citizens were executed by [firing squad](#) for their part in an invasion by anti-[Castro](#) forces of Oriente Province in [Cuba](#).

Two new works were performed for the 1st time, in Donaueschingen: Anaklasis for strings and percussion by Krzysztof Penderecki and Chronochromie for orchestra by Olivier Messiaen. The audience required that Anaklasis provide an encore.

Concerto for violin, cello, ten winds, and percussion by Leon Kirchner was performed for the initial time, in Baltimore.

October 17, Monday: French Roman Catholic cardinals and archbishops condemned acts of [torture](#), reprisal, and terrorism in Algeria, from both sides.

14 winners of television quiz shows in the US, including Charles Van Doren, were arrested for having falsely testified that they never received answers in advance.

Four US chain stores announced that their lunch counters, in 150 stores in 112 southern cities, would be racially integrated.

William L. Shirer's THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH.

October 19, Wednesday: The US imposed a partial economic embargo on [Cuba](#), one that excluded food and medicine.

October 20, Thursday: General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union had developed the capability of firing missiles from submarines.

Unruly Congolese troops began a week of disorders in Léopoldville.

While campaigning for president, [Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) demanded that the US support anti-[Castro](#) forces in exile, and in [Cuba](#), “who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro.”

His opponent, Vice-President Richard Nixon, deemed this “the most shockingly reckless proposal ever made in our history by a presidential candidate....”

October 24, Monday: An Urban Reform Law was passed in [Cuba](#), nationalizing additional properties owned by American interests.

October 29, Saturday: A [Cuban](#) airliner on a domestic flight was taken over at gunpoint by its co-pilot with the assistance of 8 passengers. When the pilot refused their demand to fly to Key West, there was a gunfight killing one and wounding 3. The plane then flew to Key West where the 9 requested asylum.



## CUBA

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November 16, Wednesday: Upon requests from the governments of Guatemala and Nicaragua, [President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower](#) ordered the US Navy to patrol the Caribbean coast of Central America to prevent any invasions from [Cuba](#).

About 2,000 white citizens attacked the New Orleans City Hall. Although police and firemen prevented them from reaching the office of the School Board inside the building, they did damage outside the building, and set upon and beat 4 black bystanders until they needed to be hospitalized.

December 10, Saturday: Because the UN mission to the Congo has failed, Indonesia announced that it was withdrawing its troops.

Algerian Moslems began counterdemonstrations to the events of the previous day, battling Europeans in Algiers, Oran, and Orléansville. When police moved in to break up the rioting, more than 700 were injured.

[Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#), President of the [Cuban](#) National Bank, announced in Moscow that [Cuba](#) supported the manifesto adopted on December 6th.

December 19, Monday: [Cuba](#) and the Soviet Union issued a joint communiqué in which [Cuba](#) openly aligned itself with the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union and indicated its solidarity with the Sino-Soviet Bloc.

December 26, Monday: 12 [Cuban](#) children flew from [Havana](#) to the USA (this was the beginning of Operation Pedro Pan).

December 30, Friday: The new right-wing Laotian government, that had forced its way into power earlier this month, appealed to the United Nations and the world for help against Communist forces that, it alleged, were infiltrating from North Vietnam.

Eviction orders for 700 black Tennessee sharecroppers were blocked by a federal court (they were being evicted after they had attempted to register to vote).

Charging that [Cuban](#) forces were helping to foment rebellion in the country, Peru broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

1961

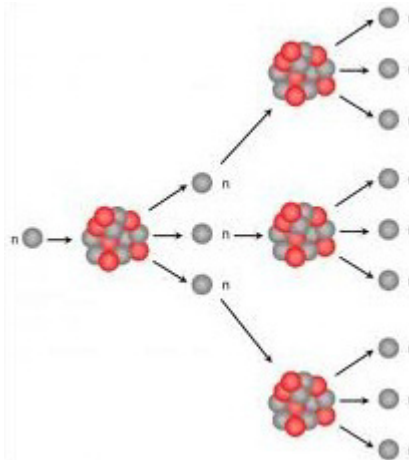
January 2, Monday: Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev told a gathering at the Cuban embassy in Moscow that "Alarming news is coming from Cuba at present, news that the most aggressive American monopolists are preparing a direct attack on Cuba. What is more, they are trying to present the case as though rocket bases of the Soviet Union are being set up or are already established in Cuba. It is well known that this is a foul slander. There is no Soviet military base in Cuba."

Cuba required that the US reduce its embassy staff from 300 to 11 within 48 hours.

Two black students were enrolled at the University of Tennessee.

January 3, Tuesday: The United States of America and Cuba severed diplomatic and consular relations. The United States turned over the handling of its affairs to the Swiss embassy while the Cuban government referred its affairs to the embassy of Czechoslovakia. The 3,000-3,500 US citizens involved were urged to leave the island promptly.

Three people died as a result of a nuclear reactor accident at the SL-1 facility near Idaho Falls, Idaho (improper removal of control rods had induced a steam explosion). For the 13th time in the history of our nuclear program, fissile material had unexpectedly gone beyond criticality into prompt-criticality, the final stage before an atomic explosion.



TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

Not to worry, however, for in the more than half century of our nuclear era there have been only a couple of



CUBA

CUBA

dozen such incidents that we know of. We are told that a full A-bomb nuclear-weapon-like blast is a real engineering success story and very difficult to create, and therefore it is really really unlikely that any such prompt-criticality incident will ever produce a full A-bomb nuclear weapon-like blast without our really having intended for that to happen (even at Chernobyl the molten “corium” stuff in the “Elephant’s Foot” formation in the basement failed to go off like a bomb). Just about the worst thing that might happen in a prompt-criticality situation is that the nuclear material in question goes off like what one might term a big “dirty” bomb –which is not at all in the same ballpark in terms of blast-effect although it is in the same ballpark in terms of contamination-effect– except that we must bear in mind that at the Fukushima Daiichi site, unfortunately, there are some 2,000 **tons** of such materials available within a few thousands of yards, in the six reactor cores and seven cooling pools.

**WALDEN:** If we read of one man robbed, or murdered, or killed by accident, or one house burned, or one vessel wrecked, or one steamboat blown up, or one cow run over on the Western Railroad, or one mad dog killed, or one lot of grasshoppers in the winter, –we never need read of another. One is enough.

January 12, Friday: The University of Georgia suspended 2 recently admitted black students, because of recent rioting.

Uruguay expelled the [Cuban](#) ambassador and the First Secretary at the Soviet embassy, accusing them of having fomented recent street demonstrations.

January 20, Saturday: The [Chinese](#) government announced that the “Great Leap Forward” in industrial output needed for the time being to be put aside in favor of greater agricultural production. Food shortages and famine were to be anticipated.

The Museu Villa-Lobos opened in Rio de Janeiro.

Gloria for soprano, chorus and orchestra by Francis Poulenc was performed for the initial time, in Boston.

[John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) replaced [Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#) as President of the United States of America and declared that “...we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to insure the survival and the success of liberty.” Privately, outgoing [President Eisenhower](#) told him he thought “you’re going to have to send troops” to Southeast Asia. This new Kennedy administration was youthfully inexperienced in matters relating to the long-drawn-out conflict of Southeast Asia. When, during this month, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev pledged his support for “wars of national liberation” throughout the world, this statement encouraged the followers of Ho Chi Minh to escalate their struggle to

unify their nation.



With wife Bess and daughter Margaret, [Former President Harry S Truman](#) was a guest in the White House on inauguration day — their 1st visit there in 8 years.

Over the next several years Kennedy’s Secretary of Defense, 44-year-old [Robert Strange McNamara](#) from the world of commerce, along with his civilian planners recruited largely from the academic community, a bunch of whiz kids still wet behind the ears and marked by their complete infatuation with themselves, would play a crucial role in determining the White House strategy for managing the conflict in [Vietnam](#). Under their leadership the United States would be waging a limited war with the intention of forcing a political settlement, but unfortunately the US would have as its adversary an enemy with no interest whatever in any partial settlement of the issues at hand, as stated by Ho Chi Minh, “...whatever the sacrifices, however long the struggle...until Vietnam is fully independent and reunified.”



Meanwhile, back home in the land of the free and the home of the brave, this would be the year of the Young Freedom riders, lead by the [World War II](#) pacifist James Farmer who had been one of the founders of CORE. After a bus would be burned in Alabama, and after riders would be attacked in Birmingham and would spend 40-60 days in jail in Jackson, Mississippi, our Interstate Commerce Commission would ban racial segregation on buses and trains.



## CUBA

## CUBA

February 4, Saturday: Alfred Schnittke got married with a 2d wife, Irina Katayeva, a pianist, at her parents' apartment in Moscow.

Armed blacks and whites attacked police stations and jails in Luanda in an attempt to free prisoners. Thus began 4 days of rioting in Angola in which 27 people would get killed.

[Cuban](#) government officials seized the Yateras Water Company, the one that provided water for the US base on Guantánamo Bay. However, at this time they did nothing to impede the flow of water to the facility.

April 12, Wednesday: On the eve of the invasion of [Cuba](#) at the Bay of Pigs, [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) decided that personnel of the US armed forces were not to have any part in the operation. Any conflict that



took place, Kennedy told his aides in private, was to be “between the Cubans themselves.”



The operation was, of course, doomed by this, since it was counting on US air cover, and nevertheless, Richard Bissell was assuring doubters at the Department of State that as soon as the US-backed rebels had established their beachhead, the Cuban people would surely rise up and unite with them and overthrow their hero [Fidel Castro](#).

Major Yuri Alekseyevich Gagarin became the initial human to orbit the earth. His one orbit aboard Vostok I, blasting off from Baikonur, Kazakhstan and landing near Smelovka in the Saratov Region, consumed an hour and 48 minutes. Upon feeling the return of gravity the cosmonaut sang “My homeland hears, my homeland knows where in the skies her son soars on,” a melody by Dmitri Shostakovich. Gagarin had been chosen for his shortness, so he would fit into the capsule, rather than for his singing voice.

The US [Atomic Energy Agency](#) announced that scientists at the University of California – Berkeley had created element 103 — the scientists proposed to name this “Lawrencium” in honor of Dr. Ernest Lawrence, inventor of the cyclotron.





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April 14, Friday: Early in the morning, a group of eight B-26 bombers piloted by Cuban exiles attacked airfields at Ciudad Libertad in [Havana](#), San Antonio de los Baños, and Santiago de [Cuba](#). The attack wiped out 27% of the island's fighter planes. The raid of the "mystery planes," coordinated by the CIA, was designed to destroy as much of [Castro](#)'s air power as possible before the scheduled landing of a force of US-trained Cuban exiles. However, to keep the US connection from becoming public, an additional set of airstrikes on Cuban airfields had to be canceled.

Yuri Gagarin made a triumphal visit to Moscow and was cheered by throngs as he joined the Soviet leadership above Lenin's tomb. That evening President Leonid Brezhnev awarded him the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, with the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star.

The Tamil Federal Party, calling for the official use of the Tamil language in the northern and eastern areas of the country, began a campaign of [civil disobedience](#) against the Ceylon government.

April 15, Saturday, 1961 United States air forces, flying from Nicaragua, bombed [Cuban](#) airfields in preparation for the invasion of the island by anti-[Castro](#) Cubans.

The UN General Assembly (61-5-33) renewed its call for all foreign military (particularly Belgian) to leave the Congo.

April 16, Sunday, 1961 [Fidel Castro](#) declared [Cuba](#) a socialist state.

Durations I for alto flute, piano, violin and cello by Morton Feldman was performed for the initial time, in Kaufmann Concert Hall, New York, with the composer at the keyboard.

April 17, Monday, 1961: 1,500 [Cuban](#) exiles, armed and trained by the United States, invaded [Cuba](#) at the Bay of Pigs (*Playa Girón*) in Las Villas Province.

Demonstrators attacked the United States Information Service building in Buenos Aires with rocks and hand grenades. Anti-US demonstrations took place in Bogotá, [Mexico City](#), Caracas, Venezuela, Montevideo, and Santiago de Chile.

April 17/18: At the Bay of Pigs (*Playa Girón*), [Cuban](#) government aircraft that had survived the earlier airstrikes were able to pin the invasion force on the beachhead. Without additional supplies of ammunition, the invaders were quickly crushed by Cuban ground forces. Of the anti-Castro emigrés, 114 were killed and 1,189 captured. To prevent internal uprisings, [Fidel Castro](#) ordered the arrest of some 200,000 suspected dissidents.

April 18, Tuesday: Demonstrators attacked the United States embassies in Moscow and Sofia, Bulgaria, and the United States Information Service building in Belgrade, protesting the American invasion of [Cuba](#). Anti-US demonstrations took place in Warsaw, Paris, and [Tokyo](#).

William Walton was made the 14th Honorary Freeman of the Borough of Oldham.

[Cuban](#) forces launched a counterattack against the beachhead at the Bay of Pigs.

April 19, Wednesday: According to Central Intelligence Agency and DDO/LA/COG files (Job 82-00679R, Box 3, General Maxwell Taylor, Green Study Group, Volume II), at 12:07PM a Top Secret Flash telegram was sent by agents of the Central Intelligence Agency in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua to the CIA headquarters: "902. 1. Situation for air support beachhead completely out of our hands. This morning's effort extended us to the limit. Have now lost 5 Cuban pilots, 6 co-pilots, 2 American pilots, and one co-pilot, and observer either killed or captured. Unknown number aircraft out of commission. (Will advise.) 2. Two crews shot down today were shot down during period 'positive aggressive' Navy air support and cover granted and for one hour 1130Z to 1230Z 19 April. 3. Still have faith. Awaiting your guidance."



In continuing correspondence with President John Fitzgerald Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs disaster, Premier Nikita Khrushchev assured Kennedy that the Soviet Union "does not seek any advantages or privileges in Cuba. We do not have any bases in Cuba, and we do not intend to establish any."



The Premier, however, also warned against arming Cuban emigrés for future attacks on Cuba. Such a policy of "unreasonable actions," he wrote, was "a slippery and dangerous road which can lead the world to a new global war."

Meanwhile, in Concord, Major General (Retired) E.N. Harmon declaimed in a sacred-to-our-liberty-day oration that our heritage "bought by blood" and sacrifice would have been purchased in vain "if we are overrun and forced into the Communist mold."

OLD NORTH BRIDGE PATRIOTS' DAY

In a memo meant for his brother the President, Attorney General Robert Kennedy warned that "if we don't want Russia to set up missile bases in Cuba, we had better decide now what we are willing to do to stop it."

READ THE FULL TEXT

The Attorney General identified three possible courses of action: (1) sending American troops into Cuba, a proposal "you [President Kennedy] have rejected ... for good and sufficient reasons (although this might have



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to be reconsidered)”; (2) placing a strict blockade around Cuba; or (3) calling on the Organization of American States to prohibit the shipment to Cuba of arms from any outside source. He concluded that “something forceful and determined must be done.... The time has come for a showdown for in a year or two years the situation will be vastly worse.”

[Fidel Castro](#) formally declared his revolution to be “socialist.” In [Havana](#), ten counterrevolutionaries, including Humberto Sori Marin, Manuel Puig, and Regelio Gonzalez Corso, faced [firing squads](#) for treason.

It seems that an American businessman, Howard F. Anderson, was swept up in this and also faced a [firing squad](#) on this day, on the probably inaccurate presumption that he had been aiding an anti-Castro group.

April 20, Thursday: A Turkish court on Yassiada Island convicted former President Celal Bayar and former Prime Minister Adnan Menderes of violating the constitution.

[Cuban](#) forces crushed the Bay of Pigs invasion (200 or 300 of the invaders were killed, 1,179 surrendered).

Mass op.84 for chorus by Vincent Persichetti was performed for the initial time, in Carnegie Hall, New York.

Symphonic Prelude by Walter Piston was performed for the initial time, in Cleveland.

April 21, Friday: [Havana](#) newspapers reported that 14,000 had been arrested since the start of the Bay of Pigs invasion, 31 of whom had been executed.

Police and soldiers battled anti-US demonstrators who were attempting to march on the National Palace in [Mexico City](#). 150 were injured, 200 arrested.

April 24, Monday: Moved by President de Gaulle’s speech, many French troops in Algeria began changing their minds about the recent putsch. De Gaulle ordered a total blockade of Algeria. At midnight, as things begin to crumble, the 4 generals attempted to speak to the civil population from the balcony of the Gouvernement-Général in Algiers. However, their microphone failed to work.

In a Jerusalem court, the prosecution began its case against Adolf Eichmann.

President Joseph Kasavubu convened a conference of 200 political and tribal leaders of the Congo in Coquilhatville, to discuss the future of the nation. Only Antoine Gizenga was not present.

[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) took full responsibility for “Operation Zapata,” the Bay of Pigs invasion, and for its failure. The operation had been a covert US paramilitary operation pretending to be by Cuban exiles who intended to overthrow [Fidel Castro](#)’s government, but US fingers had been visible throughout, right up to our President’s eventual decision to refuse the necessary air cover. A journalist, Joseph McBride, would be suggesting that George H.W. Bush’s Zapata Offshore Oil Company had been used as a front for this and other CIA operations, and indeed the operation had been planned and orchestrated by several alumni of Yale’s Skull and Bones secret society, a society which indeed boasted as members 3 generations of Bushes. Even though a November 1963 memo states that “Mr. George Bush of the Central Intelligence Agency” had been briefed by J. Edgar Hoover on “the post-assassination reaction of [Cuban](#) exiles in Miami” following the Kennedy assassination, the CIA would deny any involvement with Bush prior to his becoming its head in 1976 (I believe that, you believe that, right?).

In Venice, 3 of the 4 movements of Jeux Vénitiens for chamber orchestra by Witold Lutoslawski, were



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performed for the initial time. Also premiered was Fonogrammi for flute and chamber orchestra by Krzysztof Penderecki.

In the Kilbourn Hall of Rochester, New York, Overture for orchestra by Charles T. Griffes was performed for the initial time, conducted by Howard Hanson 56 years after it was composed.

Symphony no.9 by Heitor Villa-Lobos was performed for the initial time, in Washington DC.

The Swedish warship *Vasa* had capsized hours into its maiden voyage on August 10th, 1628, drowning 30, and had been rediscovered in 1956 by Anders Franzén off of the island of Beckholmen, quite well-preserved. On this day the hull was raised from its bed and it is now in a museum in Stockholm.

When Honduras broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#), 2,000 citizens demonstrate in Tegucigalpa against this.

April 27/28, Thursday/Friday: While at a Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) meeting in Ankara, Turkey, Secretary of State Dean Rusk privately raised to Turkish Foreign Minister Salim Sarper the possibility that US Jupiter missiles with [nuclear](#) warheads might be withdrawn from Turkey. Sarper pointed out that this would embarrass the Turkish administration because the Turkish Parliament has just approved appropriations for the missiles and they would need to inform the Parliament that the Jupiters were being withdrawn. Upon returning to Washington DC, [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) would debrief Rusk on his discussion with the Turkish Foreign Minister and accept the idea of some delay in removing the Jupiters.

June 1, Thursday: This had been set tentatively, as the target date for installation of the 1st US [ICBM](#) launch site in Turkey.

June 3/4, Saturday/Sunday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) met privately with Premier Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna. On the 2d day of the summit Khrushchev delivered an ultimatum on the status of Berlin, a continuing source of tension between the two superpowers. He threatened to “normalize” the situation in Berlin (and consequently cut Allied access to West Berlin) if the city’s status wasn’t resolved within 6 months. Kennedy told reporters after the meeting that Khrushchev’s demands had made the prospects for war “very real,” and described the meeting as “the worst thing in my life.”

June 13, Tuesday: General Maxwell Taylor submitted his report on US limited war programs, something that [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) had ordered following the Bay of Pigs invasion. Concluding that there was “no long term living with [Castro](#) as a neighbor” and that [Cuban](#) subversion “constitutes a real menace” to Latin American nations, Taylor called for the creation of a new program of action against [Cuba](#), possibly employing a full range of political, military, economic, and psychological tactics.

August 28, Monday: A Most Wanted Bulletin would be promulgated in Charlotte, [North Carolina](#), signed of course by none other than [FBI](#) Director [J. Edgar Hoover](#), charging [Robert F. Williams](#) with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution on a charge of “kidnapping.”



BLACKMAILER-IN-CHIEF

It is not clear that there was ever any basis for such an accusation — when eventually the fugitive would be taken into custody and extradited, the authorities would immediately desist from such a prosecution. The accused would nevertheless for an extended duration be forced to flee, first to Canada, then to [Mexico](#), then to [Cuba](#), where he would make regular radio addresses on “Radio Free Dixie” (a station enabled by Dr. [Fidel Castro](#)), and issue a newspaper, [The Crusader](#). During this period in Cuba, also, he would be writing NEGROES WITH GUNS.

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IDENTIFICATION  
ORDER NO. 3506  
August 31, 1961

# Wanted by FBI


## INTERSTATE FLIGHT - KIDNAPING

## ROBERT FRANKLIN WILLIAMS


FBI No.  
84,275 B

ALIASES: BOB WILLIAMS, ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

19 L I R IOO 8 Ref: T R T  
M I T IO A A T



Photograph taken May, 1961



*Robert Franklin Williams*

**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 36, born February 26, 1925, Monroe, North Carolina  
 HEIGHT: 6' COMPLEXION: dark brown  
 WEIGHT: 240 pounds RACE: Negro  
 BUILD: heavy NATIONALITY: American  
 HAIR: black OCCUPATIONS: free lance  
 EYES: brown writer, freight handler,  
 janitor, machinist

SCARS AND MARKS: scar left eyelid, scar left nostril, scar on calf of right leg.

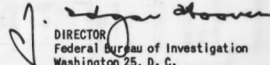
**CAUTION**

WILLIAMS ALLEGEDLY HAS POSSESSED A LARGE QUANTITY OF FIREARMS, INCLUDING A .45 CALIBER PISTOL WHICH HE CARRIES IN HIS CAR. HE HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN DIAGNOSED AS SCHIZOPHRENIC AND HAS ADVOCATED AND THREATENED VIOLENCE. WILLIAMS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

A Federal warrant was issued on August 28, 1961, at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging Williams with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for kidnaping (Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 1073).

**IF YOU HAVE INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE NOTIFY ME OR CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. PHONE NUMBER IS LISTED BELOW. OTHER OFFICES ARE LISTED ON BACK.**

IDENTIFICATION  
ORDER NO. 3506



DIRECTOR  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.



August 28, Monday: A Most Wanted Bulletin would be promulgated in Charlotte, [North Carolina](#), signed of course by none other than [FBI](#) Director [J. Edgar Hoover](#), charging [Robert F. Williams](#) with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution on a charge of “kidnapping.”



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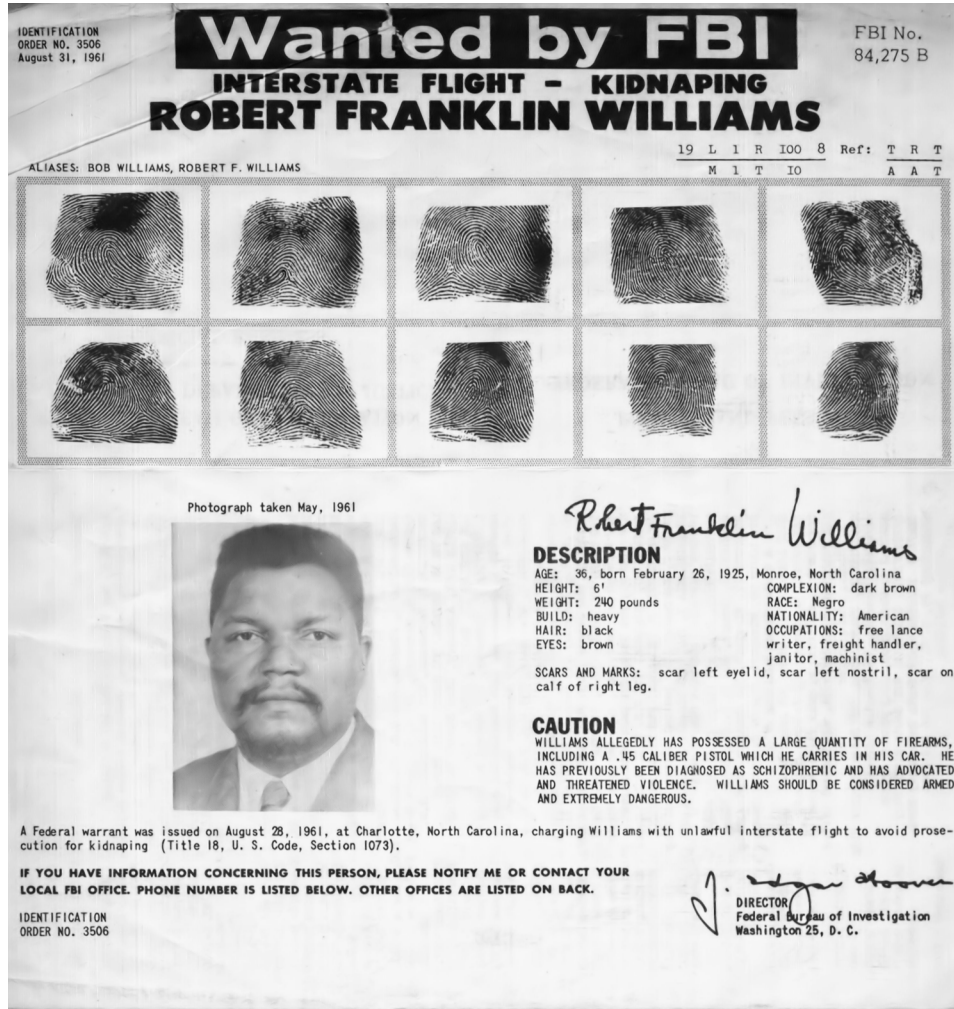
September 17, Sunday: In elections for the West German Bundestag, major gains were posted by the Free Democrats and Social Democrats, forcing Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to forge a 3-party center/right coalition between his Christian Democrats, allied Christian Social Union, and the Free Democrats.

351 people were arrested on the previous day and on this day while demonstrating at the Holy Loch Polaris base in Britain. A further 1,140 would be arrested on this day and the following one during demonstrations in Trafalgar Square, London.

Former Prime Minister of Turkey Adnan Menderes was hanged on Imrali Island for a number of crimes, including violating the constitution.

The [Cuban](#) government was deporting 136 Roman Catholic priests, including Bishop of [Havana](#) Eduardo Boza Masvidal. On this day they departed for Spain.

September 21, Thursday: An inter-agency report on Soviet [nuclear](#) capabilities, National Intelligence Estimate 11-8/1-61, was disseminated within the government. This NIE and later intelligence reports showed for the 1st time that the Soviet [ICBM](#) program had been far less productive than previously estimated. Only some 10 to 25 Soviet ICBMs on launchers were believed to actually have been constructed, plus, no major increase in Soviet ICBM capability was to be anticipated in the near future.



October 21, Saturday: In a major speech cleared by Rusk, Bundy, and [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#), Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric publicly deflated the “missile gap” hypothesis — the theory that the United States of America had fallen dangerously behind the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in its [nuclear](#) capabilities. He informed an audience in Hot Springs, Virginia that we actually possessed a substantially more deadly arsenal than they had any realistic expectation of being able to achieve.

November 11, Saturday: Mutinous Congolese troops captured 13 Italian airmen in Kindu, Kivu Province. They shot them and dismember their bodies, heaving the pieces into the crowd that had assembled.

It was namechanging time in the USSR and [Stalingrad](#) became Volgograd, [Stalino](#) Donetsk, [Stalinabad](#) Dushanbe, and [Stalinsk](#) Novokuznetsk. Reports circulated in Moscow that former Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov, former Prime Minister Georgi Malenkov, and former Deputy Prime Minister Lazar Kaganovich had been expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after being identified as part of a 1957 conspiracy to bring down Nikitia Khrushchev.

Venezuela broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#), alleging interference in internal affairs.

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November 30, Thursday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) authorized a major new covert action program aimed at overthrowing the government of [Cuba](#). The new program, codenamed [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#), would be directed by counterinsurgency specialist and Air Force Major General Edward Geary Lansdale under the guidance of Attorney General Robert Kennedy. A high-level interagency group, the Special Group – Augmented (SG-A), was created with the sole purpose of overseeing this buccaneering adventure.



December: From the [Cambridge Friends Bulletin](#): “[Joan Baez, Jr.](#) continues to receive acclaim for her folk singing. The third record of her songs has been released and she is now on a concert tour. Early in November she sang at two concerts in Jordan hall in Boston. Both records and concerts have received warm and favorable reviews.”<sup>304</sup>



JOAN BAEZ

During late 1961 or early 1962, [William King Harvey](#) took charge of Task Force W, the CIA division involved in [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#). Task Force W operated under guidance from [Special Group-Augmented \(SG-A\)](#) and subsequently would involve approximately 400 Americans at CIA headquarters and its Miami station, in addition to about 2,000 Cubans, a private navy of speedboats, and an annual budget of some \$50,000,000. Task Force W carried out a wide range of activities, mostly against [Cuban](#) ships and aircraft outside [Cuba](#) (and non-Cuban ships engaged in Cuban trade), such as contaminating shipments of sugar from [Cuba](#) and tampering with industrial products imported into the country.

304. The convention in this [Quaker](#) publication is to underscore the names of members and associate members of the monthly meeting.



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December 2, Saturday: [Cuban](#) leader [Fidel Castro](#) declared “I am a Marxist-Leninist, and I will be a Marxist-Leninist until the last days of my life.”

14 blacks were arrested at a restaurant in Annapolis, Maryland when they refused to leave after being refused service.

December 9, Saturday: There were British demonstrations against [nuclear weapons](#) in Cardiff, York, Manchester, and Bristol, and outside three US air bases in Britain. 850 of the demonstrators were arrested.

In one of the closest elections in Australian history, the Liberal/Country coalition won 62 seats while the Labor Party won 60, thus returning the government of Prime Minister Robert Menzies to power.

Tanganyika, under Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Julius Nyerere, proclaimed its independence from Great Britain.

After unsuccessful attempts by Swedish UN troops in blue helmets to take possession of the radio station in Elisabethville radio, UN jets (from India as well as from Sweden) struck it from the air. They also made an air strike on the post office building in which Katangan troops were massing for an attack.

Colombia severed diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

A general strike that had been in effect in the Dominican Republic since November 28th ended.

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy’s panel on mental retardation recommended nationwide enactment of state laws requiring phenylketonuria testing at birth, in an attempt to combat one form of mental retardation through early detection.<sup>305</sup>

December 14, Thursday: Tanganyika was admitted to the United Nations.

Panama broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

Collected Poems for soprano, baritone and piano by Virgil Thomson to words of Koch, are performed for the initial time, in Carnegie Recital Hall, [New York](#).

Trio for flute, cello and piano no.1 by Charles Wuorinen was performed for the initial time, at Barnard College, New York, with the composer at the keyboard.



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The [Irish](#) Border Campaign wound down, with 19 dead. The Irish Republican Army, rejected by the nationalist community, retreated into Marxist ideology.

The Pentagon presented to [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) its “Remember the Maine” plan to kill innocent Americans and blame [Fidel Castro](#) as a pretext for invading [Cuba](#): “We could blow up a US ship in Guantánamo Bay and blame Cuba.... Casualty lists in U.S. newspapers would cause a helpful wave of national indignation,” quote unquote. Despite the fact that each and every Joint Chiefs of Staff had signed off on this “Operation Northwoods” plan, it would be nixed by our civilian leadership. “The whole point of a democracy is to have leaders responding to the public will,” author James Bamford would relate to ABC News in May, 2001, “and here this is the complete reverse, the military trying to trick the American people into a war that they want but that nobody else wants.”

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy instituted a “quarantine” on the shipment of offensive missiles to Cuba from the Soviet Union. He also warned Soviet Union that the launching of any missile from Cuba against nations in the Western Hemisphere would bring about US nuclear retaliation on the Soviet Union. A negotiated settlement was achieved in a few days.

**US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS**



From October 1962 until 1976, the United States would be playing a military support role to the regime in Laos.

**Our Perennial Quest to Do Harm So Good Will Come**

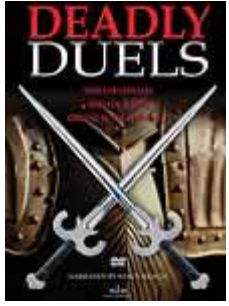
<u>Extermination of the Pequot Tribe</u>	<u>1634-1637</u>
<u>“King Phillip’s” Race War</u>	<u>1675-1676</u>
<u>The War of 1812</u>	<u>1812-1815</u>
<u>The Revolution of the Texians</u>	<u>1835-1836</u>
<u>War on Mejico</u>	<u>1846-1848</u>
<u>Race War in the Wild West</u>	<u>1862-1863</u>
<u>The War for the Union</u>	<u>1862-1865</u>
<u>War to End War</u>	<u>1916-1919</u>
<u>Stopping Hitler</u>	<u>1940-1945</u>
<u>The Korean Police Action</u>	<u>1950-1953</u>
<u>Helping South Vietnam be Free</u>	<u>1959-1975</u>
<u>Cuban Missile Crisis</u>	<u>1962</u>
<u>yada</u>	<u>XXXX</u>
<u>yada yada</u>	<u>XXXX</u>
<u>yada yada yada</u>	<u>XXXX</u>







"To be active, well, happy, implies rare courage. To be ready to fight in a duel or a battle implies desperation, or that you hold your life cheap."  
 — Henry Thoreau





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January 1, Monday: [Havana](#)'s New Year's parade provided US intelligence with reliable baseline data on Soviet arms deliveries to [Cuba](#). Aircraft on display by the Cuban Revolutionary Air Force were estimated to include around 60 Soviet fighters, primarily MiG-15s and MiG-17s plus a few somewhat more advanced MiG-19s. We presumed that a few helicopters and light transport aircraft had also been provided.

The Independent State of Western Samoa, under joint heads of state Tupua Tamasese Meaole and Malietoa Tanumafili II and Prime Minister Fiame Mata'afa Faumuina Mulin'u II, was proclaimed independent of New Zealand.

A new Council of State headed by President Joaquín Balaguer took power in the Dominican Republic.

Marauding Congolese soldiers and Baluba tribesmen murdered 19 Roman Catholic missionaries in Kongolo, Katanga.

William Schuman entered upon new duties as President of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York.

January 3, Wednesday: The official break of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and [Cuba](#).

In Algeria, 41 were killed and 74 injured in terrorist attacks.

January 18, Thursday: Edward Lansdale outlined a scheme under [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) aimed at the overthrow of the [Fidel Castro](#) government of [Cuba](#). 32 planning tasks, ranging from sabotage actions to intelligence activities, were assigned to the federal government agencies that would be entangled in such a buccaneering scheme. The program was designed to develop a "strongly motivated political action movement" within Cuba capable of generating a revolt eventually leading to the downfall of the Castro government. Lansdale imagined that in the final stages of an uprising the support of the United States of America would become overt, including, if necessary, the use of direct military force.

The United States military began using herbicides such as "[Agent Orange](#)" on the jungles of Vietnam. We weren't much concerned, at the time, with the known fact that the manufacturing process contaminated the chemical product with [TCDD dioxin](#), one of the very most highly toxic and persistent environmental organic pollutants.



Over the next week, 35 bombs set by conservative extremists would be going off in and around Paris (these folks were opposing President de Gaulle's insufficiently hard-line policies in Algeria).

A group of air force officers overthrew the junta that had taken power 2 days earlier in Dominica, restoring the Council of State led by Rafael Filiberto Bonnelly.



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January 19, Friday: The [SG-A](#) met in the office of Attorney-General Robert Kennedy. Some notes by CIA representative George McManus have become available: “Conclusion Overthrow of Castro is Possible ... a solution to the Cuban problem today carried top priority in U.S. Gov. No time, money, effort — or manpower is to be spared. Yesterday ... the president indicated to [his brother] that the final chapter had not been written — it’s got to be done and will be done” (the CIA note-taker placed that phrase “top priority in the U.S. government — no time, money ... to be spared” in the mouth of the Attorney-General).

In Geneva, 3 Laotian princes heading warring factions agreed on a coalition government for Laos.

In Berlin, Bara for orchestra by Isang Yun was performed for the initial time.

Igor Stravinsky and his wife were guests of [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) and Mrs. Kennedy at the White House in Washington DC, along with other artists.

January 25, Thursday: Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo and a group of members of the Second Front of Escanbray, [Cuba](#) during the revolution arrived in Key West, Florida on a fleet of 3 fishing boats.

The West Berlin government revealed that the tunnel used by 28 East Berliners to escape to the west has been discovered by East German police.

14 bombs exploded at the homes of important French leaders in Paris.

President Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes announced a state of siege in Guatemala following the events of the previous day.

Most of Caracas was reported calm after the violence that had broken out on January 22d. At least 40 people had been killed, and 820 arrested.

Bold Island Suite by Howard Hanson was performed for the initial time, in Severence Hall, Cleveland.

January 31, Wednesday: Foreign ministers of the Organizaton of American States meeting in Punta del Este, Uruguay had voted to exclude [Cuba](#) “from participation in the inter-American system.”

Lieutenant Commander Samuel Gravely took command of the *USS Falgout* at Pearl Harbor, as the 1st black serviceman to command a US warship.

Early in the year, graduating from the Marine Officer Candidate Course at Quantico, Virginia, I put on my new Marine Officer green dress uniform (with special padding built into its left shoulder to make me appear slightly more presentable), and someone pinned the bright yellow 2d-Lieutenant bars on my epaulets, and attired in my new uniform with its new decorations I went on leave back to my family in Indiana. At the military airport near [Washington DC](#), I was assigned to an aircraft that I took to be a C123, that was out on the runway. As I slung my duffel bag over my shoulder inside the building, a group of enlisted people standing around me, not travelers but military workers at this airport, and began to haze me, professing to believe that what I had on was a Coast Guard uniform, and professing to believe that the brown Marine globe-and-anchor insignia on my uniform cap was a Coast Guard insignia. They taunted me with these “jokes” until they got me good and riled up and then they set me running toward the aircraft warming up out on the dark runway, and I lurched in that

direction carrying my heavy duffel bag over my shoulder in a high state of agitation.



It was late in the evening, raining, almost dark, and the runway was unlit. They were chasing after me, yelling in derision. It was almost as if they were herding me. As I neared the aircraft from the rear, someone inside opened the entry port in the fuselage and leaned out and began to wave and scream at me. Just at the last moment I was deterred by a curious blur in the air and I passed to the side of the rotating propeller, and then this man had me by the shoulder strap of my duffel bag and was jerking me in through the port. He was a Lieutenant Colonel and proceeded to give me a good dressing down. What kind of fool was I? Had I not seen that rotating propeller? I had almost lost my head and shoulders, he mentioned repeatedly — they had almost been turned into a spray of hamburger. I looked out the door and the people who had been chasing me and yelling at me had disappeared.

There was no seat inside the aircraft for me. It was carrying a load of pipe and boards and I had to find a place to stretch out atop this strapped-down pile of cargo, directly on top of the sloping cargo ramp in the floor of the ass-end of the aircraft.

As we flew through the night, I saw something curious. In order to verify our flight path, one of the crewmen opened a little round hole in the top of the fuselage, poked the top of a marine sextant through this hole, and took a sighting on the stars.

We landed to my surprise at a military base in New Orleans and I was left to figure out how I had been directed to a flight to New Orleans rather than to Indiana, in a military cargo aircraft that was loaded down with the pipes and boards of a set of portable bleachers and didn't even have seats. Gradually I began to pull the pieces





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together and suspect that I hadn't really been expected to make it onto that aircraft. The purpose of the hazing and excitement as I was directed toward the aircraft in the dark, with it standing there on the dark runway with its propellers already swiftly rotating, had been to herd me to my death. Thus it hadn't mattered that this was a flight that didn't have seats, and it hadn't mattered that this was a flight heading elsewhere. I was supposed to be lying dead in the morgue in Washington, and therefore no longer an embarrassment to the service. The only reason I was alive was that that Lieutenant Colonel had not been a party to the plot, and had at the last moment seen me approaching past that whirling propeller and had reacted instantly to save another Marine's life.

(But who could I report this to? –Was I to file a complaint to the people who had tried to kill me, that they had tried to kill me and shame on them? Obviously, I just had to eat this, and try to be more cautious in the future. And then again, maybe I imagined the whole thing, or maybe the whole thing had been an innocent coincidence. Maybe as they were chasing after me and yelling at me, they hadn't actually been attempting to steer me into the invisible rotating propeller. Maybe, when I was going to Indiana, I had been directed to an aircraft destined for New Orleans — by some sort of innocent inattention. Maybe I had been directed to a loaded-down cargo aircraft without any seats as some sort of mistake. Maybe the hazing and excitement had been nothing at all, a figment of the imagination.)

In order to improve my appearance in uniform, my superiors at Marine Corps Schools – Quantico send me to Bethesda Naval Hospital in [Maryland](#) for mandatory cosmetic surgery. (Cosmetic surgery at government expense is not only never mandatory, it is normally very rigorously prohibited. This would qualify me, perhaps, as the only citizen ever **ordered** to undergo, at the government's expense, appearance-enhancement surgery. In order to justify this they pretended there had been a training accident. They certified that I had been injured by a bounds stake driven by a quarter-pound block of explosives during a live-fire training exercise.) The doctors at the hospital took a look at me and knew that they would be able to do nothing about his spinal twist, which would not disable me for function as an active duty officer — but had the bright idea that at least they could help me by fixing the fact that I needed to keep my mouth open all the time in order to breathe –I had been unable to breathe through my nose since being stomped in gym class in high school– by performing what is termed “DVS” surgery. I would be in this hospital for this relatively minor operation (relatively minor, compared to the spinal surgery which my superior officers presumed to be occurring) only for two or three weeks. The radical turbinatoplasty in which all my turbinate bones would be cut away was of course to be performed while I was conscious.<sup>306</sup>

How this came to be arranged may be of interest. I was out on a live-fire exercise with the company, at Basic School, when unexpectedly our company commander barked out my name and put me in charge of the frontal assault unit. We lay down a base of fire and leapfrog-assaulted across a valley, at an “enemy” machine gun position on the opposing hill firing blanks — and I had, I thought, carried this off but then unexpectedly at the end of this exercise I was called to attention, denounced, and charged with **disobedience to orders**. It was loudly alleged that I had taken the unit outside the defined perimeter of the operation. There was a dirt road stretching across the valley toward the enemy position, and two of my marines had at one point darted into the cover offered by this ditch across this road rather than proceed directly forward. Their spontaneous movement was being held against me, as a deliberate disobedience since that dirt road had been described to me in advance by my commanding officer as the left margin of my field of operations. Once again I was to face courtmartial for disobedience to orders — on and on like that. (Unless you've yourself stood at attention and taken this sort of verbal abuse, you can't imagine.)

However, on the march back in from the field that night, to my amazement, I was approached by my company commander. First he buddied up to me by attempting a joke: “Lieutenant Meredith, do you know what an atomic fart is? —It's a fart with fallout.” At first I was supposing that this was going to lead up to more abuse

306. Later, my personal physician at the University of California Medical Clinic has commented to me (this was during the 1990s) that I was certainly lucky that they did not attempt spinal surgery, back in the early 1960s, as such operations are simply no longer performed. –The track record is that these surgical intercessions to the lumbar spine, and the screws and metal strips that were then being inserted, typically did no good and often over the long run weakened the bone structures they were designed to strengthen and straighten. My physician said “You would never have recovered as you have, had such an operation been attempted.”

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of the sort I had been receiving all that day — or perhaps, since farts come out of one’s ass, it was going to be a leadup to a reference to my huge ass? —But no, as it turned out, the captain was merely trying to break the ice. He had an apology he needed to get off his chest. What had happened that day had been a setup. He had been told in advance by his battalion superiors, “Get Lieutenant Meredith. He has no business being in the Corps.” He apologized abjectly, with crestfallen face. He had caved to this pressure and had attacked me in an entirely unwarranted manner and he felt personally dishonored by his obedience to his orders from his superior officers.

We discussed the situation. It was a situation that had arisen due to my appearance in uniform. Consider what a problem Franco Alfano would have had in signing Placido Domingo as lead tenor, if he had chosen to write an opera about “Cyrano de Bergerac,” a great guy whose body problem is not a putty prosthesis of a protruding nose but a padded prosthesis of a protruding ass and tailbone.<sup>307</sup> The only way for him to protect

307. On the Greek stage, in antiquity, slaves had been portrayed wearing a very brief Greek costume over a body stocking which was stuffed, at belly and ass, to produce unseemly bulges. (They also wore a standard repulsive face mask, and a huge hanging leather apparatus mimicking exposed male genitals.)





me was to get me the hell away from there. What to do? The scheme to send me off to Bethesda Naval Hospital grew out of this. Originally the scheme would be to subject me to spinal surgery, and that plan did not change to the far less drastic nasal surgery until after I had been checked in to that military hospital and the surgeons there had had a chance to evaluate what was being proposed by the brass at Marine Corps Schools – Quantico. The radical turbinatoplasty was what one might term a compromise solution between the officers involved, one that would satisfy the demand being placed by the Marine higher-ups while at the same time satisfying the Navy surgical officer and his hospital Colonel by not doing me any great permanent harm.

I’ll never forget that joke about the atomic fart! I’ll never forget that Marine Lieutenant Colonel waving me in next to the fuselage of the C123 as I moved past that invisible whirling propeller!

ASSLEY

February: From the Cambridge Friends Bulletin: “[Albert Baez’s] daughter, Joan Baez, is visiting now with her mother in Paris. She sang recently to a large number of students in the American Church there.”<sup>308</sup>



John Geoghan was ordained as a priest (Blessed Sacrament, Saugus, Massachusetts), and commenced a joyous streak of raping over 150 boys for the following 33 years. During this time he would be bounced between parishes in Saugus, Concord, Hingham, Jamaica Plain, Dorchester, and Weston. At nearly every parish, he would be accused of raping boys, and in every case of accusation the Boston Archdiocese would proceed to move Geoghan to another Parish. At various times, the touchy-feeley father would be given therapy or counseling, but this apparently doesn’t “take.” Geoghan would be defrocked in 1998, and would later be sent to prison for a single proved crime (many of the cases have gone well past their Statute of Limitations), and would ultimately be strangled in prison.

The US Joint Chiefs of Staff mandated that the completion of the contingency plans for military action against Cuba were a “first priority.” Be there or be square, guys!

February 3, Saturday: President John Fitzgerald Kennedy imposed an almost total embargo on trade with Cuba, effective February 7th.

308. The convention in this Quaker publication is to underscore the names of members and associate members of the monthly meeting.



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February 8, Thursday: There were widespread protests in Paris by leftists, against the recent bombings. French police attacked the protesters, killing 8.

By presidential order, virtually all US trade with [Cuba](#) came to a halt.

Argentina broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

February 15, Thursday: Buzzing incidents continued in the air corridors leading to Berlin, after the western powers rejected a 5th Soviet demand.

Uruguay decided to retain its diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

A Solemn Music for orchestra by Virgil Thomson was performed for the 1st time, in [New York](#), conducted by Nadia Boulanger.

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February 16, Friday: There was a severe windstorm in northern West Germany that breached dikes and produced severe flooding in coastal areas (315 were killed, 60,000 homes destroyed). Hamburg was particularly hard hit.

Symphony no.12 "Rural" by Darius Milhaud was performed for the initial time, at the University of California, Davis.

Lino Fernandez and 500 of his followers, who had resisted the [Cuban](#) revolution, were captured and imprisoned in Santa Clara.





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February 26, Monday: The Irish Republican Army announced that it was ending its violent campaign against British occupation of Northern [Ireland](#).

Europeans with machine guns mowed down 13 Muslims on a street in Algiers.

The United States Supreme Court ruled racial segregation of public transportation to be unconstitutional.

At a UN press conference, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valerian A. Zorin pointed out that in Vietnam the US was getting “bogged down in a very disadvantageous and politically unjustified war.”

Astronaut John Glenn addressed a joint session of the US Congress.

The [SG-A](#) sharply reduced the scale of the “[Cuba Project](#).” Edward Lansdale was directed to develop a detailed plan to transform his [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) into merely an intelligence-gathering activity.

March 1, Thursday: The [SG-A](#) assured itself that the immediate objective of Edward Lansdale’s “[Cuba Project](#)” was going to be intelligence collection and intelligence collection only, and that any other actions needed to be not only inconspicuous but also consistent with the US’s overt policy, which was no more than isolating [Fidel Castro](#) in the hemisphere and neutralizing [Cuban](#) influence. Hey, no more cowboy stuff, hear?

At least 10 violations of [Cuban](#) airspace by hostile airplanes were reported.

Pakistan adopted a new constitution calling for a presidential form of government.

Great Britain granted internal self-government to Uganda and Benedicto Kiwanuka was sworn in as Prime Minister.

A federal judge in Macon, Georgia determined that the Georgia state laws forbidding the racial integration of buses were unconstitutional.

March 9, Friday: President of Ecuador Josh Maria Velasco Ibarra revealed that the US was demanding as a condition to the approval of various loans that his country break off all diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

The US State Department confirmed that US pilots were flying combat-training missions over South Vietnam.

Fantasy and Variations for piano and orchestra by Norman Dello Joio was performed for the initial time, in Cincinnati.

Water! Water!, a satirical intermission by Harry Partch to his own words, was performed for the initial time, at the University of Illinois, Urbana.



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March 13, Tuesday: As an anti-terrorism measure the French government banned all civilian flights except those by regularly scheduled airlines.

Magnificat and Nunc dimittis for chorus and organ by Michael Tippett was performed for the initial time, in Cambridge.

The NBC news program The Land with music by Ulysses Kay was shown for the initial time, over the airwaves of the network.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff (the USA's top military leaders) had all signed off on a plan to trick the American public into supporting another invasion of [Cuba](#) to oust the island's then new leader, [Fidel Castro](#), a Commie symp. They were to accomplish this by orchestrating covert military acts of violent terrorism in US cities, murdering innocent citizens:

[C]asualty lists in US newspapers would cause a helpful wave of national indignation.

Every one of the Joint Chiefs having given written approval of this "Operation Northwoods" plan, on this day they pitched it to [Robert Strange McNamara](#), [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#)'s defense secretary, for final approval. They urged him to provide them with political support in the assassination of Cuban émigrés, the sinking of boatloads of Cuban refugees on the high seas, the hijacking of planes, and the blowing up a US ship *à la* the battleship *Maine* and the Spanish/American War:

We could blow up a U.S. ship in Guantánamo Bay and blame Cuba.

The Joint Chiefs even suggested to the Secretary of Defense that if Marine Lieutenant Colonel John H. Glenn, Jr. should happen to get blown away during our 1st attempt to rocket an American into orbit in a space capsule, we could use this as a false pretext for our coming war upon Cuba by announcing that those nasty Cubans had shot our right-stuff guy out of the sky:

[T]he objective is to provide irrevocable proof ... that the fault lies with the Communists et all Cuba [*sic*].

The Joint Chiefs were at the time headed by an [Eisenhower](#) appointee, the Army General Lyman L. Lemnitzer. Details of the plan are now available in *BODY OF SECRETS*, a book by investigative reporter James Bamford issued by Doubleday. There is no doubt about this. Bamford points out that we now have the actual documents:

These were Joint Chiefs of Staff documents. The reason these were held secret for so long is the Joint Chiefs never wanted to give these up because they were so embarrassing. The whole point of a democracy is to have leaders responding to the public will, and here this is the complete reverse, the military trying to trick the American people into a war that they want but that nobody else wants.

**US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS**



## CUBA

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March 14, Wednesday: India formally annexed Goa, Diu, and Damão.

A meeting of 17 nations to discuss disarmament convened in Geneva under UN auspices.

Three of the 15 études pour alto saxophone et piano op.188 by Charles Koechlin were performed for the initial time, in Brussels.

Serenade for flute, clarinet, harp, viola and cello by Thea Musgrave was performed for the initial time, in London.

Guidelines for [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) drafted by Maxwell Taylor were approved by the [SG-A](#). They noted that the United States would attempt to “make maximum use of indigenous resources” in trying to overthrow [Fidel Castro](#) but recognize that “final success will require decisive U.S. military intervention.” Indigenous resources would act to “prepare and justify this intervention, and thereafter to facilitate and support it.” Kennedy would be briefed on the guidelines for this US conquest of [Cuba](#) on March 16th.

March 16, Friday: Syrian guns opened fire on Israelis on the Sea of Galilee for a 3d time.

Strikes called by conservative terrorists paralyzed most Algerian cities. In Algiers, terrorist attacks killed 30.

[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) personally informed General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, chairman of his Joint Chiefs of Staff, that the military’s “Operation Northwoods” plan to plan to trick the American public into supporting another invasion of [Cuba](#) to oust Dr. [Fidel Castro](#), by our military’s orchestrating covert acts of violent terrorism in US cities, murdering innocent citizens, simply wasn’t going to be allowed. There was virtually no possibility of ever using overt force to take Cuba, the President informed the General. Within months, Kennedy would refuse to approve Lemnitzer for another term as chairman and would transfer him to a less powerful job. However, even after General Lemnitzer had been deposed from his position of power, at least through the year 1963, the Joint Chiefs continued to plan “pretext” operations that, in combination with yellow journalism, would justify a US military invasion of Cuba. One of their hot ideas would be to create a war between Cuba and some other country in Latin American, so that the United States could “intervene.” Another hot idea would be to bribe some Cuban military commander to fire on our Guantánamo naval base. Another hot idea would be to fly U-2 spy planes over Cuba at such low altitudes that one would for sure get shot down: “Hey you guys, take a free shot!” Their was no end to this madness.

At the time there was a national election going on and there were reports that US military leaders were encouraging subordinates to vote to dump the Kennedys. (I can personally testify, for what this is worth, that, at least in the USMC, such reports were accurate.)

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)





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March 18, Sunday: A truce between French colonial and Algerian rebel forces was agreed to at Evian-les-Bains. France would retain sovereignty until a popular referendum on the future of the region. In a nationwide address, President de Gaulle asked his citizens to support the pact. In a broadcast from Tunis, Prime Minister Benyousséf Ben Khedda of the provisional government of Algeria ordered his troops to stop fighting. Five members of the rebel Algerian cabinet were released by France and flown to Geneva. The Secret Army Organization (conservative terrorists) declared war on the French government and on this peace agreement.

Dmitri Shostakovich was elected as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet for Leningrad.

Perónists scored victories in provincial and congressional elections in Argentina.

A number of leaders opposing the [Cuban](#) revolution were arrested at a strategy meeting in Miramar, including Humberto Sori Marin, Manuel Puig, and Regelio Gonzalez Corso.

March 22, Thursday: Conservative terrorists attacked French security forces at 3 places in Algiers. 3 were killed and 3 wounded. 6 Muslims were killed by conservative terrorists elsewhere in Algiers.

Several exiled key leaders of the [Cuban](#) Revolution formed a “Cuban Revolutionary Council” presided over by José Miró Cardona (he had been the 1st prime minister of the Cuban revolutionary government during January/February 1959). Additional members included Antonio Varona, Manuel Ray and José Pérez San Román.

March 29, Thursday: Senate President José María Guido became acting President of Argentina.

20,000 French troops were withdrawn from a European district of Algiers after arresting 3,500.

[Cuban](#) soldiers arrested CIA agent Carlos Antonio Rodríguez Cabo, AKA “El Gallego,” accusing him of various acts of terrorism.

April: A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: Spacewar! was completed on the PDP-1.

The US Jupiter [nuclear](#)-warheaded missiles in Turkey had become operational. All positions were reported “ready,” and manned by US personnel.

April 3, Tuesday: French conservative military terrorists entered a Muslim clinic and opened up with their machine guns. They killed 10 patients and wounded 7. They then blew up part of the clinic.

A federal judge in New Orleans struck down a Louisiana pupil-placement law and ordered that by its Fall term New Orleans must have desegregated the 1st 6 grades of its school.

Ecuador broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#), Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

The City Commission of Birmingham, Alabama voted to withhold its share of the cost of a county program that was distributing surplus food to those in need (90% of the recipients of the program had been black). This action was a retaliation against the boycott of downtown businesses by black citizens.



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April 7, Saturday: A 12-member (9 Muslims and 3 Europeans) provisional executive for Algeria was installed at Rocher Noir near Algiers. Communications between Rocher Noir and Algiers were cut by conservative terrorist bombs. Random conservative terrorist shootings in Algiers and Oran killed 18.

The 1,179 counter-revolutionaries who participated in the Bay of Pigs invasion of [Cuba](#) were sentenced to 30 years in prison.

April 9, Monday: Suite de Ballet for flute and piano by Ralph Vaughan Williams was performed publicly for the initial time, over the airwaves of the BBC Home Service.

In Miami, a federal grand jury indicted Rolando Masferrer for an abortive invasion of [Cuba](#) on October 4th, 1960. The alleged attack violated the Neutrality Act which forbade the launching of any military expedition from US territory against any nation with which the US was not at war. The Kennedy Administration went on record as opposing pro-[Batista](#) exiles while meanwhile encouraging other anti-[Castro](#) groups.

In [Havana](#), a terrorist bomb exploded in the 7-story store El Encanto. Another bomb exploded near the Pepsi Cola factory.

April 13, Friday: Ahti Kalle Samuli Karjalainen replaced Martti Johannes Miettunen as prime minister of Finland. At 39 he was the youngest prime minister in Finland to that date.

Nazem al-Kodsi was released from prison and reinstated as President of Syria by the coup leaders who had overthrown him.

Edmond Jouhaud, 2d-in-command of the conservative terrorists, was sentenced to death for insurrection by a military court in Paris. 7 Muslims were killed and 21 wounded in Algiers in shootings by conservative terrorists.

Another explosion at the store El Encanto in [Havana](#) reduced the 7-story building to rubble.

Late April: While vacationing in the Crimea, Nikita Khrushchev reflected on the [US Jupiter nuclear-warheaded missiles](#) across the Black Sea in Turkey and, reportedly, conceived the idea of deploying [similar weapons](#) in [Cuba](#). Tit for tat this for that. Sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Soviet sources have identified 3 reasons that might have led him to pursue such a thought. The deployment of missiles in [Cuba](#) would:

- (a) increase the Soviet nuclear striking power, which was lagging further and further behind that of the US;
- (b) deter the United States from invading [Cuba](#); and
- (c) psychologically end a double standard in which the United States could get away with placing missiles on the Soviet perimeter while denying to the Soviets any reciprocal capability.

Upon returning to Moscow, the Soviet leader would discuss his red hot idea with First Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan and discover Mikoyan to be opposed. He would then ask a group of his closest advisers, such as Frol Kozlov, Commander of the Strategic Rocket Forces Sergei Biryuzov, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and Marshal Malinovsky to evaluate the idea. This group proposed that a mission be sent to [Cuba](#) to see if [Fidel Castro](#) would agree to the proposed deployment and to determine whether the deployment could be undertaken without being detected by the United States of America.



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May: In central [Vietnam](#) the Viet Cong had begun to organize themselves into units of battalion size. Nevertheless, [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#), visiting, reported to those back home that “we are winning the war.” Strange.

Deliberations regarding the possible installation of Soviet [missiles](#) in [Cuba](#) continued in Moscow. Early in the month Nikita Khrushchev informed the newly designated ambassador to [Cuba](#), Aleksandr Alekseyev, of his plan. Although Alekseyev expressed concern over the idea (as would Gromyko and Mikoyan at different times), it was decided to send Alekseyev and Marshal Biryuzov secretly to [Cuba](#) to explore the question with [Fidel Castro](#) himself.

Following further discussions in this month and the following one, Khrushchev would authorize Soviet military officials to decide independently on the exact composition of nuclear forces to be deployed in [Cuba](#). The military would propose a force of 24 [medium-range ballistic missile launchers](#) and 16 [intermediate-range ballistic missile launchers](#); each of these launchers was to be equipped with 2 missiles (one as a spare) and a single [nuclear warhead](#). Soviet officials also decided that a large contingent of Soviet combat forces should be dispatched to [Cuba](#). The proposed Soviet force would include 4 elite combat regiments, 24 advanced SA-2 surface-to-air missile batteries, 42 Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21 interceptors, 42 IL-28 bombers, 12 Komar-class missile boats, and coastal defense cruise missiles.

A multi-service US military exercise code-named WHIPLASH, designed to test contingency planning for [Cuba](#), would be completed at about the middle of the month.

May 1, Tuesday: In the Sahara Desert, 800 kilometers south of their usual test sight at Reggan, France carried out a secret [underground atomic weapons explosion](#).

In Prague, students protested against the government and against the poor economy.

In a speech, [Fidel Castro](#) referred to [Cuba](#) as a “socialist country.”

May 8, Tuesday: “A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum,” a musical by Stephen Sondheim, opened in New York.

The US began a multi-service military exercise designed to test contingency planning for [Cuba](#). The operation, codenamed WHIP LASH, would conclude on May 18th. Another US military exercise in the Caribbean, known as JUPITER SPRINGS, was planned for sometime in the spring or summer. Soviet and Cuban sources have indicated that the series of US military exercises conducted in the region throughout the year were perceived by them as corroborative evidence of a US intent to invade [Cuba](#).

May 29, Tuesday: 4,000 US troops were ordered to Thailand in response to Communist activity in Laos.

2 more schools were bombed in Algiers and 14 were killed in terrorist attacks.

Genesis I: Elementi op.19/1 for string trio by Henryk Górecki was performed for the initial time, in Kraków.

Movements for flute and string orchestra by Gunther Schuller was performed for the initial time, in Dortmund.

King Priam, an opera by Michael Tippett to his own words, was performed for the initial time, in Coventry.

Incidental music to Shakespeare’s play The Tempest by Michael Tippett was performed for the initial time, at the Old Vic, London.



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Sharif Rashidov, an alternate member of the Soviet Presidium, arrived in [Cuba](#) with a delegation, ostensibly on a 10-day mission to study irrigation problems. The presence of the ambassador-designate in [Cuba](#), Aleksandr Alekseyev, Marshal Biryuzov, and 2 or 3 military experts was not known to the United States. Shortly before the departure of the delegation, Premier Khrushchev informed all Presidium members that the Soviet Union planned to deploy [Soviet nuclear missiles](#) in [Cuba](#) and that Biryuzov and Alekseyev were going to broach the idea with the Cuban government. On the evening of its arrival this Soviet delegation met with [Fidel Castro](#) and his brother Raul, Cuban Minister of Defense. Expressing their concern over the possibility of a new US invasion of [Cuba](#), the Soviet officials stated that the Soviet Union was prepared to assist [Cuba](#) in fortifying its defenses, even to the extent of deploying [Soviet nuclear missiles](#) on the island. Castro responded by terming the idea “interesting,” but told the group that he would need to consult with his colleagues before providing any response.

May 30, Wednesday: 2 more schools were destroyed in Algiers and 13 more were killed.

Armand Belvisi, reported to be a leader of the attempted assassination of President de Gaulle during the previous September, was captured in Paris after a gun battle with police.

Benny Goodman began a 7-week tour of the Soviet Union with a concert in Moscow, attended by General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev.

War Requiem op.66 for soprano, tenor, baritone, chorus, orchestra, and organ by Benjamin Britten to words of the Latin requiem and Wilfred Owen, was performed for the initial time, conducted by the composer, at the reconsecration of Coventry Cathedral (destroyed during World War II).

Journey Into Jazz for narrator, jazz quartet and orchestra by Gunther Schuller was performed for the initial time, in Washington.

After conferring with Raul Castro, [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#), [Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado](#), and Blas Roca, [Fidel Castro](#) informed the visiting Soviet officials that [Cuba](#) would accept the deployment of [Soviet nuclear missiles](#). Since the crisis, Castro and other Cuban sources have suggested that this decision was made not only because the capability would serve to deter a US invasion but also because the Cuban government wished to shift the “correlation of forces” in favor of socialism. In addition [Havana](#) felt indebted to the Soviet Union for its support of their revolution.

July 2, Monday: Meetings resumed in Geneva among 14 nations interested in a final agreement on the neutrality and independence of Laos.

Concerto for violin and orchestra op.13 by Alexander Goehr was performed for the initial time, in Cheltenham.

A high-level Cuban military delegation led by Raul Castro was met at the Moscow airport by Marshal Rodion Malinovsky and Anastas Mikoyan (Nikita Khrushchev would meet with Raúl Castro on July 3d and 8th). During these discussions, detailed arrangements would be made for Soviet [nuclear missile](#) deployment. Raul Castro would spend a total of 2 weeks consulting with Soviet officials, and return to [Cuba](#) on July 17th.



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July 3, Tuesday: In Moscow, Nikita Khrushchev met with Raúl Castro about Soviet [nuclear missile](#) deployment to [Cuba](#).

President Charles de Gaulle of France declared the independence of Algeria under the Chairman of the Provisional Executive Abderrahmane Farès. In the 8-year war for independence, 250,000 had been killed and 500,000 injured. Within hours the provisional government in Tunis arrived in Algiers, including Prime Minister Ben-Youssef Ben Khedda.

The Argentine government announced plans to disband the anti-Semitic organizations that had been responsible for the wave of attacks on Jews that had followed the hanging of Adolf Eichmann.

No Exit, a film with music by Vladimir Ussachevsky, was shown for the initial time, at the Berlin Film Festival.

July 8, Sunday: In Moscow, Nikita Khrushchev met again with Raúl Castro about Soviet [missile](#) deployment to [Cuba](#).

Livre pour quatuor IIIa, IIIb, IIIc for string quartet by Pierre Boulez was performed for the initial time, in Darmstadt.

The United States detonated a [nuclear device](#) about 300 kilometers above the Pacific Ocean to test the destructive usefulness of the electromagnetic pulse from such a near-space radiation event. This device was sent aloft atop an intermediate range ballistic missile (IRBM). An auroral display was visible in Honolulu, some 1,200 kilometers away, for 7 minutes (the blast was bright enough that some of the street lights turned themselves off), and could also be seen in Auckland, 4,800 kilometers away.

July 15, Sunday: Nathan T. Boya, who a year earlier on this day had gone over the [Niagara Falls](#) in a “Plunge-O-Sphere” of his own design, made a return visit to view the falls. (He would go on to earn a doctorate in sociology and a post-doctorate in medical behavior, and become a Fellow of Faculty at a medical school in [New York City](#).)

Composition for oboe, chamber ensemble, and tape by Bruno Maderna was performed for the initial time, in Darmstadt.

At about this point Soviet cargo ships began moving out of the Black Sea toward [Cuba](#) with false declarations of their destinations, and with cargo-tonnage reports well below these vessels’ capacities. Aerial reconnaissance during the following months would show these vessels as “riding high in the water,” confirming that the cargo aboard these vessels was unusually light (which, typically, was an indication that it may be military equipment that was being transported).



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July 17, Tuesday: Raúl Castro left Moscow after 2 weeks of secret talks with Nikita Khrushchev and other high-ranking Soviet officials on the scheduled deployment of [Soviet nuclear-warhead missiles](#) in [Cuba](#). Although aware of the military make-up of the Cuban delegation, the fact that no public communiqué was issued after the visit would lead US intelligence to guess initially that the mission must have failed. Upon his arrival in [Cuba](#), however, Raúl Castro would inform a gathering that neither internal uprisings nor exile landings were any longer a threat—that only a full-scale US invasion was any longer a threat to their island nation—a threat, he commented, that “we can now repel.” (We now understand that, according to the formal agreement between the USSR and [Cuba](#), which was renewable every 5 years, while in Cuba the missiles and their servicing were intended or understood to be completely under the jurisdiction of the Soviet military command.)

After seeking medical care in London for a serious illness, Mikis Theodorakis returned to Athens incognito. He went immediately to Tsangaris Sanatorium.

Bearbeitungen über das Glogauer Liederbuch for flute, clarinet, violin and bass by Charles Wuorinen was performed for the initial time, at the University of Hartford.

July 25, Wednesday: A Thor missile, being launched from Johnston Island in the Pacific during Operation Dominic needed to be blown up by its Safety Officer while still on the launchpad. The missile was carrying a [100-kiloton A-bomb](#) to be exploded in the high atmosphere, so the launch area was of course heavily contaminated with plutonium. Radiation readings would rise as high as 1,000,000 CPM. (In three other tests of this same series something would go wrong enough during flight that the warhead would need to be blown apart by conventional explosives, and this would result in some contamination of some other Pacific islands.)

Civil war threatened in Algeria when troops loyal to Vice President Mohammed Ben Bella took over Bone and Constantine. There was fighting in Constantine.

During a 3-person escape attempt to the west, East Berlin border guards shot and killed 1 of the 3.

Ausgerechnet und verspielt, a television opera by Ernst Krenek to his own words, was performed for the initial time, under the composer’s direction, over the airwaves of Oesterreicher Fernsehen, originating in Vienna.

Edward Lansdale assessed Phase One of [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) before the [SG-A](#) team, reporting some successes such as the infiltration of 11 CIA guerrilla teams into the island, including a team in Pinar del Río Province that had grown to as many as 250 men. Nonetheless, he warned, “time is running out for the U.S. to make a free choice on [Cuba](#).”

July 26, Thursday: The US Public Health Service announced that its scientists had isolated the virus responsible for rubella.

On the 9th anniversary of the 26th of July Movement, [Fidel Castro](#) stated that it was no longer “mercenaries” who posed any threat to [Cuba](#): the threat had become that [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) had “made up his mind” to invade the island by full force, he asserted—but meanwhile [Cuba](#) had acquired new weaponry that would destroy any such direct and massive invasion.

August: On [St. Helena](#), the practice of “begging” by children on ship days was banned.

Although US intelligence received during this month several reports of observations of [Soviet missiles](#) in [Cuba](#), all the reports that instanced [surface-to-air missiles](#) or that instanced [cruise missiles](#) could be known to be incorrect.





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August 10, Friday: [Former President Harry S Truman](#) participated in the dedication of the Herbert Hoover Library in West Branch, Iowa.

Prime Minister Francisco Brochado da Rocha asked the Brazilian Congress for decree powers to deal with an economic crisis. His administration also asked for a referendum to return the country to a presidential form of government.

After examining CIA reports on the movement of cargo ships from the Black and Baltic seas to [Cuba](#), CIA Director John McCone dictated a memorandum for the President expressing the belief that shipments of Soviet MRBMs were headed toward [Cuba](#). This memorandum was dispatched over the objections of subordinates concerned that their boss had no hard evidence to back up his suspicions.

August 13, Monday: On the 1st anniversary of the Berlin Wall, West Berliners gathered for 3 minutes of silence and then began throwing insults at the East Berlin guards, followed by rocks and other missiles. The East Germans responded with water cannon and tear gas. West Berlin police responded with their own tear gas. Such rioting continued well after dark, and during all the distraction 3 attempts were made to escape from East Berlin into West Berlin — one border guard was successful but another was killed, and then a man was shot to death by East German guards as he attempted to swim across the Werra River.

Aleksandr Alekseyev, arriving in [Havana](#) to take up his post as Soviet ambassador to [Cuba](#), handed to [Fidel Castro](#) the text of the agreement Raúl Castro had negotiated during his June visit to Moscow, for deployment of [Soviet nuclear missiles](#). The text called for “taking measures to assure the mutual defense in the face of possible aggression against the Republic of [Cuba](#).” Castro made a few corrections in the text and handed it off to [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#) to take to Moscow in late August.

August 17, Friday: When East Berlin construction workers attempted a break to the west, one escaped but the other, 18-year-old Peter Fechter, was shot by East Berlin guards and fell backward into East Berlin. As a crowd of enraged West Berliners attempted to reach out to him, and were threatened by East German guards with guns, Fechter cried out for help for 90 minutes. East German and West German police exchanged tear gas canisters as US soldiers stood by unable to intercede. Finally Fechter’s body was removed by the East Germans.

[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) awarded the gold medal for distinguished federal civilian service to Dr. Frances Oldham Kelsey, a medical officer of the Food and Drug Administration. She had been the intrepid bureaucrat who had denied the application of the William S. Merrell Company to market thalidomide, and had continued to maintain that position for 14 months in the face of furious appeals by the business.

On the basis of additional information, CIA Director John McCone asserted at a high-level meeting that he had accumulated circumstantial evidence suggesting that the Soviet Union was constructing [offensive missile installations](#) in [Cuba](#). Dean Rusk and [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) disagreed with Director McCone, arguing that the build-up he perceived in the evidence was merely “defensive.”



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August 20, Monday: During an electrocardiogram examination at Beth Israel Hospital in Boston, Irving Fine suffered a mild heart attack and was admitted to the hospital.

The Phoenix and the Turtle for chorus and orchestra by Thea Musgrave to words of Shakespeare, was performed for the initial time, in Royal Albert Hall, London.

Flowers in the Valley for chorus by Ulysses Kay to anonymous words was performed for the initial time, in Chicago.

Supplication: Processional for organ, two trumpets, two trombones and unison chorus by Henry Cowell was performed for the initial time, in the Drake Hotel, Chicago.

Maxwell Taylor, chairman of the [SG-A](#), sent a memo to [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) asserting that there was no likelihood of overthrowing the Castro government of [Cuba](#) in the absence of direct US military intervention. He reported that the [SG-A](#) was recommending a more aggressive [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) program. Kennedy authorized the development of aggressive plans aimed at ousting [Fidel Castro](#) but specified that no part of such plans could include any overt involvement by the US military.

August 23, Thursday: In the early morning Irving Gifford Fine died of a heart attack at the age of 47 at Beth Israel Hospital in Boston.

[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) called a meeting of his National Security Council to consider CIA Director John McCone's concern that [Soviet nuclear missiles](#) were being sneaked into [Cuba](#). Although Dean Rusk and [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) argued against the Director's interpretation of the military build-up, the President directed that a contingency plan be drawn up to deal with an eventuality in which such missiles were deployed in such a manner. The President's instructions were formalized instantly as National Security Action Memorandum #181. Kennedy directed that several additional actions and studies be undertaken "in light of the evidence of new bloc activity in [Cuba](#)." Papers were to consider the pros and cons of a statement warning against the deployment of any [nuclear weapons](#) in [Cuba](#); the psychological, political, and military effect of such a deployment; and the military options that might be exercised by the United States to eliminate such a threat. In addition, Kennedy instructed the Defense Department to investigate what could be done to yank those [US Jupiter nuclear missiles](#) out of Turkey. The President ordered that [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#)'s "Plan B Plus" – a program aimed at overthrowing [Fidel Castro](#) without overtly employing the US military – move forward "with all possible speed."

August 26, Sunday: [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#), [Cuba](#)'s Minister of Industries, and Emilio Aragonés Navarro, a close associate of [Fidel Castro](#), arrived in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.



## CUBA

## CUBA

August 29, Wednesday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) agreed to Soviet proposals that the current series of [atomic tests](#) by both countries be ended by January 1st.

The West German government estimated that 10,000 birth defects have been caused by thalidomide. Half the babies were still alive.<sup>309</sup>

A high-altitude U-2 surveillance flight provided conclusive evidence of the existence of SA-2 SAM [Soviet missile sites](#) at 8 different locations in [Cuba](#). Additional reconnaissance shortly thereafter also positively identified, for the 1st time, coastal defense cruise missile installations. However, U-2 photography of the area around San Cristóbal, [Cuba](#), where the 1st nuclear missile sites were later detected, revealed as yet no evidence of construction.

At a news conference, [President Kennedy](#) informed reporters: “I’m not for invading [Cuba](#) at this time ... an action like that ... could lead to very serious consequences for many people.” Kennedy repeated that he has seen no evidence that Soviet troops were stationed in [Cuba](#) and stated that there was “no information as yet” regarding the possible presence of [air defense Soviet missiles](#) in [Cuba](#).

August 30, Thursday: The government of South Africa published the identities of citizens forbidden under the anti-sabotage law from making any public statement.

[Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#), [Cuba](#)’s Minister of Industries, and Emilio Aragonés Navarro, a close associate of [Fidel Castro](#), met with Nikita Khrushchev at his dacha in the Crimea, and Guevara delivered Castro’s amendments to the Soviet/Cuban agreement governing the deployment of [Soviet nuclear missiles](#) in [Cuba](#). When Guevara urged Khrushchev to publicly announce the missile deployment, the Soviet premier refused. The agreement document would never receive the signature of Khrushchev (possibly to preclude the Cuban government from leaking it). Following additional talks in Prague, Guevara and Aragonés would return to their island on September 6th.

309. In 2009, I would meet a number of these people. They were driving their motorized wheelchairs in circles in the cathedral square in Cologne, Germany, waving their flippers at the tourists (they were protesting the manner in which German society had been generally ignoring them).



## CUBA

## CUBA

August 31, Friday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) was informed that the August 29th U-2 overflight of [Cuba](#) had confirmed the presence there of surface-to-air missile batteries.



Prime Minister Viggo Kampmann of Denmark resigned his post after having 3 days earlier suffered a heart attack.

Trinidad and Tobago, under Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Eric Eustace Williams, were proclaimed independent of Great Britain.

By late in this month there were increasing numbers of reports of [Soviet missiles](#) in [Cuba](#), plus alleged sightings of MiG-21s and IL-28s. [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) was informed that the August 29th U-2 mission has confirmed that there were surface-to-air missile batteries in [Cuba](#).

Senator Kenneth Keating advised the US federal Senate that there was evidence of Soviet “rocket installations in [Cuba](#),” and urged that [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) take action. Perhaps the Organization of American States could send an investigative team to the island? It seems likely that Keating was simply guessing on the basis of rumors and on the basis of reports that US intelligence officials were considering too “soft” to be actionable.



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September: I ([Austin Meredith](#)) had received orders to become the officer in command of a Nike antiaircraft installation at Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii.<sup>310</sup> During that summer my wife María de los Angeles García Meredith and I had traveled across country in our black Volkswagen bug from my Marine Officer Training on the East Coast to my first duty station, Alameda Naval Air Station on a flat island in San Francisco Bay. When I had arrived and reported for duty, the bird colonel in command of the Naval Air Intelligence Training Center there had gone hyperbolic. He didn't like my physical appearance. The first thing he did was order ordered this newly minted Marine 2d Lieutenant onto a diet, and the base doctor prescribed amphetamines to help me lose weight. But the thing was, I was not overweight — in fact I had just completed the Marine basic training and was in the best shape I have ever been in, in my entire freaking life! It quickly became clear that my first commanding officer wasn't going to be able to make my “fat ass” go away by ordering it to go away — because my buttocks simply had no fat on them, their offensiveness being a mere matter of their protruding to the rear due to my spine twisted in lordosis. I had to have those bulging muscles in my hips, along with the

310. Nowadays such Nike installations are considered of historical interest:

#### COLD WAR MUSEUM INTERNSHIP

The Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA), a unit of the National Park Service, is preserving and restoring the last intact Nike missile site in the United States. Located at Fort Barry, in the Marin Headlands, Nike Site SF-88L is the last remnant of the Cold War preserved and open to the public.

Golden Gate is seeking a dynamic, full-time intern to work on an exciting preservation opportunity to assist in museum accountability, resource management, and interpretation projects at the site. The park has acquired obsolete —and now extremely rare— Nike missiles, computers, and other accouterments worth in excess of \$30 million.

RESPONSIBILITIES: Cataloging some of the more unique objects in any museum collection. Assisting in rehabilitating the site to working condition. Documenting progress. Assisting in interpretation of the site. Working with a cadre of dedicated volunteers.

QUALIFICATIONS: Knowledge of museum cataloging requirements. Familiarity with computer cataloging programs (the NPS uses a system called ANCS+, a Windows-based program customized from RE:Discovery). Knowledge of American military history and material culture, particularly of the post-WWII era. Ability to work with a variety of people.

TERMS: Full or Part-Time; 5-10 months; Tuesday-Saturday. Out-of-pocket expenses (\$15/day) and housing may be available for full-time positions. The GGNRA and the Parks Association are committed to equal opportunity and nondiscrimination policies regarding employees and volunteers.

(An interesting factoid about our national condition is that such “equal opportunity and nondiscrimination policies regarding employees and volunteers” **still** would allow them to refuse to employ a deformed person for such public work.)

bulging muscles in my calves, along with my flat feet, in order to be able to stand upright.



[This isn't to indicate that this was the first experience of its kind, for as you know I only became a Marine officer in the first place through the intercession of the Surgeon General of the Navy, over their dead body so to speak — this was merely the first experience of persecution of my physical deformity which would involve that phenomenon of the [J. Edgar Hoover](#)/Joseph McCarthy cold-war years which is now known as harassment-by-investigation.]



"Lists of the disloyal have been compiled!"  
— Roman Senator Crassus,  
played by Sir Lawrence Olivier  
in the 1961 Hollywood movie  
["Spartacus"](#)





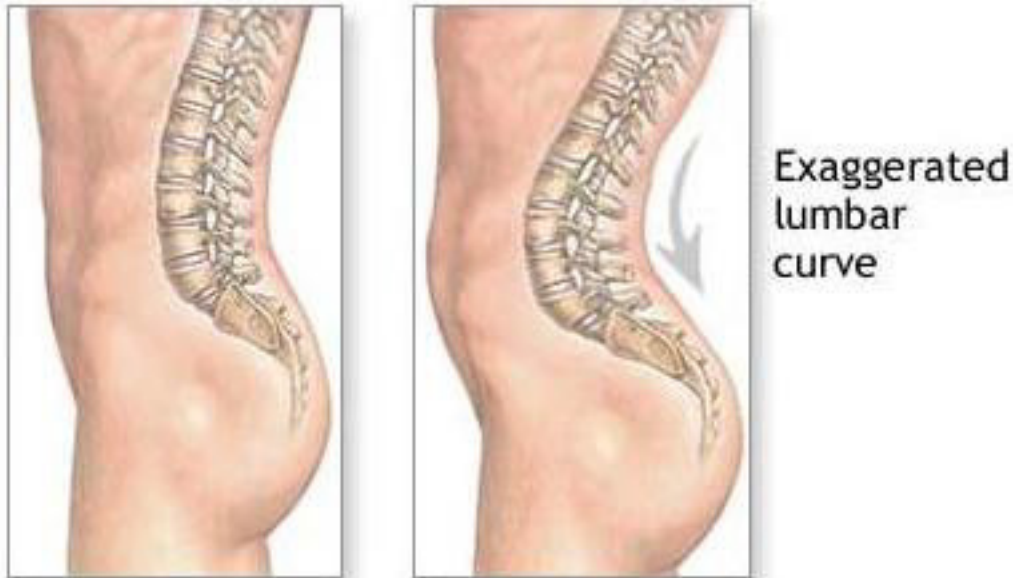
CUBA

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THE STALKER

Here is an illustration from a medical textbook, showing “exaggerated lumbar curve” as typical of lordosis:



What the medical textbook fails to point out is that this exaggerated lumbar curve, when it is not disabling, produces enormous muscular masses in the buttocks and calves as the growing body struggles to accommodate itself. And, of course, the medical textbook also fails to point out –it isn’t any of a medical doctor’s concern, as doctors treat illnesses rather than the effects of illnesses– that the primary liability for the patient is that these exaggerated muscular masses result in the most extreme social discrimination.

ASSLEY

So what happened was that when it became obvious that this pseudo-diet with amphetamines was not going to cure the perception problem, my company CO (my direct commanding officer, this bird colonel school commander’s captain subordinate) engaged me in a casual, “friendly” conversation before class, in their air-intelligence school library. He drew out of me, in the course of this conversation, the attitude that it had been a singular mistake, that we had acquired the Panama Canal in the 19th Century in the manner in which we did, and that, in order now to get out of this embarrassment in the best manner possible, I supposed, we ought to turn the protection of the Canal Zone over to an organization which we could dominate, upon which we could rely — the Organization of American States. In that way, I suggested to him in this casual conversation, we might be able to transform what had always been a propaganda disaster into something of a triumph of diplomacy.

Of course, if we did this we would no longer be able to run our “School of the Americas” there, our training station at which we have been for many decades teaching fascistic South American and Central American military officers such as Manuel Noriega how to torture the citizens of their countries. –And, that Canal Zone army base would no longer be available as a cushy just-before-retirement command slot for aging American generals.

[Sucker that I was, I didn’t realize until it was too late that this company CO was just buttering me up, merely pretending to be interested in having kill-time casual conversation with me — that actually what he was doing was searching for something on which the command could so to speak hang its hat.]

So my new CO ran off to tattle to the bird colonel school commandant, and then I was called into his command office and found myself once again being accused of treason. Soon I was being interrogated by an Agent of the Oakland office of the [FBI](#).<sup>311</sup>

The school’s Commanding Officer banished me to temporary duty at Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay while he fired off a top-secret telegram to Headquarters Marine Corps, “8th and I” in Washington DC

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(a telegram which is classified TOP SECRET to this day) saying that he **would not** tolerate a Marine officer with such an objectionable appearance in uniform as this.



(Treasure Island in its salad days, before it became a Marine base)

This top-secret telegram got me instantly reassigned to the 5th Marine Expeditionary Brigade, headed through the Panama Canal for Vieques and Port au Prince, Haiti and Guantánamo Bay for the invasion of [Cuba](#). I sailed in September aboard the USS *Bexar*, APA237 as the commanding officer of the 1st Replacement Draft in



[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#)'s Cuban Missile Crisis. I was to receive from the federal government the sort of treatment that Uriah the Hittite had received from King David (2 SAMUEL 11) — I was to be exposed

311. The interrogation focused upon three items: my recent camping trip into the mountains with Berkeley resident and college acquaintance Allen Carrico, since he had since become a member of the “Turn Toward Peace” organization, the [FBI](#)'s principled refusal to show me the list of organizations being considered for inclusion on the Attorney General's list of prohibited associations so that I might verify that indeed this organization “Turn Toward Peace” was on that list (on the grounds that this list was secret), and the absurd idea that I had, that it was just obvious to anyone who read the newspapers, that Director [J. Edgar Hoover](#) could only have been maintaining his position in Washington DC all these years, by blackmailing national politicians. The agent asked over and over again whether I had any **specific** evidence that the Director was a blackmailer, and I responded over and over that he himself surely was aware that that **must** be the case.

in combat in such manner as to make it likely that I would be killed.



What you need of course to understand is that as a member of that “replacement draft,” I would automatically be assigned to replace the first infantry platoon commander to become a casualty during the projected Marine assault to seize the port of Santiago de Cuba. –And, you will also need to come to understand, of all the various ways to figure out how to get killed, replacing the first Marine infantry platoon commander to fall during an amphibious assault is the very most excellent and certain way.

14 And it came to pass in the morning, that David wrote a letter to Joab, and sent it by the hand of Uriah.

15 And he wrote in the letter, saying, Set ye Uriah in the forefront of the hottest battle, and retire ye from him, that he may be smitten, and die.

16 And it came to pass, when Joab observed the city, that he assigned Uriah unto a place where he knew that valiant men were.

17 And the men of the city went out, and fought with Joab: and there fell some of the people of the servants of David; and Uriah the Hittite died also.





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Aboard the USS *Bexar*, I was designated as Library Officer. The ship's library turned out to consist of a small storage room with several shelves holding stacks of paperback novels, intended for the amusement of the ship's crew rather than of its cramped Marine passengers. The center of the space was crammed with open cardboard boxes containing the 5th Marine Expeditionary Brigade's secret attack maps of the south coast of Cuba. From the coverage of these maps it was evident that we were to conduct an amphibious landing and seize the port of Santiago de Cuba, start pumping US Army troops through that port (divisions brought directly over from Florida). After securing the port we were to swing east along the southern coast of the island and relieve the besieged Marines of Guantánamo. I picked out a tattered copy of [Walter M. Miller, Jr.'s A CANTICLE FOR LEIBOWITZ](#) for perusal in my bunk.

When the war down there would not happen, when Nikita Khrushchev would blink and the atomic bombs wouldn't go off and I would come back to the US in 1963 still alive and personally offensive, I would find that I would be receiving the benefit of a full background investigation and a long-term harassment-by-investigation from the Office of Naval Intelligence and from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, complete with lie-detector tests, one-way mirrors, mail covers, the persistent demand that I resign my officer's commission, threats to award me a general courts-martial for treasonous political postures, demands that I explain why according to my mother I had masturbated as a teenager, negotiations to allow me to escape all this harassment by accepting a general discharge which they suggested might yet be "under honorable conditions" but only if I were to play my cards right, etc. The whole thing was covered up by pretending that I had been guilty of some sort of thought crime, of believing something bad about the USA. When, decades later, I would file a Freedom of Information Act petition in order to get to see that evil telegram, my formal submission was simply ignored. They know very well that they cannot ever allow it to become known that the United States government tolerates such shameful activities.

ASSLEY

In follow-up to this personal history, I should tell you that this was 1962, and later on in our national history, President Jimmy Carter would do **precisely** what I had so casually schemed in 1962. –He would negotiate to turn the Canal Zone over to the Organization of American States. That is what is still, according to the news

release below, a current project. When I had suggested it in casual conversation in September 1962, that casual conversation had been made treasonous as a way to dispose of me and my twisted spine, but when the President of the United States actually would go and do it, well, that would be of course very OK (the President's spine is straight, you see). The President of the US can get a blow job in the Oval Office and that ain't sex, and the President of the US can give away the Panama Canal and that ain't treason.



AMANA PLANACANAL PANAMA

But isn't it curious, in spite of the fact that my spine has straightened starting in 1980 and 1981 — no agency of our government has as yet sought me out to offer me an apology for having persecuted me for having harbored such treason thought!

Anyway, here's the latest twist on the long story:





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**CENTRAL AMERICA-OUTLOOK:  
Farewell to US Weapons in 1999  
By Silvio Hernandez**

PANAMA, Dec 21 (IPS) – Central America is getting ready to enter the third millennium without the presence in Panama of a U.S. military enclave whose existence throughout this century has been a thorn in the side of the region's incipient democracies. On Dec. 31, 1999, the United States will withdraw from Panama's Canal Zone, where the U.S. Army's Southern Command exerted political influence on Central America and from where Washington launched many military operations, including one that toppled Panama's General Manuel Noriega in late 1989.

The Southern Command, which is assigned operations throughout Latin America, was moved from Panama to Miami in 1996 under treaties signed between the two governments in 1977. However, 4,400 U.S. soldiers are still stationed in the Canal Zone.

Until 1983, the U.S. military base in Panama also housed the School of the Americas, which gave training to most of the military dictators who seized power in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s.

They include Chile's Augusto Pinochet, Nicaragua's Anastasio Somoza, Bolivia's Hugo Banzer, and Manuel Noriega himself.

"Girl, hide, here come those marines dressed in white looking like butchers," went a popular rhyme sung by children in the San Miguel neighbourhood of the Panamanian capital in the 1940s. The ditty was a legacy of constant U.S. invasions between 1856 and 1989, which did not target Panama alone. The U.S. invaded Honduras in 1911 and 1933 and Nicaragua in 1912 and 1927.

U.S. troops left Nicaragua without being able to defeat the resistance of the popular army led by General Augusto Cesar Sandino.

At the Palmerola military base in central Honduras, there is still a group of 500 U.S. soldiers of the Southern Command which began its activities in the early 1980s, when Washington backed the war against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

The Salvadoran army was also assisted by U.S. military advisers from the Southern Command during that country's civil war which began in the 1980s and ended in the early 1990s, when the government and the guerrilla signed a peace accord.

Panamanian writer Carlos Changmarin, who has repeatedly denounced U.S. intervention in Central America in his work, pointed out that following the end of the Cold War, the forces of democracy are leading the world towards relationships with the United States that are free of coercion.

"The world is against these kinds of supervision," Changmarin told IPS when asked about the possibility of continued U.S. military presence in the region in connection with the war on drugs.

U.S. Secretary of Defence William Cohen told a recent Inter-American Conference of Defence Ministers in Cartagena, Colombia, that his government was negotiating the establishment of a centralized, multilateral centre to fight drug trafficking with some regional countries, including Ecuador, Honduras and Peru. Plans to build one such center in Panama failed because Washington wanted to use the elite military units housed there in other missions in the region.



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Reactions to the latest proposal have not been very favourable. Honduran congressman Matias Fuentes said "the military presence of the U.S. has always been harmful" to his country and he opposed its legitimisation "under the pretext of the fight against drugs."

Honduran congressmen said the stationing of U.S. soldiers at Palmerola base was never ratified by their country's parliament, something its constitution requires.

September 1, Saturday: Crosses were torched by the [Ku Klux Klan](#) in 14 Louisiana communities and the capital, Baton Rouge, as a protest against racial integration.

During the 1st week of September Soviet troops belonging to 4 elite armored brigades are believed to have begun arriving in [Cuba](#) (troops belonging to these combat groups would continue to embark through the 2d week of October). However, US intelligence would not become aware of the existence of these organized combat units in [Cuba](#) until the middle of the [missile crisis](#), which is to say, on October 25th.

A 7.1 magnitude earthquake in northwest Iran, near Bou'in-Zahra in the Qazvin Province, killed 12,225 and destroyed 91 villages.

In a referendum in Singapore, voters overwhelmingly supported a proposition to merge with the Malayan Federation to become part of Malaysia, with limited autonomy. Out of 561,559 ballots cast, there were 397,626 in favor of making all Singapore residents Malaysian citizens, while allowing independence in matters of labor and education. Another 144,077 ballots were left blank as a protest.

Typhoon Wanda struck Hong Kong, killing 134 and injuring more than 200.

September 2, Sunday: All non-military air travel in the United States and Canada was halted for 5 hours as part of "Exercise Sky Shield III."

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics announced that it had signed an agreement on military and industrial assistance with [Cuba](#), following an August meeting between Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev and Cuban Economics Minister [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#).

A Malta Independence Act was approved by the United Kingdom, providing that the British colony would become its own nation as of September 21st, 1964.

William R. Blair died, who had invented in 1937 an "Object Locating System" (better known by the initialism RADAR). He had not been permitted to apply for a patent until after World War II, but eventually had been granted U.S. Patent No. 2,803,819.



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September 3, Monday: Jens Otto Krag succeeded the ailing Viggo Kampmann as Prime Minister of Denmark.

Edward Elstin Cummings died in North Conway, New Hampshire at the age of 67 after having suffered a cerebral hemorrhage the night before. He had written his last words the afternoon before, about delphinium flowers, had chopped some wood, had sharpened the axe, and had then collapsed in his home (he was better known as “e.e. cummings”).

At [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#)'s request, senior State Department official Walt Rostow submitted his assessment of the Soviet military build-up in [Cuba](#). According to Rostow, while the SAMs did not pose a threat to US national security, a “line should be drawn at the installation in [Cuba](#) or in Cuban waters of nuclear weapons or delivery vehicles....” Rostow recommended that current [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) activities be intensified but also suggested studying the possibility of having independent anti-Castro groups oust [Fidel Castro](#) with minimal assistance from the USA.

Piano Sonata no.2 by Michael Tippett was performed for the initial time, in Freemasons' Hall, Edinburgh.

Jens Otto Krag replaced Viggo Kampmann as prime minister of Denmark (Kampmann had suffered a heart attack on August 28th).

The Parliament of India created Nagaland as the nation's 15th state, effective December 1st.

September 4, Tuesday: The USSR claimed that a US U-2 spy plane had flown into Soviet airspace over Sakhalin Island on August 30th and demanded an apology. The US admitted that this could be true but that it had been accidental.

Roman Catholic schools in and around New Orleans were desegregated.

Meeting in [Mexico City](#), the Latin American Free Trade Association voted 7-0-2 to deny admission to [Cuba](#).

Following a review by [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#), Dean Rusk, and [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) of the evidence of SAM sites in [Cuba](#), and possibly a submarine base under construction, Attorney General Robert Kennedy met with Anatoly Dobrynin and the Soviet Ambassador told the Attorney-General that he has been instructed by Premier Khrushchev to assure [President Kennedy](#) that no [surface-to-surface Soviet missiles](#) or offensive weapons would be placed on the soil of [Cuba](#). After this meeting with Dobrynin, Robert Kennedy would relate the conversation to the president and suggest issuing a statement making it clear that the United States of America would not tolerate the introduction of offensive weapons into [Cuba](#). [President Kennedy](#) then released a statement revealing that surface-to-air missiles and substantially more military personnel than previously estimated had been detected in [Cuba](#). The President also declared that “There is no evidence of any organized combat force in [Cuba](#) from any Soviet Bloc country; of military bases provided to Russia; of a violation of the 1934 treaty relating to Guantanamo; of the presence of offensive [ground-to-ground missiles](#); or of other significant offensive capability.... Were it otherwise the gravest issues would arise.”

A group calling itself “The Beatles” made their initial recording of a song that would become a hit single, “Love Me Do” (though this would become in 1964 in the United States their 4th #1 song).

The closing ceremony of the 1962 Asian Games was held in Jakarta, Indonesia, following an attack on India's embassy by 1,000 rioters. Earlier, Asian Games Federation Vice-President G.D. Sondhi had announced that he was seeking to have the executive council declare that the competition was not part of the name “Asian Games,” because the teams from Israel and from Nationalist China (Taiwan) had been excluded.



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September 6, Thursday: The 1st of the “Blackfriars Ships” was discovered by archaeologist Peter Marsden in London, buried in the mud of the Thames River and literally “under the shadow of Blackfriars Bridge.” With a cofferdam to hold back the waters during low tide and assistance from the London Fire Brigade, the oak craft would be excavated. From pottery shards in the wreckage, Marsden would estimate that the ship had sank during the 2d century AD, while Londinium had been being ruled by Romans.

While being transported in a prison ambulance in London to a New York-bound plane to be tried in the United States, convicted Soviet spy Robert Soblen ingested an overdose of barbiturates and was taken to the hospital.

The Argentinan military was demanding that President José María Guido deal with communism and Perónism, and so he formally dissolved Congress and ordered presidential and congressional elections, to take place during October 1963.

As part of a US/USSR cultural exchange, the Bolshoy ballet opened in New York City.

[Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#), [Cuba](#)'s Minister of Industries, and Emilio Aragonés Navarro, a close associate of [Fidel Castro](#), returned to [Cuba](#) after their visit with Nikita Khrushchev in the Crimea.

September 7, Friday: Robert Sténuit of Belgium was brought back from the bottom of the Mediterranean Sea. Sténuit had been lowered off the coast of France near Cap Ferrat, and had stayed inside a 3.5-meter-long pressurized cylinder designed by Edwin Link. Scheduled to remain below for 2 days, Sténuit was brought up after only one, but became the 1st living person to stay at least 24 hours in an underwater habitat on the ocean floor.

Former French Prime Minister Georges Bidault, who had fled from France to Italy after being indicted for anti-government activities, was taken into custody at Rome and ordered to leave Italy by transportation “to the frontier of his choice.”

The Buckfastleigh, Totnes, and South Devon Railway of England was discontinued.

Filming of Sergei Bondarchuk's “War and Peace” began (this would require 6 years).

Karen Blixen (better known by her pen name “Isak Dinesen”) died at the age of 77. In 1937 she had written a memoir OUT OF AFRICA, that would become the basis in 1985 for a film of the same name.

Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin assured US Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson that “only defensive weapons are being supplied” to [Cuba](#).

The US Tactical Air Command established a working group to plan a coordinated air attack against [Cuba](#), one that would be launched well in advance of any airborne assault and amphibious landing (Joint Chiefs of Staff military planners had, up to this point, made no provision for such a preliminary aggression).

The French Interior Ministry announced the capture of 5 conspirators in the assassination attempt of August 22d. Five conservative terrorists were convicted in a court in Troyes of the assassination attempt of September 8th, 1961 and received sentences of from 10 to 20 years. A 6th defendant was tried in absentia and sentenced to life in prison.

The [New York Times](#) reported that about 4,000 Soviet and other eastern European soldiers were currently serving in [Cuba](#).

The conference of 17 nations discussing disarmament recessed in Geneva.

The National Assembly of Ghana extended the term of President Kwame Nkrumah to his natural life.



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September 8, Saturday: The 1st consignment of Soviet R-12 (called SS-4 by NATO) offensive missiles arrived in [Cuba](#), aboard the freighter Omsk. These medium-range ballistic missiles were ones that could be fitted with nuclear warheads that could strike targets within 1,300 miles of Cuba, which is to say, within the US.

Two companies of Communist Chinese troops crossed the McMahon Line that had marked the border between India and China, and confronted soldiers at the recently established Indian Army border post at Dhola.

Lieutenant Colonel Martin Loeffler made himself the highest ranking East German soldier, to date, to flee to West Berlin.

September 11, Tuesday: An authorized Soviet government statement was released condemning US overseas bases and denying any intention to introduce offensive weapons into [Cuba](#): “The arms and military equipment sent to [Cuba](#) are intended solely for defensive purposes ... there was no need for the Soviet Union to set up in any other country –[Cuba](#) for instance– the weapons it has for repelling aggression, for a retaliatory blow.” The Soviets publicly warned that a US attack on Cuba, or on Soviet ships carrying supplies to that Caribbean island, would be considered to constitute an act of war. In a statement read at the Foreign Office in Moscow, the government declared “One cannot now attack Cuba and expect that the aggressor will be free from punishment for this attack. If such an attack was made, this will be the beginning of unleashing war ... which might plunge the world into the disaster of a universal world war with the use of thermonuclear weapons.”

Thurgood Marshall was confirmed by the US Senate as a judge on the US Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, 353 days after he had been nominated, by a vote of 56 over 14. Marshall, an African-American, had argued the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, and would later be elevated to the US Supreme Court, and had already been serving for 11 months because President Kennedy had appointed him, subject to Senate approval, while Congress was not in session.

Jack Kerouac’s *BIG SUR*.

Paul Maher, Jr., *KEROUAC: HIS LIFE AND WORK*.

Convicted Soviet spy Robert Soblen died in a London hospital 5 days after a self-administered overdose of barbiturates (supposedly he had done this to avoid deportation to the United States).

When about 200 blacks in small groups were served without incident, lunch counters in 15 New Orleans stores were effectively desegregated (the plan had been negotiated in advance by black leaders and white store owners; the stores needed the business dollars of all races but, frustratingly, had been being constrained by the racial prejudices of their counter help).

September 13, Thursday: Governor of Mississippi Ross Barnett delivered a 20-minute address on statewide television and radio urging state officials not to obey the federal court order to integrate the University of Mississippi, and placed his signature upon a legal document to implement a doctrine of “interposition,” whereby state law superseded a contrary federal government action. The Governor declared, “We will not drink from the cup of genocide. There is no case in history where the Caucasian race has survived integration.” Barnett then proclaimed, “I hereby direct each official to uphold and enforce the laws duly and legally enacted by the legislature of the State of Mississippi, regardless of this unwarranted, illegal and arbitrary usurpation of power,” adding, “There is no cause which is more moral and just than the protection of the integrity of our races.” For that black bogeyman [James Meredith](#) to disgrace the proud University of Mississippi would be an act of genocide against us good white folks.

On Grenada in the Caribbean, Herbert Blaize’s Grenada National Party won 6 of the 10 seats and Blaize was



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for the 2d time appointed Chief Minister.

First Fantasia on an In Nomine of John Taverner for orchestra was performed for the initial time, in Royal Albert Hall, London, the composer Peter Maxwell Davies conducting.

[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) stated at a news conference that [Fidel Castro](#), “in a frantic effort to bolster his regime,” was attempting to “arouse the Cuban people by charges of an imminent American invasion.” That guy was simply making stuff up! The President reiterated that in his consideration, new movements of Soviet technical and military personnel to [Cuba](#) did not constitute a serious threat to the United States of America, and that “unilateral military intervention on the part of the United States cannot currently be either required or justified.” Nevertheless, the President again warned that should [Cuba](#) “ever attempt to export its aggressive purposes by force ... or become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies.”

September 15, Saturday: Iran’s foreign minister Abbas Aram, and Soviet Union Ambassador Nikolai Pegov, signed an agreement providing that Iran would not allow any foreign nation to set up rocket bases on its soil.

In Paris a military court convicted of terrorism 27 members of the *Organisation de l’armée secrète*, a French conservative dissident paramilitary organization during the Algerian War.

The *Poltava*, a Soviet large-hatch cargo ship, docked at the port of Mariel, apparently carrying the 1st Soviet medium-range missiles to reach [Cuba](#). American electronic intelligence detected that Soviet high-altitude surface-to-air missiles had become operational. It had been an SA-2 (or S-75) Dvina missile that had downed the U-2 spy plane flown by Francis Gary Powers in 1960, and therefore the weapons, located near the port of Mariel, were capable of stopping further American attempts to verify a missile buildup. During the following week US intelligence sources would report what appeared to be unloading of MRBMs at that port and the movement of a convoy of at least 8 MRBMs to San Cristóbal, where the initial [Soviet missile](#) site was constructed.

September 19, Wednesday: Prince Saif Al-Islam Muhammad al-Badr became the new Imam of Yemen following the death of his 71-year-old father, Imam Ahmad bin Yahya, who was described at his death as “despotic,” “the perennial target of assassins,” and a man “said to have died from natural causes hastened by old wounds.” The new Imam was proclaimed as Imam Al-Mansoor Billah (his regime would last only a week before he would be overthrown).

In Las Vegas, where the Air Force Association was holding its annual convention, a full-scale mockup of the Boeing X-20 Dyna-Soar spaceplane was unveiled for reporters and the 6 pilots who would be 1st to fly it were introduced. According to the Associated Press, “Technical men familiar with sketches and photographs of the X-20 were startled by the vicious ugliness” of the plane. “With its upturned wingtips and long snout, the X-20 looks like its designer had somehow managed to cross a manta ray with a shark.” This Dyna-Soar project, scheduled for a 1965 launch, would be canceled after cost overruns without anything ever being built.

The 1st episode of “The Virginian,” starring James Drury, was shown on NBC as the 1st 90-minute weekly TV series. This would run 9 seasons, ending in 1971. On the show no-one would ever speak the name of the central character.

The United States Intelligence Board reported on the Soviet arms buildup in [Cuba](#) in Special National Intelligence Estimate 85-3-62, asserting that some intelligence indicated ongoing deployment of [Soviet nuclear missiles](#) to [Cuba](#):

- (a) two large-hatch Soviet lumber ships, the *Omsk* and the *Poltava*, had been “riding high in the water” possibly due to low-weight military cargo;
- (b) intelligence accounts of sightings of missiles and a report that [Fidel Castro](#)’s private pilot, after a night of





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drinking in [Havana](#), had boasted, “We will fight to the death and perhaps we can win because we have everything, including atomic weapons”; and

(c) evidence of the ongoing construction of elaborate SA-2 air defense systems.

The report asserted that the Soviet Union “could derive considerable military advantage from the establishment of [Soviet medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles](#) in [Cuba](#)....” However, it concluded that “the establishment on Cuban soil of Soviet nuclear striking forces which could be used against the US would be incompatible with Soviet policy as we presently estimate it .... [and the Soviets] would almost certainly estimate that this could not be done without provoking a dangerous U.S. reaction.” So, go figure.

September 20, Thursday: Escorted by federal marshals, [James Meredith](#) arrived at Oxford, Mississippi in order to become the 1st African-American to enroll at the University of Mississippi. Governor Ross Barnett personally blocked his entrance into the admissions building. 2,000 jeering white students and 100 policemen were on hand to enjoy this spectacle.

Voting was conducted for the 1st Constituent Assembly since Algerian independence, with voters being given a choice of “yes” or “no” for the 196 candidates from the National Liberation Front, led by Ahmed Ben Bella.

A Senate resolution on [Cuba](#) sanctioning the use of force if necessary to curb Cuban aggression and subversion in the Western Hemisphere passed the federal Senate by a vote of 86 over 1. The resolution stated that the United States of America was determined “to prevent the creation or use of an externally supported offensive military capability endangering the security of the U.S.” and to “support the aspirations of the Cuban people for a return to self-determination.” Meanwhile, in the federal House of Representatives, a foreign aid appropriations bill was approved with 3 amendments designed to cut off aid to any country permitting the use of its merchant ships to transport arms or goods of any kind to [Cuba](#).

Algeria held its 1st post-independence election. Candidates for the National Assembly were from a single list and all supported Ahmed Ben Bella.

In a national address, President Charles de Gaulle of France suggested a referendum on a constitutional amendment providing for direct popular election of the president.

Authorities in Southern Rhodesia banned the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union led by Joshua Nkomo.

Two different factions of the Argentine military battled each other, starting at the La Plata Anti-Aircraft Artillery School near Buenos Aires.

The MGB was introduced, which would become the best-selling sports car ever.

September 21, Friday: Igor Stravinsky returned to Russia after an absence of 48 years, as a guest of the Soviet Union. Stravinsky, his wife, and Robert Craft landed at Sheremetievo Airport, Moscow. This was the composer’s 1st visit to his homeland in 48 years.

The UN General Assembly approved a ceasefire agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands, with UN military observers from 6 nations monitoring the agreement. A larger UN Security Force would arrive at West Irian on October 3d.

In a speech to the UN General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko charged the United States of America with whipping up “war hysteria” and threatening to invade [Cuba](#). Gromyko states that “any sober-minded man knows that [Cuba](#) is not...building up her forces to such a degree that she can pose a threat to the United States or ... to any state of the Western Hemisphere.” Gromyko further warned that any US attack on



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[Cuba](#) or on [Cuba](#)-bound shipping would be taken as an act of war.

The British music magazine *New Musical Express* published a story about two 13-year-old schoolgirls, “Sue” and “Mary,” releasing a disc on Decca, and adding that “A Liverpool group, The Beatles, have recorded ‘Love Me Do’ for Parlophone Records, set for October 5 release.”

Fighting continued in Argentina between rival factions of the military.

Tony Richardson’s film “The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner” was released in Great Britain.

Kanon for strings and two tape players by Krzysztof Penderecki was performed for the initial time, in Warsaw.

Songs for Ariel, excerpts for voice and piano of the incidental music to *The Tempest* by Michael Tippett, was performed for the initial time, at Fenton House, London.

September 27, Thursday: Rachel Carson’s *SILENT SPRING*, that would give rise to the modern environmentalist movement, was published by Houghton, Mifflin in Boston.

The plan for a coordinated tactical air attack on [Cuba](#) in advance of an airborne assault and amphibious landing was presented to Curtis LeMay, the Air Force chief of staff. The concept was approved and October 20th was set as the date on which all preparations needed to implement such an attack would need to be completed.

Harry Partch traveled from San Francisco to Petaluma, California, where he inspected a former chick hatchery and found that its 1,100 square feet would be adequate to hold his equipment. This would be where he would produce “And on the Seventh Day Petals Fell in Petaluma.”

Octet for oboe, clarinet, horn, trombone, violin, cello, bass and piano by Charles Wuorinen was performed for the initial time, in New York’s Carnegie Recital Hall.

September 28, Friday: US Navy air reconnaissance aircraft observing [Cuba](#)-bound ships photographed 10 large shipping crates on the deck of the Soviet vessel *Kasimov*. Studying the size and configuration of the crates, photoanalysts determined that the containers held Soviet IL-28 light bomber aircraft. The IL-28s were more than 12 years old and had by 1960 been removed almost entirely from active service in the Soviet Air Force. Technically capable of carrying a [nuclear payload](#), the aircraft had never been assigned a [nuclear-delivery](#) role.

Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bella founded the 1st government of independent Algeria.

Yemeni radio falsely announced the death of its former ruler, Muhammad al-Badr (this dude had in fact escaped from the faction that took over his country, and found safety in Saudi Arabia).

A federal court in New Orleans found Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi guilty of contempt, and ordered him to comply with court orders or be fined \$10,000 per day.



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The Canadian satellite *Alouette*, to be used in the study of the ionosphere, was put into orbit by a US rocket launched from Point Arguello, California. This was the 1st artificial satellite designed and built by a nation other than the USA or USSR.

In Birmingham, Alabama a man claiming to be a member of the American Nazi Party struck [the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.](#) twice in the face. Neither King nor anyone around him retaliated. The man was taken into custody and would get 30 days in prison.

Tocatta for the Sixth Day by William Bergsma was performed for the initial time, in New York's Lincoln Center.

October:

## CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

### **“The Month That We Lived Most Dangerously” Interview with Cuban leader Jorge Risquet on 1962 “missile” crisis from the Militant, vol.62/no.37 October 19, 1998**

Below we reprint an interview with Jorge Risquet, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of [Cuba](#), on the October 1962 “missile” crisis. At that time, the U.S. administration of [President John Kennedy](#) brought the world to the brink of nuclear war and threatened the annihilation of the entire Cuban people over the issue of Soviet missiles that were installed in Cuba in an act of sovereign self-defense. Kennedy intended to mount an invasion of Cuba, as he had been planning to do for more than a year. His hand was stayed when the Pentagon informed him that, in face of an armed and ready Cuban population, he could expect an estimated 18,000 U.S. troop casualties during the first 10 days of an invasion.

The interview, headlined, “The month that we lived most dangerously,” appeared originally in issue no. 308 in 1997 of the magazine *Cuba Internacional*, published in Havana. The translation from Spanish is by the Militant.

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**BY MOISE'S SAAB**

Thirty-five years ago, in October 1962, the world was on the brink of nuclear holocaust because of the so-called Missile Crisis.

So close, in fact, that former U.S. defense secretary [Robert McNamara](#) does not even want to think about the subject because, to this day, it makes him shudder.

Jorge Risquet is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and a specialist on the causes and effects of that wild spiraling of tensions between Cuba and the two great superpowers of the time, the Soviet Union and the United States, over the placement on the island of intermediate-range ballistic missiles armed with nuclear warheads. Three and a half decades later, he remembers that episode and its consequences, which could have ended in an unprecedented tragedy for humanity.

How was defense organized for the very likely possibility of



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direct U.S. military intervention in Cuba?  
In the capital, Fidel [Castro], working directly with the General Staff, was responsible for the provinces of Havana and Matanzas; Che [[Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#)] was in Pinar del Ri'ó with a command post in Cueva de los Portales; in Las Villas and Camaguey, that is, the center of the country, the command was entrusted to Commander of the Revolution Juan Almeida; while Rau'l [Castro] was on the eastern front.

Looking back 35 years later, would you say that this was the month that we lived most dangerously?

Well, we were within a hair's breadth of nuclear war.

What or who avoided this confrontation?

One would have to be crazy to want nuclear war, because although the response capability of the Soviet Union was inferior to that of the United States - we didn't know it at the time, but we later found out that the United States held a 17-to-1 edge over the USSR - and Nikita Khrushchev [the former first secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR] bluffed a lot with the missiles. The millions of human lives, the devastation, and the radioactive consequences for everyone involved would have been unimaginable, irrecoverable.

Did the October, or Missile, Crisis simply break out or had it been prepared?

First we must look at the reasons why nuclear weapons were installed in Cuba, and then at the development of events. In the first place, we were convinced - and secret documents released later proved us right - that the United States was preparing a direct military attack on Cuba.

Later, when it was declassified, we would learn about the "[Mongoose](#)" plan, which in fact was to culminate in October, when, after creating a civil war situation in Cuba - according to the fevered imagination of the CIA officials in charge of the plan - U.S. troops would intervene.

We saw this coming, although we didn't know about the entire plan, which was controlled personally by Robert Kennedy.

So we asked the Soviets to accelerate the schedule for the delivery of armaments.

On May 29, 1962, they sent us a high-level delegation, led by Rachidov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the USSR and first secretary of one of the Asian republics; Marshal Sergei Biryuzov, chief of Soviet missile forces; and Aleksandr Alexeev, who had recently been named Soviet ambassador to Cuba, a tremendous man. He had excellent relations with Cuba; he was here as a journalist during the first days of the revolutionary triumph, and he thought like a Cuban. He thought we were right throughout the crisis.

This commission explained that the Soviet leadership had analyzed our point of view and had come to the same conclusion as we had with respect to the probable direct military attack, and that the only thing that could deter this attack was the installation of a number of nuclear warheads on medium- and intermediate-range missiles.

The Cuban leadership studied the issue and approached it in this way: if it were solely for the defense of Cuba, we would have preferred another solution over this one - for example, a military pact between the USSR and Cuba and a public statement that an attack on Cuba would be considered an attack on the USSR.



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Such a formulation would also have been a deterrent and, furthermore, would have been backed up by the shipment of more conventional arms and the corresponding advisers. But we told them we accepted the option of the nuclear missiles, considering that this would improve the East-West relationship of forces in favor of the socialist camp, to which we belonged, and subsequently would strengthen our defense against the plans being developed by the Pentagon to invade us.

We had no idea of the nuclear imbalance between the United States and the USSR. Fidel [Castro] would say years later that if he had known that the imbalance at the time was so great, he would have recommended to the Soviet leadership that they be more cautious and reject the idea of installing the missiles here, because we could not be so imprudent when the gap was so great. The Cuban leadership thought we should not approach the question solely from the point of view of defending Cuba. Since we belonged to the socialist camp and were asking it to make sacrifices for us, then it was also incumbent upon us to assume responsibilities involving risks and danger.

From the standpoint of international law, Cuba is a sovereign country, as was the USSR, and we adopted an agreement covered by Article 51 of the UN Charter.

It was for all these reasons that the Cuban leadership agreed to respond positively to the Soviet proposal. The Soviets sent a draft accord that was a sloppy, tactless document. The agreement was rewritten in Cuba, in Commander-in-Chief [Fidel Castro](#)'s own handwriting, and was taken to Moscow by Rau'l [Castro, Cuban armed forces minister] to be translated and studied. The translation turned out to be very difficult, because the discussions were with then-Defense Minister Marshal Rodion Malinovsky, with no one else present besides Ambassador Alexeev. We didn't speak Russian and they didn't speak Spanish, and our knowledge of diplomatic language was weak, so we often had to resort to dictionaries to get the right terms.

Nikita Khrushchev's autobiography gives an account of the events according to which the Cuban authorities did not agree, for example, on the question of the secret or public character of the military treaty. How did it really happen?

Cuba was not in favor of nondisclosure of the accord, given the missile question. We were convinced that not making the Cuba-USSR military accord public would lend a dubious character to a legal and sovereign act, which the United States would use in its favor. And we let the Soviets know this very frankly.

Khrushchev did not want to make it public in the middle of the U.S. congressional election campaign, because he did not want to harm Kennedy's chances of winning. He proposed making the announcement in November, during a visit he was planning to Cuba, after the U.S. elections. This is the historical reality. Then the question arose: What would the USSR do if, in the middle of the operation, the United States discovered it? How would the two superpowers react? The delegation that came in late May had no answer to this. When Rau'l was in Moscow in July, he asked the Soviet prime minister the same question, on Fidel's behalf. And?

And Nikita's answer was, "We will send the Baltic Fleet." We were pleased with the promised action, as it meant the Soviets had decided not to retreat in case the crisis eventually broke out.



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In late August, another Cuban delegation, headed by Che [Guevara], went to the USSR. He asked Khrushchev the same question, this time less hypothetically, as the United States was creating an atmosphere of hysteria over the arrival of a large quantity of armaments in Cuba. Nikita, who was a short man with short limbs, raised his right arm and reiterated, "We will send the Baltic Fleet." Che proposed signing the military accord on behalf of Cuba and making it public immediately. The Soviet leadership did not agree to announce it at that time, but rather in November, after the U.S. elections; also, Nikita and Fidel were to sign it in Havana.

Later, when the crisis broke out over the installation of missiles with nuclear warheads, how do you evaluate the course of events?

My impression is that Nikita arrived at a time when he was flustered by the crisis. And also that the senior Soviet leadership made several errors, including the discussion on the offensive or defensive character of those weapons. The correct thing would have been to proclaim the sovereign right of Cuba to acquire the arms it considered necessary for its defense.

All Cuban statements were based on this right and we never fell into the trap of labeling the type of weapons. It was a long and pointless discussion, but for the U.S. government, a weapon capable of reaching its territory was considered "offensive."

Another error was not announcing the accord. If, as soon as the pact was adopted, it was announced that Cuba had the weapons necessary to confront any foreign attack, it would have accomplished its political and military objective.

On the other hand, however, it must be said that, in general, the Soviet operation of transferring weapons as well as personnel, and their deployment, was flawless, considering the magnitude and distance.

As is known, this situation was settled between Moscow and Washington, without taking into account the Cuban position. Did this bilateral resolution damage relations between Cuba and the USSR?

Of course it damaged them. But rather than pour vinegar and salt in the wound, we used balm, and we worked to put that episode behind us, which we did.

Given the fact that the Cubans were excluded from the negotiations to resolve this problem, the outlook for relations between Havana and Washington was tense. Would the situation have been different if Cuba had participated in the discussions? The discussion of the problem should always have been between the three of us - the USSR, the United States, and Cuba. The crisis was handled the wrong way; Cuba should have been heard. There was no justification for keeping us out of the negotiations.

We believe our participation in the discussions could have extracted guarantees to halt the preparations for an attack, the spy flights, the economic and financial blockade - which had been decreed in early 1962 - the acts of sabotage, and the return of the land holding the U.S. naval base on Cuban territory, which is important to the United States for purely political reasons since, militarily speaking, it is obsolete and constitutes a death trap.

The Soviets, nevertheless, achieved the dismantling of the U.S. missile bases in Turkey.... For the United States, these bases





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had become a liability more than an advantage. We now know that they had raised withdrawing them with the Turks a year earlier. They feared that in a confrontation with the USSR, Soviet troops would occupy them. But the Turkish government was opposed, since it considered them important for its defense, and the United States did not insist. If you think about it, they were more considerate of their Turkish allies than the Soviets were with us.

What impact did this situation, its development and outcome, have in Cuba?

Since then we have known for certain that, in the event of an attack, we can count only on ourselves. He described it very well when he called them "the brilliant, but sad days of the October Crisis."

Brilliant, because the people knew that they were risking the very existence of the country and confronted the situation with dedication and courage. There was not a hint of panic either in the country's leadership or among the people. More than 400,000 people mobilized and formed the regular forces, the reserves, and the militia units. The United States, as McNamara confessed to me at the first "Tripartite Meeting on the Crisis" in Moscow, did not know about this enormous deployment capacity of Cuba.

Sad, because Cuba continued to be subjected to the danger of an attack. There are those who say that we succeeded in winning the pledge that a military attack would not be launched, but this is a fallacy. If the United States didn't attack, it was due to their growing involvement in the Vietnam War and the steady strengthening of Cuban military power.

Experience showed that they could not fight two wars at the same time.

Does this mean that the situation has radically changed?

During all those years Cuba grew stronger, and we have more weapons and are better armed. The doctrine of war of all the people was conceived and put into practice, by which millions of people have weapons and a means of combat, are organized, and know what their post is in the event of war.

The great hero, the protagonist of that crisis, is the same as today: the people. They are resisting, not a short-term tense situation, but rather daily challenges of every kind.

And, among the people, the heroes are the women, who every day face the problems of feeding the family, caring for the kids - basically everything necessary to survive.

And together with the people, we have a leadership capable of finding solutions to these everyday problems, of resisting the special period and the blockade, which has been intensified to inconceivable lengths by the Helms-Burton law, of defending the country's independence, and leading the gradual recovery of the economy.

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October 1, Monday: The United Nations Temporary Executive Authority replaced Dutch administration in Netherlands New Guinea.

Cornelius Cardew got a job as assistant art editor for Aldus Books in London.

At an evening reception given by the Soviet Minister of Culture, Igor Stravinsky met with leading Soviet composers including Dmitri Shostakovich and Aram Khachaturian. According to Robert Craft, this was “the most extraordinary event of the trip.”

[Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) met with the Joint Chiefs of Staff for a briefing on the latest intelligence on [Cuba](#), and to discuss intensified Cuban contingency planning. Defense Intelligence Agency analysts informed the group that some intelligence pointed to the possibility that medium-range ballistic missiles have been positioned in Pinar del Río Province. After the meeting Admiral Robert Dennison, Commander-in-Chief of the US Atlantic Command, was directed by McNamara “to be prepared to institute a blockade against [Cuba](#).” The commanders-in-chief of the Navy and the Air Force under the Atlantic Command were also directed to pre-position military equipment and weapons needed to execute the airstrike plan. Implementing this, the Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Command ordered military units to increase their readiness posture to execute Oplan 312, the airstrike on [Cuba](#).

About 3,000 federal troops and 400 US marshals managed to restore order in Oxford, Mississippi and the University of Mississippi. 60-70 people were injured and about 150 were arrested. [James Meredith](#) attended classes guarded by 4 marshals. His total security contingent included 75 US marshals. White students jeered him, hurling racial epithets. There’s more than one way to learn a lot in college.

October 2, Tuesday: The United States of America announced that near Johnston Island in the Pacific Ocean, it had just resumed [atmospheric nuclear testing](#).

Peter Mennin replaced William Schuman as president of the Juilliard School, New York.

As a result of his meeting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the previous day, [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) sends a memo to the Joint Chiefs outlining 6 circumstances in which he could imagine that military action against [Cuba](#) might become necessary:

- a. Soviet action against Western rights in Berlin....
- b. Evidence that the [Castro](#) regime has permitted the positioning of [bloc offensive weapons](#) on Cuban soil or in Cuban harbors.
- c. An attack against the Guantanamo Naval Base or against U.S. planes or vessels outside Cuban territorial air space or waters.
- d. A substantial popular uprising in [Cuba](#), the leaders of which request assistance....
- e. Cuban armed assistance to subversion in other parts of the Western Hemisphere.
- f. A decision by the President that the affairs in [Cuba](#) have reached a point inconsistent with continuing U.S. national security.

[Secretary McNamara](#) asked that future military planning cover a variety of these contingencies and placed particular emphasis on plans that would assure [Fidel Castro](#)’s removal from power.



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October 4, Thursday: In the [SG-A](#) meeting to discuss the progress of [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#), Attorney-General Robert Kennedy indicated that [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) was “concerned about progress on the [MONGOOSE](#) program” and believed that “more priority should be given to trying to mount sabotage operations.” The President’s brother also expressed his brother’s “concern over [the] developing situation,” and urged that “massive activity” be undertaken within the [MONGOOSE](#) framework. The [SG-A](#) agreed to contemplate the mining of [Cuban](#) harbors, and capturing people for interrogation.

The President created stronger measures in the embargo against [Cuba](#). He ordered US flagged ships to avoid [Cuba](#) entirely and indicated that ships bringing goods to [Cuba](#) would not be welcome at US ports.

Igor Stravinsky and his companions flew from Moscow to Leningrad, his native city.

Symphony no.8 by William Schuman was performed for the initial time, at Lincoln Center, [New York](#), conducted by Leonard Bernstein. It had been commissioned by the [New York](#) Philharmonic for the inauguration of Philharmonic Hall (Avery Fisher Hall).

October 6, Saturday: On October 1st the Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Command had ordered military units to increase their readiness posture to execute Oplan 312, the airstrike on [Cuba](#). On this day he directed increased readiness to execute not only that airstrike but, following it, an actual invasion of the island using one of the 2 US contingency plans known as Oplan 314 and Oplan 316.

West Berliners broke a tunnel through into the basement of a shop in the East. After helping the 2 shopkeepers escape to the west, they were discovered by East Berlin police. A West Berliner was shot. A British military ambulance dispatched to the scene was refused passage through the wall, which was the initial time a military vehicle had been denied entry into East Berlin (the East German guards also turned back a Red Cross ambulance).

After having been censured on the previous day, Prime Minister Georges Pompidou and his cabinet resigned.

October 8, Monday: [Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado](#), addressing the UN General Assembly, called upon the United Nations to condemn the US trade embargo against [Cuba](#). Near the end of his address Dorticós declared: “If ... we are attacked, we will defend ourselves. I repeat, we have sufficient means with which to defend ourselves; we have indeed our inevitable weapons, the weapons which we would have preferred not to acquire and which we do not wish to employ.” Anti-Castro demonstrators interrupted the speech 4 times.

Algeria was admitted to the United Nations.

A gun battle erupted between East and West Berlin police after East Berlin police killed 2 refugees attempting to swim across the Spree River.

After a week of terrorism President Rómulo Betancourt suspended constitutional liberties in Venezuela.

Before beginning a concert of his music in the Great Hall of the Leningrad Philharmonic, Igor Stravinsky told his audience that “69 years ago I sat with my mother in that corner at a concert conducted by Napravnik to mourn the death of Tchaikovsky. Now I am conducting in the same hall. It is a great occasion for me.”

String Quartet no.5 by Walter Piston was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.



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October 13, Saturday: The 1st installment in the Saturday Evening Post of a novel FAIL-SAFE (in 1964 Sidney Lumet would make this atomic-warfare nightmare into a movie starring Henry Fonda, Dan O'Herlihy, and Walter Matthau, and in 2000 it would be recycled as a live TV play on CBS).

State Department Ambassador-at-Large Chester Bowles had a long conversation with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin. Bowles, after having been briefed by Thomas Hughes of the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research, told Dobrynin that the United States “had some evidence” indicating that Soviet nuclear missiles were in Cuba. Dobrynin, who had not been told of the missile deployment by the Kremlin, repeatedly denied that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics harbored any intention of placing such weapons in Cuba.

“Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?” by Edward Albee opened on Broadway.

October 16, Thursday: President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was shown secret aerial photographs by McGeorge Bundy, of Soviet medium-range missile installations in Cuba.

### CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

The President immediately summoned a group of 14 advisors that would become known as “ExComm,” the Executive Committee of the National Security Council.

11:50AM: The ExComm discussed alternatives. Some favored a blockade of Cuba, but most preferred some sort of military action. Robert Kennedy passed this note to his brother the President, “I now know how Tojo felt when he was planning Pearl Harbor.”



Soviet Premier Khrushchev told US Ambassador Foy Kohler that the USSR had no military interests in Cuba and was helping the Cubans build a “fishing port.”

8:45AM: McGeorge Bundy informed President John Fitzgerald Kennedy that “hard photographic evidence” has been obtained showing Soviet medium-range ballistic missiles in Cuba. The President immediately called an 11:45AM meeting and dictated the names of the 14 or so advisers he wanted present. This was the group that becomes known as the “ExComm” — the Executive Committee of the National Security Council. Later that morning President Kennedy briefed his brother Robert, who expresses surprise. The President telephoned a Republican lawyer, John McCloy, who acted as one of his private advisers. This Republican recommended that the president take forceful action to remove the threat even if that involved not only an airstrike but also an invasion.

11:15AM: The President conferred for half an hour with Charles Bohlen, the former US ambassador to the Soviet Union who has just been appointed ambassador to France. Bohlen later recalled that at this early stage in the crisis, “there seemed to be no doubt in [Kennedy’s] mind, and certainly none in mine, that the United States would have to get these bases eliminated ... the only question was how it was to be done.” Bohlen would participate in the 1st ExComm meeting later that morning but would leave for France on the following day.



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11:50AM: The 1st meeting of the President's ExComm convened. Photographic evidence was presented, including pictures of [Soviet missile sites](#) under construction, with canvas-covered missile trailers. The devices were initially identified by photoanalysts as [nuclear tipped SS-3 missiles](#) on the basis of their length; by evening, the [Soviet medium-range ballistic missiles](#) were correctly identified as [longer-range SS-4 missiles](#). No [nuclear warheads](#) were reported as seen in the area. CIA photoanalyst Sidney Graybeal informed the group that "we do not believe [the missiles] are ready to fire." The 1st part of the noon meeting covered questions regarding the validity and certainty of the evidence, Soviet military capabilities in [Cuba](#) and what additional US surveillance might be required. Further U-2 flights were ordered, and 6 U-2 reconnaissance missions were flown during the day. In the freewheeling discussion, participants covered a number of different options for dealing with the situation. The principle options discussed were:

- (a) a single, surgical airstrike on the missile bases;
- (b) an attack on various Cuban facilities;
- (c) a comprehensive series of attacks and invasion; or
- (d) a blockade of [Cuba](#).

Preliminary discussions leaned toward taking some form of military action. As discussions continued on proposals to destroy the [Soviet missiles](#) by airstrike, Robert Kennedy passed a note to his brother: "I now know how Tojo felt when he was planning Pearl Harbor."

Afternoon: [Secretary Robert Strange McNamara](#), Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff held a luncheon meeting to begin preparing the military for any actions that might be ordered. At the State Department, additional discussions continued with Dean Rusk, Undersecretary of State George Ball, Adlai Stevenson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Edwin Martin, Deputy Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson, and State Department Soviet specialist Llewellyn Thompson.

The United States Intelligence Board met to examine the new U-2 photographs and to coordinate intelligence on the Cuban crisis. During the meeting, the USIB directed the Guided Missile and Astronautics Intelligence Committee to prepare an immediate evaluation of the [Soviet missile](#) sites. That group concluded that the missiles were clearly under Soviet control and that there was no evidence that [nuclear warheads](#) were present in [Cuba](#). It also concluded that the missile installations thus far identified did not appear to be as yet operational.

The [SG-A](#) convened in the White House prior to the second ExComm meeting. According to Richard Helms's notes, Robert Kennedy expressed [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#)'s "general dissatisfaction" with progress under the [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) program. The [SG-A](#) discussed but rejected several alternatives for eliminating the newly discovered [Soviet missile](#) sites in [Cuba](#), including a proposal to have Cuban émigrés bomb the sites.

6:30PM: At the 2d ExComm meeting, Marshall Carter stated that the [Soviet missiles](#) might be "fully operational within two weeks" although a single missile might achieve operational capability "much sooner." After the intelligence report was presented [Secretary Robert Strange McNamara](#) outlined 3 broad options for action. The 1st was "political," involving communications with [Fidel Castro](#) and Premier Khrushchev; the 2d was "part political, part military," involving a blockade of weapons and open surveillance; the 3d was "military," involving an attack on [Cuba](#) and the missile sites. The ExComm members debate but did not decide which option to use.



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Premier Khrushchev received US Ambassador to the Soviet Union Foy Kohler for a 3-hour conversation on a variety of subjects. Khrushchev reassured Kohler that the Cuban fishing port the Soviet Union has recently agreed to help build would remain entirely non-military. Khrushchev added that the Cuban government had announced the agreement without consulting Soviet officials, and that when he had learned of the leak, he “cursed them and said they should have waited until after the U.S. elections.” Once again Khrushchev insisted that all Soviet activity in [Cuba](#) was defensive, and sharply criticized US bases in Turkey and Italy.

A U-2 spy plane returned with reconnaissance photos showing [Soviet missiles](#) being installed.

October 17, Wednesday: In the morning Adlai Stevenson wrote to [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) warning that world opinion would equate the [US nuclear missiles](#) stationed in Turkey with Soviet stuff similarly in [Cuba](#). Warning that US officials could not “negotiate with a gun at our head,” he stated, “I feel you should have made it clear that the existence of nuclear missile bases anywhere was negotiable before we start anything.” Stevenson suggested that personal emissaries should be sent to both [Fidel Castro](#) and Premier Khrushchev to discuss the situation.

Further debate on the Cuban situation took place that morning at the State Department. Dean Acheson and John McCone attended such discussions for the initial time, though [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) and Vice President Johnson were absent. By this point [Secretary Robert Strange McNamara](#) has become the strongest proponent of the blockade option. The Secretary of Defense reported that a “surgical” airstrike option was militarily impractical in the view of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and that any military action would have to include attacks on all military installations in [Cuba](#), eventually leading to an invasion. McNamara urged seeking alternative means of eliminating the [Soviet missiles](#) before embarking on such a drastic course of action. However, critics of the blockade, led primarily by Dean Acheson, pointed out that a blockade would have no effect on missiles already in position. Airstrike proponents also express concern that a US blockade would shift the confrontation from [Cuba](#) to the Soviet Union and that Soviet counteractions, including a Berlin blockade, might result.

Around this point, Georgi Bolshakov, a Soviet embassy official who served as an authoritative back channel for communications between Soviet and US leaders, relayed a message from Premier Khrushchev to Attorney General Robert Kennedy that the arms being sent to [Cuba](#) were intended only for defensive purposes. Bolshakov had not been told by Khrushchev that the Soviet Union was actually in the process of installing [medium-range ballistic missiles](#) and [intermediate-range ballistic missiles](#) in [Cuba](#). By the time Bolshakov’s message reached [President Kennedy](#), he has been fully briefed on the [Soviet missile](#) deployment.

An [SS-5 intermediate-range missile site](#), the 1st of 3 to be identified, was detected in [Cuba](#) (the SS-5s have ranges of up to 2,200 nautical miles, more than twice the range of the [SS-4 medium-range ballistic missiles](#)). The Guided Missile and Astronautics Intelligence Committee estimated that the [SS-5 intermediate-range missile sites](#) would not become operational before December but that 16 and possibly as many as 32 [SS-4 medium-range ballistic missiles](#) could be operational in about a week. (No [SS-5 missiles](#) would actually reach [Cuba](#) at any time, although this would not be completely confirmed by US officials during the crisis.)





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October 18, Thursday: 11AM: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#)'s ExComm started to deliberate the moral acceptability of air strikes against the [missile bases](#) of [Cuba](#). The Joint Chiefs of Staff, attending part of the meeting, recommended that the President order an airstrike on the [Soviet missiles](#) and other key Cuban military installations. Robert Kennedy expressed a fear that strikes might be viewed by the world as "Pearl Harbor in reverse." He continued to stress that the US has positioned an equivalent nuclear missile threat on the Soviet border, in Turkey.



**Japs sneak up.  
We don't sneak up.**

2:30PM: More discussions took place, in Dean Rusk's conference room at the State Department.

3:20PM: [President Kennedy](#), who did not attend the talks at the State Department, conferred privately with Dean Rusk and [Secretary Robert Strange McNamara](#).

During the day the President met privately with Dean Acheson for over an hour. When the president raised his brother's concern over the morality of a "Pearl Harbor in reverse," Acheson reportedly told the President that he was being "silly" and that it was "unworthy of [him] to talk that way." Acheson again voiced his opinion that the surgical airstrike was the best US option. Acheson, however, was in the minority in dismissing the Pearl Harbor analogy. Although Paul Nitze also recalled thinking that the analogy was "nonsense," others such as George Ball found it persuasive. In some cases, as with Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, the moral argument became the deciding factor behind their support for the blockade.

5PM: Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met with the President in the White House to assure him that Soviet assistance to [Cuba](#) was merely humanitarian and that any military assistance they were providing would be merely defensive (although the president was aware the foreign minister was lying he did not want to reveal anything about the U-2 photo recon evidence he had seen). Gromyko mentioned that Premier Khrushchev was planning to visit the United Nations following the November US elections and that he believed a meeting with Kennedy at that time would be useful. Kennedy agreed to meet the Soviet Premier, and Gromyko turned the discussion to [Cuba](#), charging that this was merely about the United States "pestering" an island country. According to the minutes of the meeting, "Gromyko stated that he was instructed to make it clear ... that [Soviet military] assistance, [was] pursued solely for the purpose of contributing to the defense capabilities of [Cuba](#).... If it were otherwise, the Soviet Government would never had become involved in rendering such assistance." Without taking exception to Gromyko's claim, Kennedy responded by reading a portion of his September 4th warning against the deployment of [offensive weapons](#) in [Cuba](#). After a discussion of other issues, the meeting ended at 7:08PM.

Following his chat with Gromyko, the President directed Llewellyn Thompson to inform Ambassador Dobrynin that a summit would not be appropriate. Kennedy then met with Robert Lovett, a former government official brought in to give advice in the crisis. Lovett warned that an airstrike would appear to be an excessive 1st step. He argued that a blockade was a better 1st step, although he expresses a preference for blocking the



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movement of all materials into [Cuba](#) except for food and medicine rather than limiting the quarantine merely to [offensive weapons](#).

9:00PM: Meeting at the White House, the ExComm presented its recommendations to the President. By this point most members of the committee were supporting the blockade option. As this meeting progressed, however, individual opinions began to shift and the consensus behind the blockade broke down. Kennedy asked the group to continue deliberations.

Evening: Robert Kennedy phoned his deputy, Nicholas deBelleville Katzenbach, to request preparation of a brief establishing the legal basis for a blockade of [Cuba](#). The legality of a blockade was also being examined independently at the State Department by Leonard Carpenter Meeker, deputy legal adviser, who would prepare "On Legal Aspects of Declaring a Blockade of Cuba." (He was not convinced of the legality of a blockade and was certain that such a thing would never be approved by the United Nations Security Council. He suggested that the Organization of American States could bring forth a chance of legitimacy but that it would be very difficult to get the requisite 2/3ds vote to pass such a resolution. Instead he suggested that the United States fall back on the medical term "quarantine" in describing its actions. Whereas a "blockade" would be perceived as an act of war, a "quarantine" might not! In this way he would help defuse by far the most serious crisis of our modern era.)

The 1st of a series of daily "Joint Evaluation" intelligence reports was disseminated. The evaluation, the product of collaboration between the Joint Atomic Energy Intelligence Committee and the Guided Missile and Astronautics Intelligence Committee, stated that [nuclear warheads](#) could rise from [Cuba](#) perhaps within 18 hours.

October 19, Friday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) was being set up with 2 speeches, one about an air-strike, the other about a blockade. The President's ExComm was at this point favoring a blockade, so the air-strike speech would be abandoned. When the press would begin to publish reports of [missiles in Cuba](#), all that stuff would of course be laughed at by the Department of Defense.

11:00AM: At the State Department, Nicholas Katzenbach and Leonard Carpenter Meeker provided the President's ExComm with their legal opinions regarding a blockade. As the meeting progressed, it became apparent that sharp disagreements about how the United States should proceed still existed. In order to provide clear options to the President, the ExComm decided to set up independent working groups, one to develop the blockade option and one to develop the airstrike option, drafting speeches for each plan and outlining possible contingencies.

Early afternoon: Discussions continued in the ExComm. The papers developed by the separate working groups were exchanged and critiqued. In the course of this process, airstrike proponents began to shift their support to the blockade option. The airstrike speech was abandoned, and Theodore Sorensen agreed to try to put together a speech for the President on the blockade. Sorensen would complete the speech at 3:00AM.

8:40PM: [Ural Alexis Johnson](#) and [Paul Nitze](#) met to develop a specific timetable for carrying out all of the diplomatic and military actions required by the airstrike or the blockade plan. The schedule included raising military alert levels, reinforcing the Guantánamo naval base, and briefing NATO allies. All timing revolved around "P Hour," the time at which the President would address the nation to inform us all of our crisis.

Evening: Responding to questions about an article by Paul Scott and Robert Allen dealing with [Soviet missiles](#) in [Cuba](#), a Defense Department spokesperson replied that the Pentagon had no information indicating that there were missiles in [Cuba](#). Reports that emergency military measures were being implemented were also denied.



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Special National Intelligence Estimate 11-18-62, entitled “Soviet Reactions to Certain U.S. Courses of Action on [Cuba](#),” reported that a direct approach to Premier Khrushchev or [Fidel Castro](#) was unlikely to halt the ongoing deployment of [Soviet missiles](#) to [Cuba](#). On the other hand, a total blockade of [Cuba](#), the SNIE projected, would “almost certainly” lead to “strong direct pressures” elsewhere by the Soviet government. Any form of direct military action against [Cuba](#) would result in an even greater chance of Soviet military retaliation. In such a situation, the report noted, there existed “the possibility that the Soviets, under great pressure to respond, would again miscalculate and respond in a way which, through a series of actions and reactions, could escalate to general war....” This was read by the President and most of the main policy planners the following day (Special National Intelligence Estimate 11-19-62, produced on October 20th, would draw similar conclusions).

October 20, Saturday: The United States of America began preparation for a quarantine and possible invasion of [Cuba](#). Large numbers of troops were moved into the southeast of the country while hundreds of vessels were sent into the Caribbean.

The 2d installment in the [Saturday Evening Post](#) of Eugene Burdick’s and Harvey Wheeler’s novel [FAIL-SAFE](#) (in 1964 Sidney Lumet would make this atomic-warfare nightmare into a movie starring Henry Fonda, Dan O’Herlihy, and Walter Matthau, and in 2000 it would be recycled as a live TV play on CBS).

During Operation Dominic a 60-kiloton [A-bomb](#) was detonated at an altitude of 147 kilometers, in the highest regions of our atmosphere. According to eyewitnesses instead of a fireball, there was merely a circular blue region inside a blood red ring, a phenomenon that disappeared in less than a minute. (Before the Partial Test Ban Treaty, which would prohibit any nuclear explosion in the atmosphere or in space, would go into effect in 1963, the US would explode 6 bombs in space and the USSR 4. As late as the 1970s the Soviets would be planning to nuke the surface of the planet Venus.)

9:00AM: ExComm meetings continued at the State Department. Final planning for the implementation of a naval blockade was completed and Theodore Sorensen’s draft speech for [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) was amended and approved. As [Secretary Robert Strange McNamara](#) left the conference room he reportedly phoned the Pentagon and ordered the readying of 4 tactical squadrons for a possible airstrike on [Cuba](#). He explained to an official who overhears the conversation, “If the president doesn’t accept our recommendation, there won’t be time to do it later.”

2:30PM: The President met with the full ExComm group of planning principals. He noted that the airstrike plan as presented was not a “surgical” strike but a massive military commitment that could involve heavy casualties on all sides. As if to underscore the scale of the proposed US military attack on [Cuba](#), one member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff reportedly suggested the use of [nuclear weapons](#), saying that in such an attack the Soviet Union would use its nuclear weapons. The President directed that attention be focused on implementing the blockade option, calling it the only course of action compatible with American principles. The scenario for the full quarantine operation, covering diplomatic initiatives, public statements, and military actions, was reviewed and approved. Kennedy’s address to the nation was set for October 22d at 7:00PM. “P-Hour.”<sup>312</sup>



Adlai Stevenson, who has flown in from New York City, entered the discussion late. He proposed that the



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quarantine be accompanied by a US proposal for a settlement involving the withdrawal of [US missiles](#) from Turkey and the evacuation of the naval base at Guantánamo. The proposal was promptly attacked by several of the participants, who considered that it conceded too much. The President was among those critical of Stevenson's proposal. According to minutes of the meeting, Kennedy "agreed that at an appropriate time we would have to acknowledge that we were willing to take strategic missiles out of Turkey and Italy if this issue was raised by the Russians.... But he was firm in saying we should only make such a proposal in the future." After the meeting adjourned at 5:10PM, the President told Theodore Sorensen that he was canceling the remainder of his midterm election campaign trip. Kennedy instructed Sorensen to redraft the quarantine speech, although he noted that he would not make a final decision on whether to opt for the quarantine or an airstrike until he had consulted one last time with Air Force officials the following morning.

Late night: James Reston, Washington Bureau Chief for the New York [Times](#), phoned George Ball and McGeorge Bundy to ask why there was such a flurry of activity in Washington DC. Granted a partial briefing on the Cuban situation, Reston was asked to hold the story in the interests of national security.

The intelligence community prepared another Special National Intelligence Estimate reviewing the possible consequences of certain courses of action that the United States could follow with regard to [Cuba](#). It estimated that 16 launchers for SS-4 MRBMs were operational and that these operational [missiles](#) could be fired within 8 hours of a decision to launch. The inventory of other major Soviet weapons identified in [Cuba](#) by the document included:

- (a) 22 IL-28 jet light bombers;
- (b) 39 MiG-21 jet fighters;
- (c) 62 less advanced jet fighters;
- (d) 24 SA-2 missile sites;
- (e) 3 cruise missile sites for coastal defense; and
- (f) 12 Komar cruise missile patrol boats.

A nuclear warhead storage bunker was identified at one of the Cuban missile sites for the initial time. US intelligence proved unable to establish definitively whether warheads were actually in [Cuba](#) at any time, however, and the ExComm believed it prudent simply to assume that they were. (Soviet sources have recently suggested that 20 of a planned deployment of 40 nuclear warheads reached the islands but that none of the warheads were ever actually "mated" to their [missiles](#).)

The Peoples Republic of [China](#) launched a major offensive into India, in Ladakh and the Northwest Frontier Agency (Arunachal Pradesh), moving 130 kilometers without effective Indian opposition.

A stranger to myself for baritone, male chorus, two trombones and timpani by Ross Lee Finney to words of Camus was performed for the initial time, at Colgate University.

Trio for flute, violin and harp by Henry Cowell was performed for the initial time, at Michigan State University, Oakland.

Irving Berlin's "Mr. President" opened on Broadway.

312. Initially, J. Robert Oppenheimer had attempted to justify his role in the Manhattan Project on the grounds that this new big bomb might be a deterrent to future warfare, ushering in Immanuel Kant's era of perpetual peace (perchance he also believed in the tooth fairy). During this year, however, after this pathetic ploy had been crushed by the weight of history, he was attempting a rather more elaborate self-justification according to which he was just another scientist: "It is a profound and necessary truth, that the deep things in science are not found because they are useful; they are found because it was possible to find them."



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October 21, Sunday: 10:00AM: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) met with secretaries Rusk and [Secretary Robert Strange McNamara](#). After a brief discussion the President gave final approval to the quarantine plan. Around this time McGeorge Bundy briefed White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger on the crisis for the initial time.

11:30AM: Although he was committed to the blockade, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy called General Walter C. Sweeney of the Tactical Air Command into the oval office and instructed him to be ready to carry out an airstrike against [missile bases](#) in [Cuba](#) any time after the morning of the 22d.



General Sweeney told those present that to eliminate the [Soviet missiles](#) in [Cuba](#), additional strikes would be necessary on, at a minimum, Soviet surface-to-air missile sites and MiG fighter plane airfields, so that altogether several hundred bombing sorties would be required. After carrying out all these strikes, Sweeney asserted, he could only guarantee that 90% of the Soviet missiles would be destroyed. Although Kennedy has apparently finalized plans for the quarantine before Sweeney's briefing, he nonetheless directed that the military be prepared to carry out an airstrike anytime after the morning of October 22d.

2:30PM: The president convened a formal meeting of the National Security Council. Admiral George Anderson briefed the gathering on the quarantine plans and procedures that he had drawn up earlier in the day. Anderson explained that each ship approaching the quarantine line would be signaled to stop for boarding and inspection. If the ship did not respond a shot will be fired across its bow. If there was still no response a shot would be fired into the rudder to cripple the vessel. The President expressed concern that such an action might unintentionally destroy the boat, but Anderson reassured him that it was possible to cripple a ship without sinking it. Kennedy concluded the meeting by observing that the United States might be subjected to threats in the following days but that "the biggest danger lay in taking no action."

Midway through this ExComm session, Kennedy and Robert Lovett left the room briefly to hold a private conversation. Kennedy asked Lovett if he thought that Adlai Stevenson was capable of handling negotiations at the United Nations. Lovett replied that he did not think Stevenson was right for the job and recommended that the ambassador to the UN be assisted by John McCloy. Kennedy assented and Lovett arranged to have McCloy flown from Germany to the United States.

Despite White House precautions, several newspapers had by this point pieced together many of the details of the crisis. Pierre Salinger notified the President in 4 separate calls during the day that security was crumbling. To keep the story from breaking the President phones Max Frankel at the New York [Times](#) and Philip Graham at the Washington [Post](#) and asked [Secretary Robert Strange McNamara](#) to call John Hay Whitney, the publisher of the New York [Herald Tribune](#) (all 3 pledged to hold their stories).

[China](#) lodged a "most urgent" protest against a "massive" Indian incursion along its border.

Fluorescences for orchestra by Krzysztof Penderecki was performed for the initial time, in Donaueschingen.



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October 22, Monday: On this day, in [India](#), Prime Minister Nehru was addressing his nation, preparing them for a potential war with [China](#).

The 1st [US Jupiter missile](#) site was formally turned over to the Turkish Air Force for maintenance and operation. Although the move was publicized in Turkey and probably detected by Moscow, US decision-makers apparently were not aware of the action.

Soviet Colonel Oleg Penkovsky was arrested in the Soviet Union. From April 1961 to the end of August 1962, Penkovsky has been a spy for British and US intelligence services, providing them with material on Soviet military capabilities, including important technical information on Soviet medium-range ballistic missile and intercontinental ballistic missile programs. Penkovsky had been given a few telephonic coded signals for use in emergency situations, including one to be used if he was about to be arrested and one to be used in case of imminent war. When he learned he was about to be arrested, Penkovsky apparently elected to use the signal for an imminent Soviet attack (Western intelligence analysts did not believe Penkovsky's final signal, so the ExComm would not be informed of Penkovsky's arrest or its circumstances).

10:55AM: The State Department transmitted a special "go" message to most US diplomatic posts abroad instructing envoys to brief foreign heads of government or foreign ministers about the Cuban [missile](#) crisis.

11:00AM: Dean Acheson briefed Charles de Gaulle and delivered [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#)'s letter on the Cuban situation. Acheson was not able to provide de Gaulle with a copy of Kennedy's speech because only part of the text had arrived. After Acheson concluded his summary of the contents of the letter, de Gaulle declared, "it is exactly what I would have done.... You may tell your President that France will support him." At about the same time, US Ambassador to Great Britain David Bruce briefed Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and Lord Home, the British foreign minister. Bruce also failed to receive a complete copy of Kennedy's speech and briefed MacMillan without it. MacMillan's initial reaction upon seeing the photos of the [Soviet missile](#) sites reportedly was to remark: "Now the Americans will realize what we here in England have lived through for the past many years." He hastened to assure Bruce that he would assist and support the United States of America in any way possible.

The ExComm met with the President for a brief discussion. The President directed that personal messages be sent to commanders of [Jupiter missiles](#) in Italy and Turkey instructing them to destroy or render inoperable the Jupiters if any attempt was made to fire them without the President's authorization. During the meeting, State Department Legal Advisor Abram Chayes successfully suggested changing the legal justification for the blockade presented in Kennedy's speech. Instead of basing the action on the United Nations charter, which assured a country's inherent right of self-defense in case of armed attack, Chayes suggested citing the right of the Organization of American States to take collective measures to protect hemispheric security. In addition, the President accepted Leonard Meeker's suggestion that the limited nature of the "blockade" be stressed by deeming it a "quarantine."

12 Noon: The US Strategic Air Command initiated a massive alert of its [B-52 nuclear bomber force](#), guaranteeing that 1/8th of the force was airborne at any given time. The alert was to take place quietly and gradually and be in full effect by October 23d. B-52 flights began around the clock with a new bomber taking off each time another landed. Dispersal of the 183 B-47 nuclear bombers began, to 33 civilian and military airfields. For the 1st time in the history of the Strategic Air Command, all aircraft were armed with [nuclear weapons](#).

2:14PM: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) ordered that as of 7PM, the start of his speech to the nation,





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US Military forces worldwide were to go to an increased alert posture, DEFCON-3.



Supreme Allied Commander, Europe Lauris Norstad was ordered to attempt to persuade the forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to assume a comparable alert posture, but was authorized to “exercise his discretion in complying with this directive.” During the day General Norstad conferred with Harold MacMillan, who strongly argued against this “mobilizing” of European forces. Aware that an alert might weaken European support for the United States — and having received a personal message from the President stressing the need to keep the alliance together — the general refrained from demanding that European forces be put on the higher alert status.

3:00PM: The President reviewed the crisis in a formal meeting of the National Security Council. During the meeting, for the initial time attended by representatives from the Office of Emergency Planning, Kennedy formally established his ExComm committee.

5:00PM: 17 congressional leaders from both parties assembled at the White House for a briefing by the President, Secretary of State Rusk, and an intelligence officer. Most expressed support for the blockade plan. Some, however, led by Senators Richard B. Russell and J. William Fulbright, argued that the quarantine would not compel the Soviet Union to remove the [Soviet missiles](#) from [Cuba](#) and that an airstrike or invasion should instead be employed.

6:00PM: Secretary of State Rusk met with Anatoly Dobrynin. Calling the [Soviet missile](#) deployment “a gross error,” Rusk handed the Soviet ambassador an advance copy of [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#)’s speech. Rusk would later recall that Dobrynin, who had not been informed by Soviet leaders of the Cuban missile deployment, aged “ten years right in front of my eyes.”

US Ambassador to the Soviet Union Foy Kohler called the Kremlin to deliver a letter from [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) and the text of the speech. “I must tell you that the United States was determined that this threat to the security of this hemisphere be removed,” read the president’s letter.

6:26PM: The State Department received a letter addressed to [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) from British Prime Minister Macmillan. MacMillan warned that “Premier Khrushchev, in reaction to the blockade, ... may try to escort his ships into the Caribbean and force you to attack them. This ‘fire-first’ dilemma has always worried us and we have always hoped to impale the Russians on this horn. We must be ready for retaliatory action against Berlin [as well as for] pressure on the weaker parts of the Free World defense system.” Late that evening the President phoned MacMillan. During the crisis, the two leaders would remain in close contact, speaking with each other over the telephone as often as 3 times a day.

7PM: President Kennedy began a 17-minute televised address to the nation. He informed the citizens of the presence of Soviet [offensive ballistic missiles](#) in [Cuba](#). He stated that as one of his “initial steps,” a “strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment” was being put into effect. During the president’s speech, 22 interceptor aircraft went airborne in the event that the Cuban government’s reaction was military. Our President warned the Soviet government that the United States would “regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response against the Soviet Union.” US military forces worldwide, with the



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exception of the United States Air Forces in Europe, went to DEFCON 3. 22 interceptor aircraft went airborne. [ICBM missile crews](#) were alerted and [Polaris nuclear submarines](#) in port were dispatched to preassigned stations at sea.

## CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

According to dissident Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, Khrushchev responded to the speech by “issuing orders to the captains of Soviet ships ... approaching the blockade zone to ignore it and to hold course for the Cuban ports” (Khrushchev’s order reportedly would be nullified at the prompting of Anastas Mikoyan as the Soviet ships were approaching the quarantine line on the morning of October 24th).

7:30PM: Assistant Secretary of State Edwin Martin conducted a further closed-door briefing for Latin American ambassadors at the State Department.

8:00PM: At about this hour Secretary of State Dean Rusk spoke to a meeting of all other ambassadors in Washington. Rusk reportedly told the group, “I would not be candid and I would not be fair with you if I did not say that we are in as grave a crisis as mankind has been in.”

A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: The computer command and control system for the [nuclear missiles](#) of the time was an untested shambles. For instance, at Malstrom Air Force Base, near Great Falls, Montana, our defenders had been rushing to get a batch of new solid-fueled Minuteman 1 missiles up and operationally ready, just in case the President decided to fire them in the direction of the USSR. Each of the missiles carried a [1.3-megaton nuclear warhead](#). Now, ideally, there are all sorts of fail-safe devices and fail-safe procedures to safeguard such missiles from Colonel-Jack-Ripper types, a few of which do happen to exist in the USAF.<sup>313</sup> These fail-safe devices and fail-safe procedures, such as dual control panels neither of which will operate unless there is agreement from the other, are designed to prevent one crazy mof from being able to start a nuclear war on his own hook. The rule is, only if that one crazy mof is the President himself can such a thing be allowed to happen. At Malstrom there were no such fail-safe devices and there were no such fail-safe procedures, because, after all, the new missile capabilities were still in the process of installation and testing. Recognizing this danger, the military management of the silos though they had secured the firing panel for launching [a pack of ten nuclear-warheaded missiles in a guarded vault](#) an hour’s drive away from the silos. That would of course have rendered the situation relatively safe, or comparatively safe. But they had not actually accomplished what they were supposing they had accomplished. Actually, that firing panel they thought they had placed under the most intense security had been stashed right out there at the silo complex itself, and was still under the control of the potential mofos. Afterward, during an inquiry, one of our defenders, not himself a mof, would testify that –had he had some reason to want to do so at the time– he could have launched the missiles and started a global nuclear war all by his lonesome.

Here’s another illustration of how much of an untested shambles our computer command and control system for the [nuclear-tipped missiles](#) was at the time. Our warning system detected a “missile” rising from [Cuba](#), and specifically predicted that the target of this missile was Tampa, Florida. No missile of any description had actually been fired. This had been merely an operator error with a test tape! (And if we had reacted as we had planned to react, there would have been a very brief World War III. Fortunately, we all had our heads up our collective asses, or we had our hands trapped under our butts or something, and we simply sat and watched and went la-de-da well wha-da-ya-know as this spurious missile was, supposedly, rising toward the [nuclear annihilation of Tampa](#).)

Had enough? Here’s yet another illustration of how much of an untested shambles our computer command and control system for the nuclear-tipped missiles was at the time. The nice folks out at Volk Field in darker Wisconsin thought they had detected a ground intruder on their turf, and so they scrambled a flight of F106 fighters armed with [nuclear weapons](#). Meanwhile, up in the stratosphere, B52s loaded with [atomic bombs](#) were

313. During this month a Cold-War novel FAIL-SAFE by Eugene Burdick and Harvey Wheeler was being serialized in the [Saturday Evening Post](#) (in 1964 Sidney Lumet would make this nuclear nightmare into a movie starring Henry Fonda, Dan O’Herlihy, and Walter Matthau, and in 2000 it would be recycled as a live TV play on CBS).



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circling slowly, circling slowly, conserving fuel, on full alert, ready to head over the pole toward their assigned particular targets inside the USSR. An officer had to actually drive out onto the airstrip and deflect the fighter planes from takeoff by blinking his headlights off and on, to get the alerted pilots to stand down — because the ground intruder they had detected was not a Commie, not a spy, not a saboteur, but an ordinary garden-variety American **black bear**.<sup>314</sup>

Benjamin Britten was receiving the Freedom of the Borough of Aldeburgh.

Chamber Symphony for 10 players by Ralph Shapey was performed for the initial time, in McMillin Auditorium at Columbia University, conducted by the composer.

Trio for flute, cello and piano by Otto Luening was performed for the initial time, in New York (the piano part was played by Charles Wuorinen).

October 23, Tuesday: The Soviet government announced that any aggressive move by the USA against their friends in [Cuba](#) could result in [global thermonuclear war](#). The USSR placed its military on alert. All leaves were canceled.

The US issued a pronouncement that any [nuclear warhead](#) launched from [Cuba](#) would be considered as if it were a Soviet attack requiring global retaliation. Results of a Gallup pole indicated that 84% of the US public favor the blockade while only 4% opposed it. At the same time, roughly one out of every five Americans considered that the quarantine would lead to World War III.

The Organization of American States voted 19-0-1 to support a US quarantine of [Cuba](#) to prevent the shipment of [offensive ballistic missiles](#). US military forces worldwide were put on alert. [Fidel Castro](#) termed the US quarantine “a violation against the sovereign rights of our country....”

8:00AM: TASS began transmitting a Soviet government statement. At the same time US Ambassador Foy Kohler was called to the Soviet Foreign Office and handed a copy of the statement with a letter from Chairman Khrushchev to [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#). This is what he was handed:

I must say frankly that the measures indicated in your statement constitute a serious threat to peace and to the security of nations.... We reaffirm that the armaments which are in Cuba, regardless of the classification to which they may belong, are intended solely for defensive purposes in order to secure [the] Republic of [Cuba](#) against the attack of an aggressor. I hope that the United States Government will display wisdom and renounce the actions pursued by you, which may lead to catastrophic consequences for world peace.



314. One wonders what combination of headlight blinks it requires to spell out “Hey, you guys, it’s just a **damn bear!**”



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10:00AM: At a meeting of the ExComm, [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) approved plans for signing an official quarantine proclamation. In anticipation of a possible reaction to the blockade from the Soviet government, Kennedy directed John McCone to prepare an analysis of the effects of a comparable blockade on Berlin. The ExComm then examined the question of how the United States would respond were a U-2 spy plane to be shot down. If such an event occurred and “evidence of hostile Cuban action” had been established, the ExComm decided that the surface-to-air missile site responsible for the downing would be attacked and destroyed. Continued harassment of U-2 flights, it was agreed, would probably result in attacks on all the surface-to-air missile sites on the island. Following the ExComm meeting, [President Kennedy](#) established 3 subcommittees: on crisis communications, on advance planning, and on Berlin contingencies.

4:00PM: At a special meeting of the UN Security Council, Adlai Stevenson issued a sharply worded statement in which he characterized [Cuba](#) as “an accomplice in the communist enterprise of world domination.” Cuban representative Mario García Incháustegui responded by denouncing the quarantine as an “act of war,” and Soviet representative Valerian Zorin called US charges of [Soviet missiles in Cuba](#) “completely false.” Zorin submitted a draft resolution demanding an end to US naval activity near [Cuba](#) and calling for negotiations to end the crisis.

5:40PM: [Fidel Castro](#) announced a combat alarm, placing [Cuba](#)’s armed forces on their highest alert. Cuban armed forces, following a massive mobilization effort, reached a size of 270,000 men.

6:00PM: The ExComm held a brief meeting prior to the president’s signing of the quarantine proclamation. The group made slight revisions to the proclamation and approved a new message to Premier Khrushchev. ExComm members were informed that an “extraordinary number” of coded messages had been sent to Soviet ships on their way to [Cuba](#), although the contents of these messages were not known. In addition, John McCone stated that Soviet submarines had unexpectedly been found moving into the Caribbean. According to Robert Kennedy, the President ordered the Navy to give “the highest priority to tracking the submarines and to put into effect the greatest possible safety measures to protect our own aircraft carriers and other vessels.”

6:51PM: A new message from [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) was transmitted to Premier Khrushchev via the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Kennedy, stressing that it was important that both sides “show prudence and do nothing to allow events to make the situation more difficult to control than it already is,” asks the Soviet Premier to direct Soviet ships to observe the quarantine zone. (Document 33, President Kennedy’s Letter to Premier Khrushchev, 10/23/62)

7:06PM: In a ceremony at the White House, the President signs Proclamation 3504, formally establishing the quarantine. The Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Forces was directed to enforce the blockade beginning at 10:00 the following morning.

8:35PM: [Fidel Castro](#), in a 90-minute speech, told the Cuban people that [Cuba](#) will never disarm while the United States persisted in its policy of aggression and hostility. He refused to allow outside inspection of Cuban territory, warning that any inspectors had “better come ready for combat.”

Evening: At a Soviet embassy reception in Washington DC, Lieutenant General Vladimir A. Dubovik appeared to suggest that the captains of the Soviet ships heading for [Cuba](#) were under orders to defy the blockade. Ambassador Dobrynin, arriving late at the reception, declined to refute Dobovik’s comments, saying, “he is a military man, I am not. He is the one who knows what the Navy is going to do, not I.” US intelligence also noted a statement by the president of TASS during the day warning that US ships would be sunk if any Soviet ships were attacked.

At a debriefing for State Department officials, Edwin Martin emphasized to U. Alexis Johnson the importance of preventing exile groups from creating an incident in [Cuba](#) during the crisis. Martin suggested that Johnson raise the issue of halting covert activities with CIA Director of Plans Richard Helms as well as with the ExComm. The issue of ending [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) activities and checking the action of independent



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Cuban émigré groups did not, however, appear to have been seriously discussed in the ExComm. [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) activities were not in fact shut down until October 30th, too late to prevent a sabotage mission against [Cuba](#) from being carried out by CIA agents on November 8th.

9:30PM: Robert Kennedy, at the suggestion of the president, met with Anatoly Dobrynin in the latter's office at the Soviet embassy. According to his memorandum on the meeting, the attorney general called the [Soviet missile](#) deployment "hypocritical, misleading, and false." Dobrynin told Kennedy that, as far as he knows, there were still no missiles in [Cuba](#), and said that he was not aware of any change in instructions to captains of Soviet ships steaming toward [Cuba](#).

10:15PM: Robert Kennedy related his conversation with Dobrynin to [President Kennedy](#) and British Ambassador David Ormsby-Gore, who was meeting with the president. Robert Kennedy recalled that his brother 1st talked about the possibility of arranging an immediate summit with Premier Khrushchev, but then dismissed the idea as useless until Khrushchev "first accepted...U.S. determination in this matter." Ambassador Ormsby-Gore then reportedly expressed concern that the naval quarantine line reportedly has been set at 800 miles from [Cuba](#). Ormsby-Gore recommended drawing the interception line closer to the island in order to give the Soviet government more time to analyze their position. The President agreed and called [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) to shorten the line to 500 miles. It was unclear whether the 800-mile line was ever actually planned; diaries from the quarantine commander, Admiral Alfred Ward, show that he considered even a 500-nautical mile line "excessive."

Low-level reconnaissance flights over [Cuba](#) began for the initial time, supplementing high-altitude U-2 photoreconnaissance. Navy and Air Force F-8U and RF-101 aircraft would fly some 158 low-level missions between October 23d and November 15th. The Soviet Union would respond to the low-altitude flights by employing camouflage where possible.

Moscow placed the armed forces of Warsaw Pact countries on alert. The Soviet government also deferred the scheduled release of troops in the Strategic Rocket Forces, air defense units, and the submarine fleet, and announced that "the battle readiness and vigilance of all troops" had been raised.

A Gallup poll survey taken on October 23d showed that 84 percent of the US public who knew about the Cuban situation favored the blockade while only 4 percent opposed the action. At the same time, roughly 1 out of every 5 Americans believed the quarantine would lead to World War III.

October 24, Wednesday: 6:00AM: A CIA report based on information as of 6:00AM states that communist reaction to the U.S. quarantine against [Cuba](#) has "not gone beyond the highly critical but noncommittal statement" issued by the Soviet government on October 23. Official world reaction was reported to be generally favorable, particularly in Latin America. Surveillance of [Cuba](#) indicates continued rapid progress in completion of [IRBM and MRBM missile sites](#). No new [offensive](#) missile sites have been discovered, but nuclear storage buildings are being assembled with great speed.

Early morning: Soviet ships en route to [Cuba](#) capable of carrying military cargoes appear to have slowed down, altered or reversed their courses. Sixteen of the nineteen Soviet ships en route to [Cuba](#) at the time the naval quarantine was announced, including five large-hatch vessels, reverse course and are returning to the Soviet Union. Only the tanker Bucharest continues toward the quarantine line.



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Morning: William Knox, a U.S. businessman, has a 3 1/4-hour interview with Premier Khrushchev at Khrushchev's request. Khrushchev states that it was now too late for the United States to take over [Cuba](#), and that he will eventually give orders to sink a U.S. vessel enforcing the blockade if Soviet ships are stopped. (The Soviet Bloc Armed Forces and the Cuban Crisis: A Chronology July-November 1962, 6/18/63; Khrushchev's Conversation with Mr. W. E. Knox, President Westinghouse Electric International, Moscow, October 24, 10/26/62)

9:35AM: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) has a brief conversation with his brother Robert, during which the president reportedly expressed deep concern that Soviet ships appeared ready to challenge the quarantine:

It looks really mean, doesn't it? But then, really there was no other choice. If they get this mean in our part of the world, what will they do next?" "I just don't think there was any choice," [Robert Kennedy] said, "and not only that, if you hadn't acted, you would have been impeached." The President thought for a moment and said, "That's what I think—I would have been impeached."

It was quickly verified that the 20 Soviet ships closest to the quarantine line had either stopped dead in the water, or had reversed direction.

10:00AM: The ExComm meets to consider the situation in [Cuba](#). According to Robert Kennedy's memoirs on the crisis, the meeting "seemed the most trying, the most difficult, and the most filled with tension." [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) told the group that Soviet ships approaching the quarantine line showed no indications of stopping and that 2 Soviet ships, the *Gagarin* and the *Komiles*, were within a few miles of the line. Naval intelligence then reported that a Soviet submarine has moved into position between the ships. McNamara stated that the aircraft carrier *USS Essex* has been directed to make the 1st interception, and that antisubmarine tactics, including the use of small explosives, has been ordered to prevent the Soviet submarine from interfering with the blockade.

According to Robert Kennedy, the president asked, "Isn't there some way we can avoid our 1st exchange with a Russian submarine—almost anything but that?" [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) replied, "No, there's too much danger to our ships.... Our commanders have been instructed to avoid hostilities if at all possible, but this was what we must be prepared for, and this is what we must expect."

10:25AM: A new intelligence message arrived and John McCone announced: "We have a preliminary report which seems to indicate that some of the Russian ships have stopped dead in the water." Dean Rusk leaned over to McGeorge Bundy and said, "We're eyeball to eyeball and I think the other fellow just blinked." The President directed that no ship be intercepted for at least another hour while clarifying information was sought.

11:24AM: A cable drafted by George Ball was transmitted to US Ambassador to Turkey Raymond Hare and US Ambassador to NATO Thomas Finletter, notifying them that the United States was considering a Turkey-for-[Cuba](#) missile trade. The cable stated that while the comparison of [missiles](#) in Turkey with those in [Cuba](#) was "refutable," it was nonetheless possible that a negotiated solution to the crisis might "involve dismantling and removal" of the Jupiters. Each diplomat was requested to assess the political consequences of the removal of the Jupiters in a variety of different circumstances. Finletter would present his recommendations on October 25th.

2:00PM: In his 1st communication with [President Kennedy](#) and Premier Khrushchev during the crisis, UN Acting Secretary General U Thant sent identical private appeals to the leaders, urging that their governments "refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation and bring with it the risk of war." U Thant's plea, made at the request of more than 40 nonaligned states, called for voluntary suspension of arms shipments to [Cuba](#) together with voluntary suspension of the naval quarantine for between 2 and 3 weeks.





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5:15PM: A Defense Department spokesperson announced publicly that some of the Soviet Bloc vessels proceeding toward [Cuba](#) appear to have altered their course.

Evening: TASS released an exchange of telegrams between Professor [Bertrand Russell](#) and Nikita Khrushchev. In his 1st public statement since the onset of the crisis, Khrushchev warned in his telegram that if the United States carried out its program of “pirate action,” the Soviet Union would have no alternative but to “make use of the means of defense against the aggressor.” Khrushchev also proposed a summit meeting with Kennedy to discuss how to end the conflict and “remove the threat of the unleashing of a thermonuclear war.”

9:24PM: The State Department received a letter for [President Kennedy](#) from Premier Khrushchev.

10:52PM: The message from Premier Khrushchev was read to President Kennedy: “If you coolly weigh the situation which has developed, not giving way to passions, you will understand that the Soviet Union cannot fail to reject the arbitrary demands of the United States.” Khrushchev warned that the Soviet Union viewed the blockade as “an act of aggression” and that, as a consequence, he would not instruct Soviet ships bound for [Cuba](#) to observe the quarantine.

At the direction of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, SAC increased its alert posture to DEFCON 2 for the first time in history. Thomas Powers, the commander-in-chief of SAC, believed, as he later wrote, that while discreet preparations had been appropriate before, it was now “important for [the Soviets] to know of SAC’s readiness.” Consequently, Powers decided on his own authority to transmit uncoded messages to Strategic Air Command commanders noting that SAC plans were well prepared and that the alert process was going smoothly.

At the request of the President, the Defense Department drafted 2 separate plans to increase civil defense preparations during a possible military engagement with [Cuba](#). The 1st outlined civil defense measures that could be taken in the vicinity of targets close to [Cuba](#) under attack with conventional weapons, while the 2d suggested measures that could be taken in response to possible nuclear attack within medium-range ballistic nuclear missile range.

In Tokyo, 0’0” for any player, by John Cage, was performed for the first time, directed by the composer. The most important part of the score read, “IN A SITUATION PROVIDED WITH MAXIMUM AMPLIFICATION (NO FEEDBACK), PERFORM A DISCIPLINED ACTION.” For this simultaneous composition and first performance, Cage authored a manuscript. The work was dedicated to the young Japanese composer Toshi Ichiyangi and his wife Yoko Ono.

October 25, Thursday: [Chinese](#) forces captured Towang, [India](#) near the border with Bhutan.

Uganda was admitted to the United Nations.

US Ambassador Adlai Stevenson demanded that Soviet ambassador Valerian A. Zorin admit or deny the presence of Soviet [offensive missiles](#) in [Cuba](#). When Zorin refused to answer Stevenson stated “I am prepared to wait for my answer until Hell freezes over if that is your decision.” Stevenson then presented photographic evidence to the Council of the existence of such missiles in Cuba.

1:45AM: A message from [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) for Premier Khrushchev was transmitted to the US embassy in Moscow. Acknowledging Khrushchev’s letter of October 24th, the President wrote, “I regret very much that you still do not appear to understand what it was that has moved us in this matter...” Kennedy noted that he had received “solemn assurances” that no [Soviet missile](#) bases would be established in [Cuba](#). When these assurances proved false, the deployment of missiles in [Cuba](#) “required the responses I have announced ... I hope that your government will take the necessary action to permit a restoration of the earlier situation.”



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7:15AM: The aircraft carrier *USS Essex* and the destroyer *USS Gearing* hailed and attempted to intercept the Soviet tanker *Bucharest*. Since there was no reason to suspect the ship carried contraband, the *Bucharest* was allowed to continue its voyage to [Cuba](#).

Morning: A syndicated column by the influential journalist Walter Lippman proposed a “face-saving” agreement whereby the United States would agree to remove Jupiters from Turkey in return for a withdrawal of [Soviet missiles](#) from [Cuba](#). Many in the United States and the Soviet Union would mistakenly interpret this proposal as a trial balloon floated by the Kennedy administration.

10:00AM: During the morning ExComm meeting, [President Kennedy](#) authorized the development of a program to drop propaganda leaflets over [Cuba](#). Although leaflets would be produced and approved by the ExComm, the program, later christened “Bugle Call,” would never actually be carried out.

2:19PM: In his reply to UN Secretary General U Thant’s letter of October 23d, [President Kennedy](#) avoided responding directly to U Thant’s proposal that Soviet arms shipments to [Cuba](#) and the US quarantine be suspended for several weeks. Concerned that acceptance of the proposal would allow Soviet military personnel to continue work on the [missiles](#) already in [Cuba](#), Kennedy wrote only that he appreciated the “spirit” of U Thant’s message, adding that Adlai Stevenson was prepared to begin preliminary negotiations regarding the crisis. Also, during the day, Premier Khrushchev wrote to U Thant to say that he welcomed and agreed with his proposal. Khrushchev noted that, like U Thant, he considered the Cuban crisis “highly dangerous and requiring ... immediate interference by the United Nations.”

2:26PM: At the prompting of the United States, U Thant sent a 2d message to Premier Khrushchev and [President Kennedy](#) asking them to avoid direct confrontations between Soviet and US vessels while the quarantine remained in effect. U Thant asked that Soviet ships keep out of the quarantine zone for a limited time and that the United States instruct its vessels “to do everything possible to avoid a direct confrontation with Soviet ships in the next few days.”

5:00PM: Dean Rusk reported on the political situation during an ExComm meeting. At the close of the meeting, CIA Director McCone indicated that some of the [Soviet missiles](#) deployed in [Cuba](#) had been rendered operational.

5:43PM: The commander of US quarantine forces, Admiral Alfred Ward, ordered the *USS Kennedy* to proceed toward a Lebanese freighter, the *Marucla*. During the day the freighter has been selected by [President Kennedy](#) as the 1st ship to be boarded by quarantine forces. The *USS Kennedy* informed the *Marucla* that night by radio that the ship would be boarded the following morning.

6:41PM: The State Department received a cable from US Ambassador to NATO Thomas Finletter relaying Ankara’s position on the possible withdrawal of [US Jupiter missiles](#) from Turkey. Finletter reported that the Turkish representative to NATO had made it clear that his government set “great store” by the Jupiters, and that Turkey regarded the missiles “as a symbol of the alliance’s determination to use atomic weapons” against either a Soviet conventional or nuclear attack on Turkey. Finletter stated his belief that any arrangement that failed to substitute some other form of nuclear capability in Turkey would be rejected by the Turkish government. He added, “in my opinion we must be most careful in working out any horse trade of this type to be sure it does not set pattern for handling future Russian incursions in other parts of the world (perhaps in other Western Hemisphere countries).”



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[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) issued National Security Action Memorandum 199 authorizing the loading of multistage nuclear weapons on aircraft under the command of the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

A CIA sabotage team, dispatched to [Cuba](#) to destroy facilities at the Matahambre copper mine in [Cuba](#), was prevented from executing the sabotage attack by Cuban authorities.

Two new works were performed for the first time in the Beethovensaal der Stuttgarter Liederhalle: Polla ta dhina for children's chorus, wind and percussion by Iannis Xenakis to words of Sophocles and Nach wie vor der Reihe nach for orchestra by Ernst Krenek.

October 26, Friday: After the "Fishbowl Bluegill Triple Prime" megaton [A-bomb](#) explosion at an altitude of some 49 kilometers, a toroidal cloud was seen to form in the upper atmosphere.

6:00AM: The CIA memorandum reporting current status noted that construction of intermediate-range and medium-range nuclear ballistic missile bases in [Cuba](#) was proceeding without interruption.

10:00AM: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) informed the ExComm that he believed the quarantine by itself would not cause the Soviet government to remove the [missiles](#) from [Cuba](#), and that only an invasion or a trade of some sort would succeed. After discussing the airstrike option again at some length, Kennedy agreed to apply further pressure by increasing the frequency of low-level flights over [Cuba](#) from twice per day to once every 2 hours. The ExComm also decided not to undertake any emergency civil defense programs at this time, although preliminary measures had been initiated.

Morning: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) ordered the State Department to proceed with preparations for a crash program aimed at establishing a civil government in [Cuba](#) after an invasion and occupation of the country. During the meeting, [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) reported to the president that the military believed that heavy casualties should be expected in an invasion; several days later, CINCLANT would estimate that up to 18,484 US casualties might occur during the 1st 10 days of fighting.

1:00PM: John Scali, State Department correspondent for ABC News, lunched with Aleksandr Fomin at the Occidental Restaurant in Washington at Fomin's urgent request (they had met together on several previous occasions). Fomin, officially the Soviet Embassy public affairs counselor, was known to be the KGB's Washington station chief. Noting that "war seems about to break out," he asked Scali to contact his "high-level friends" in the State Department to ascertain whether the United States would be interested in a possible solution to the crisis. According to Scali's notes, Fomin's proposal ran along the following lines: "[Soviet] bases would be dismantled under [U]nited [N]ations supervision and [C]astro would pledge not to accept [offensive weapons](#) of any kind, ever, in return for [a US] pledge not to invade [Cuba](#)." Following the lunch, Scali went directly to the State Department to report on the meeting to Roger Hillsman.

1:18PM: The State Department received a cable from US Ambassador to Turkey Raymond Hare warning that Turkish officials would "deeply resent" any Turkey-for-[Cuba missile](#) trade. Hare expressed his opinion that the most satisfactory resolution to the crisis would avoid the Jupiter issue altogether but suggested that if the missiles had to be removed, it should be done gradually. Hare also acknowledged that an alternative solution could be the "dismantling of Jupiters ... on [a] strictly secret basis with Soviets."

2:00PM: US Ambassador to Brazil A. Lincoln Gordon was requested to ask the Brazilian government to have the Brazilian ambassador in [Havana](#), Luis Batian Pinto, meet privately with [Fidel Castro](#) to relay a message from the US government. The message that Pinto was to give to Castro included reassurances that the United States was unlikely to invade [Cuba](#) if the [missiles](#) were removed.

6:00PM: The State Department began receiving a message from the US embassy in Moscow containing a new,



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private letter from Premier Khrushchev. The message arrived in 4 sections, with the final portion arriving at 9:00PM, some 12 hours after the text has been delivered to the US embassy. The letter, almost certainly composed by Khrushchev himself, was, in Robert Kennedy's words, "very long and emotional," but it contains a proposal for a settlement: "I propose: we, for our part, will declare that our ships bound for [Cuba](#) are not carrying any armaments. You will declare that the United States will not invade [Cuba](#) with its troops and will not support any other forces which might intend to invade [Cuba](#). Then the necessity of the presence of our military specialists in [Cuba](#) will disappear."

6:45PM: John Scali told Dean Rusk and Roger Hilsman of Aleksandr Fomin's proposal of 1:00PM. US officials assumed that Fomin's message had been initiated by the Kremlin and interpreted Khrushchev's newly arrived letter in light of Fomin's offer that the Soviet Union remove its [missiles](#) under UN inspection in return for a US non-invasion pledge (recent information from Soviet sources suggests that, contrary to US presumptions at the time, Fomin's proposal had not in fact been authorized by Moscow).

7:35PM: Meeting again with Aleksandr Fomin, John Scali recited a message given to him by Dean Rusk: "I have reason to believe that the [US government] sees real possibilities and supposes that the representatives of the two governments in New York could work this matter out with U Thant and with each other. My impression is, however, that time is very urgent." Fomin assured Scali that his remarks would be communicated immediately to the "highest Soviet sources."

10:00PM: The ExComm reconvened in an extraordinary session to consider Premier Khrushchev's letter. Further textual analysis of the letter was ordered, and Soviet specialists Helmut Sonnenfeldt and Joseph Neupert were directed to analyze the letter alongside the proposal from Aleksandr Fomin.

Night: Unknown to any of the ExComm members, Robert Kennedy and Anatoly Dobrynin met at the Soviet Embassy, one of a series of secret meetings they held during the crisis (Dobrynin has since disclosed that when he defended the Soviet missile deployment by noting that the United States had stationed Jupiter [missiles](#) to Turkey, Robert Kennedy offered to introduce the Turkish missiles into a potential settlement). The attorney general reportedly left the room to phone the president. When he returned he tells Dobrynin, "the president said that we are ready to consider the question of Turkey, to examine favorably the question of Turkey." Dobrynin would report the conversation to the Kremlin.

Around this time, according to Nikita Khrushchev, "we received information from our Cuban comrades and from other sources which directly stated that this attack [on [Cuba](#)] would be carried out within the next two or three days." Khrushchev's statement may refer to a cable from [Fidel Castro](#) that was transmitted on the evening of October 26th. Fearing that a US invasion was imminent, Castro reportedly composed the message—dictated in Spanish to Soviet Ambassador Alekseyev, who translated the letter into Russian—while spending the night in a bomb shelter in the Soviet embassy in [Havana](#). Khrushchev apparently understood the cable both as a warning of an impending invasion and as an attempt to get Khrushchev to launch the [missiles](#) in [Cuba](#) against the United States. According to an unpublished portion of Khrushchev's memoirs, Khrushchev recalled Castro warning that "an American invasion would take place within a few hours. Therefore, he was proposing to preempt the invasion and inflict a nuclear strike on the US." (At the [Havana](#) Conference in January 1992, Castro would state that his letter had been mistranslated; that he had been suggesting that if [Cuba](#) was invaded, the Soviet Union would need to defend itself from attack by using nuclear weapons.)

[Fidel Castro](#) ordered Cuban anti-aircraft forces to open fire on any US aircraft overflying the island. According to one source, Castro's order reportedly replaced his standing orders to fire only on groups of 2 or more low-altitude airplanes. When Soviet Ambassador to [Cuba](#) Alekseyev asked Castro to rescind this order, apparently



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he was rebuffed.

As a result of the increased frequency of low-level reconnaissance missions, additional military targets in [Cuba](#) were identified. Military planners consequently revised air attack targeting and plans. The airstrike plan came to include 3 massive strikes per day until Cuban air capability was destroyed. Some 1,190 bombing sorties were planned for the 1st day of operations.

Nikita Khrushchev demanded from the US a removal of nuclear [missiles](#) in Turkey as well as a promise to not invade [Cuba](#) as preconditions for his removal of Soviet [missiles](#) on [Cuba](#). [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) replied that all work in [Cuba](#) must stop prior to any negotiations.

October 27, Saturday: [Indian](#) Prime Minister Nehru refused peace feelers pending the withdrawal of [Chinese](#) combat forces. Chinese troops advanced into Ladakh in the area of Damchok.

When 4 power stations of the US-owned Creole Petroleum Corporation were blown up around Lake Maracaibo, the Venezuelan government blamed communists.

The 3d and final installment in the [Saturday Evening Post](#) of the novel [FAIL-SAFE](#) (in 1964 Sidney Lumet would make this atomic-warfare nightmare into a movie starring Henry Fonda, Dan O'Herlihy, and Walter Matthau, and in 2000 it would be recycled as a live TV play on CBS). Meanwhile, on this day, Soviet diesel submarine B-59, in international waters outside the exclusion zone that the US had declared around [Cuba](#), was being depth-bombed by charges from 11 US destroyers protecting the aircraft carrier USS *Randolph* (CVS-15)<sup>315</sup> in an attempt to force the sub to the surface (the charges were small ones used for practice and the intent of the dropping of these charges was to cause the submarine to surface rather than to destroy it, but the people on the sub had no way to know this). Aboard this sub at depth, isolated from all radio communications, the three highest officers, considering that nuclear war might already have begun, followed to the letter the Soviet rules of engagement: they took a vote as to whether it was time to send off a [nuclear-warhead torpedo](#). Soviet rules of engagement required that the decision of the 3 be unanimous. Captain Valentin Grigorievitch Savitsky voted to send off the warhead and political officer Ivan Semonovich Maslennikov joined in this, but Vasili Alexandrovich Arkhipov (who was already suffering from radiation sickness due to exposure to an overheating reactor) voted "Nyet" — and so at this point an intercontinental missile exchange between the superpowers did not get triggered. When the submarine ran low on battery power it surfaced among the American destroyers, made radio contact with Moscow, and headed toward home.

6:00AM: The CIA intelligence memorandum containing information compiled as of 6:00AM reported that 3 of the 4 MRBM sites at San Cristóbal and the 2 sites at Sagua la Grande appeared to be fully operational. The mobilization of Cuban military forces was reported to be continuing at a high rate, but the Central Intelligence Agency advised that Cuban forces remained under orders not to engage in hostilities unless

315. The USS *Randolph* (CVS-15), USS *Independence* (CVA-62), USS *Okinawa* (LPH-3), USS *Thetis Bay* (LPH-6), 15 destroyers, 3 submarines, 14 amphibious ships including the USS *Bexar* aboard which I was situated, with 4 mobile support ships, were part of PHIBRIGLEX 62, which proclaimed itself to be an amphibious exercise to train and exercise naval forces to conduct an amphibious assault and associated naval operations to the Virgin Islands (specifically, the island of Vieques). This was of course nothing but cover story: the task of our 5th Marine Expeditionary Brigade would be to stage a regimental-level amphibious assault on the port of Santiago de Cuba, swing east through the Cuban mountain chain, and relieve the besieged Marine garrison at Guantanamo Bay. At the time of this incident the USS *Randolph* was part of our landing force sailing in a holding circle south of Santiago de Cuba.



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attacked.

9:00AM: Radio Moscow began broadcasting a message from Premier Khrushchev. In contrast to the private message of the day before, the new message called for the dismantling of US missile bases in Turkey in return for the removal of the Soviet [missiles](#) in [Cuba](#). While the broadcast was underway, the original copy of Khrushchev's previous letter to [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) was delivered to the US embassy in Moscow. The letter was signed by Soviet Premier Khrushchev but probably not written by him. [President Kennedy](#) chose to respond to the more conciliatory letter of the previous night while ignoring the letter of this morning. He agreed that the quarantine of Cuba would end and pledged not to invade Cuba after the missiles were removed.

10:00AM: The ExComm met in the Situation Room at the White House. After the usual intelligence briefing by John McCone, the minutes of the meeting record that [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) reported on the positions of Soviet Bloc ships moving toward [Cuba](#). He recommended that we be prepared to board the *Grozny*, which was now out about 600 miles. Under Secretary Ball pointed out that the Soviets did not know the extent of our quarantine zone. The President agreed that we should ask U Thant to tell the Russians in New York where we are drawing the quarantine line. The Russians would then be in a position to decide whether to turn back their tanker or allow her to enter the quarantine zone sometime later today. During the meeting, Premier Khrushchev's 2d message began to be received. The full text of Khrushchev's formal letter had completed across a Foreign Broadcast Information Service ticker in the White House at 11:03AM. The message stated in part:

You are disturbed over [Cuba](#). You say that this disturbs you because it is ninety miles by sea from the coast of the United States of America. But ... you have placed destructive missile weapons, which you call offensive, in Turkey, literally next to us.... I therefore make this proposal: We are willing to remove from [Cuba](#) the means which you regard as offensive...Your representatives will make a declaration to the effect that the United States ... will remove its analogous means from Turkey.... And after that, persons entrusted by the United Nations Security Council could inspect on the spot the fulfillment of the pledges made....

The new letter set the stage for a protracted ExComm discussion, which would continue throughout the day, about how to respond, with the President stating that to go to war with the Soviet Union instead of accepting a trade would be "an insupportable position."

Around 10:15 to 11:00AM: A U-2 from a Strategic Air Command base in Alaska strayed into Soviet airspace over the Chukotski Peninsula on what was reported to be a "routine air sampling mission." The U-2 pilot had apparently entered Soviet airspace as a result of a navigational error. The pilot radioed for assistance and a US F-102 fighter aircraft in Alaska scrambled and headed toward the Bering Sea. At the same time, Soviet MiGs took off from a base near Wrangel Island to intercept the U-2, which eventually managed to fly out of Soviet territory with no shots being fired. Alaskan Air Command records suggest that the fighter planes were armed with nuclear air-to-air [missiles](#). According to one account, when [Secretary of Defense McNamara](#) heard that a U-2 was in Soviet airspace, "he turned absolutely white, and yelled hysterically, 'This means war with the Soviet Union.'" [President Kennedy](#)'s laconic reaction upon hearing of the incident was simply to laugh and remark "there is always some [son of a bitch] who doesn't get the word."

Around noon: A U-2 spy plane was shot down over [Cuba](#) and its pilot, Major Rudolf Anderson, killed. Anderson had flown one of the 1st U-2 missions responsible for detecting the Soviet [missiles](#). The ExComm, when informed of the downing, assumed that the attack had been ordered by the Kremlin and speculated that the move was designed to escalate the crisis. (In fact, as Soviet and Cuban officials have recently revealed, the attack was the result of a decision made by local Soviet commanders. Although a Soviet major general, Igor I. Statsenko, would claim responsibility for the decision in 1987, other Soviet sources suggest that Lieutenant





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General Stepan N. Grechko and General Leonid S. Garbuz were the officers in [Cuba](#) who authorized the firing of the surface-to-air missile. After the incident Marshal Malinovsky mildly reprimanded the officers and ordered that no other U-2s be attacked.)

2:30PM: Several ExComm members assembled in George Ball's conference room to consider possible options in light of the deteriorating crisis situation.

3:41PM: F8U-1P low-level reconnaissance planes took off for afternoon missions over [Cuba](#). Two of the six planes are forced to abort their mission due to mechanical problems. As the remaining planes flew over San Cristóbal and Sagua la Grande, Cuban troops opened fire with anti-aircraft guns and small arms. One of the US aircraft was hit by a 37mm anti-aircraft shell but managed to return to its base.

4:00PM: The ExComm was called back to the White House. [President Kennedy](#) ordered the immediate dispatch of a message to U Thant asking urgently whether he would ascertain if the Soviet government was willing to stop work on the bases while negotiations continue to find a solution to the crisis. In the middle of the meeting Maxwell Taylor brought in a late report confirming that the missing U-2 had been shot down over [Cuba](#), probably by a surface-to-air missile. [President Kennedy](#), however, decided not to retaliate but agreed that if any more surveillance planes were fired on over [Cuba](#), the surface-to-air missile sites would be attacked. Kennedy's order to call off the planned reprisal was reportedly received with disbelief in the Pentagon.

Most of the long meeting, however, centered on formulating a response to Nikita Khrushchev's most recent proposal. [President Kennedy](#), in deliberations throughout the day, continually favored trading away the [missiles](#) in Turkey for those in [Cuba](#) as Khrushchev has offered — possibly because he secretly had hinted to the Soviet government through Robert Kennedy and Anatoly Dobrynin on October 26th that the United States would agree to such a deal. However, most of the group argued that an open trade could fragment the NATO alliance. Alternative courses of action were suggested: [Secretary of Defense McNamara](#) argued that the Jupiters in Turkey should be removed, but only as a prelude to an invasion of [Cuba](#); Maxwell Taylor forwarded the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommendation simply to initiate the airstrike and invasion plans; and the State Department drafted a letter flatly rejecting the Soviet proposal.

As the meeting progressed, the idea of ignoring Khrushchev's new proposal and responding only to the October 26th letter (which did not mention the Jupiters) gradually began to emerge. [President Kennedy](#), initially hesitant to accept the idea because he did not believe Khrushchev would accept such a deal, finally agreed when Soviet specialist Llewellyn Thompson argued that Khrushchev might. Theodore Sorensen and Robert Kennedy left the meeting to compose the proposed response. After 45 minutes, they returned to present the draft. The president refined the letter, had it typed, and signed it. The letter was sent that evening (see entry for 8:05PM, below).

After the ExComm meeting broke up, a smaller group composed of [President Kennedy](#), [Secretary of Defense McNamara](#), Robert Kennedy, Bundy, Rusk, Llewellyn Thompson, and Theodore Sorensen met in the Oval Office. The group agreed that the 2d letter to Khrushchev should be reinforced with an oral message passed through Ambassador Dobrynin. They further agreed that Dobrynin should be informed that if the Soviet [missiles](#) were not withdrawn, there would be military action against [Cuba](#). If they were removed, however, the United States would be willing to give a non-invasion pledge. Dean Rusk suggested one further component to the message: an assurance that, while there could be no public or explicit deal over the Turkish [missiles](#), the Jupiters would in fact be removed once the Cuban crisis was resolved. The proposal quickly gained the approval of the group and the president. Concern was so acute that the assurance not be leaked to the public or to NATO that not even other ExComm members were told of the additional assurances regarding the Jupiters.

4:15PM: At Dean Rusk's request, ABC News correspondent John Scali and Soviet embassy official Fomin met once again. When Scali asked Fomin why the October 26th proposal had been scrapped and the Jupiters introduced into the deal, Fomin explained that the change was a result of "poor communications." He stated



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that Premier Khrushchev's new message had been drafted before his report on the favorable US reaction to the October 26th proposal had arrived. Furious at Fomin's response, Scali shouted that Fomin's explanation was not credible and that he thought it was simply a "stinking double cross." An invasion of [Cuba](#), Scali warned, was now "only a matter of hours away." Fomin said that he and Ambassador Dobrynin were expecting a reply from Khrushchev at any moment and urged Scali to report to US officials that there was no treachery. Scali replied that he did not think anyone would believe Fomin's assurances but that he would convey the message in any case. The two parted ways, and Scali immediately typed out a memo on the meeting which was sent to the ExComm.

7:45PM: Attorney-General Robert Kennedy and Soviet Ambassador Antoly Dobrynin met. In his memoirs on the crisis, Kennedy would recall telling Dobrynin:

...We had to have a commitment by tomorrow that [the missile] bases would be removed. I was not giving them an ultimatum but a statement of fact. He should understand that if they did not remove those bases, we would remove them...

He asked me what offer the United States was making, and I told him of the letter that President Kennedy had just transmitted to Khrushchev. He raised the question of our removing the [missiles](#) from Turkey. I said that there could be no quid pro quo or any arrangement made under this kind of threat or pressure, and that in the last analysis that was a decision that would have to be made by NATO. However, I said, President Kennedy had been anxious to remove those [missiles](#) from Turkey and Italy for a long period of time. He had ordered their removal some time ago, and it was our judgment that, within a short time after this crisis was over, those [missiles](#) would be gone.... Time was running out. We had only a few more hours—we needed an answer immediately from the Soviet Union. I said we must have it the next day.

(Anatoly Dobrynin has recently contradicted Robert Kennedy's account of the meeting in several ways. According to Dobrynin, Kennedy did not in fact threaten military action against the [missile](#) sites if the Soviet government did not remove the missiles. Second, Kennedy reportedly did not say that the Jupiters had been ordered removed earlier, instead he suggested that an explicit deal on the Turkish missiles could be struck.)

After the meeting with Dobrynin, the attorney general returned to the White House. At [President Kennedy's](#) direction, [Secretary of Defense McNamara](#) instructed Secretary of the Air Force Eugene Zuckert to order to active duty 24 Air Force Reserve units totaling 14,200 personnel. Robert Kennedy would later recall the mood at the White House:

We had not abandoned hope, but what hope there was now rested with Khrushchev's revising his course within the next few hours. It was a hope, not an expectation. The expectation was a military confrontation by Tuesday [October 29] and possibly tomorrow....

8:05PM: President Kennedy's letter to Premier Khrushchev drafted earlier in the day was transmitted to Moscow. The final text read in part:

As I read your letter, the key elements of your proposals—which seem generally acceptable as I understand them—are as follows:  
1) You would agree to remove these weapon systems from [Cuba](#) under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safe-guards, to halt the further introduction of such weapon systems into [Cuba](#).  
2) We, on our part, would agree—upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations, to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments



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- (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and
- (b) to give assurances against the invasion of [Cuba](#).

The letter was also released directly to the press to avoid any communications delays.

8:50PM: In response to U Thant's request that [Cuba](#) stop work on the missile sites while negotiations continue, [Fidel Castro](#) indicates in a letter to the UN acting secretary general that he would order work to cease, provided the United States lifted the blockade. Castro also extended an invitation to U Thant to visit [Cuba](#). (U Thant would accept the invitation on October 28th and travel to [Havana](#) on October 30th.)

9:00PM: U Thant informed Adlai Stevenson that Soviet representative Zorin had refused to accept information about the exact location of the quarantine interception area that the United States had passed on earlier in the day.

9:00PM: The ExComm again reviewed various options for the following day, including ordering an airstrike on the missile sites in [Cuba](#) and extending the blockade to include petroleum, oil, and lubricants. As the meeting came to a close, [Secretary of Defense McNamara](#) turned to Robert Kennedy. The United States had better be "damned sure," McNamara stated, that we "have two things ready, a government for [Cuba](#), because we're going to need one ... and secondly, plans for how to respond to the Soviet Union in Europe, because sure as hell they're going to do something there."

Evening: Unknown to other members of the ExComm, [President Kennedy](#) and Dean Rusk prepared a contingency plan to facilitate a public Turkey-for-[Cuba](#) missile trade. At Kennedy's instruction, Rusk phoned Andrew Cordier, a former UN undersecretary, and dictated a statement that Cordier was to give to U Thant upon further instructions from Washington DC. The statement was a proposal to be made by U Thant calling for the removal of both the Jupiter [missiles](#) in Turkey and the Soviet [missiles](#) in [Cuba](#). During the day, Kennedy also asked Roswell Gilpatric to draw up a scenario for the early removal of the missiles from Turkey.

Night: [Fidel Castro](#) met with Soviet Ambassador Alekseyev for lengthy discussions in the Soviet embassy in [Havana](#). Castro, Alekseyev would later report, had been briefed by him on each of the messages sent back and forth between Moscow and Washington DC during the crisis. Alekseyev would recall that despite Castro's "characteristic restraint, he [Castro] also evaluated the situation as highly alarming."

10PM: The US received word that the USSR agreed to remove its offensive missiles in Cuba. The US agreed to remove missiles in Turkey within 6 months, to end the quarantine, and to pledge not to invade Cuba.

October 28, Sunday: A national referendum in France voted in favor of President de Gaulle's plan for the popular election of the president.

12:12AM: Instructions were sent to Ambassador Finletter to review the deepening crisis with the NATO allies. The cable notified Finletter that "the situation as we see it was increasingly serious and time is growing shorter...[T]he United States may find it necessary within a very short time in its interest and that of its fellow nations in the Western Hemisphere to take whatever military action may be necessary."

6:00AM: The CIA's daily 6AM update briefing sheet reported that Soviet technicians had succeeded in making fully operational all 24 [medium-range nuclear ballistic missile sites](#) in [Cuba](#). Construction of 1 nuclear bunker reportedly was complete but none were believed to be as yet in operation, which is to say, none as yet were believed to contain any [Soviet nuclear warheads](#).

9:00AM: A new message from Nikita Khrushchev, one that effectively terminated the missile crisis, was broadcast on Radio Moscow: "The Soviet government, in addition to previously issued instructions on the cessation of further work at the building sites for the weapons, has issued a new order on the dismantling of



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the weapons which you describe as ‘[offensive](#),’ and their crating and return to the Soviet Union.” Upon receiving Khrushchev’s message, [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) issued a statement describing the decision “an important and constructive contribution to peace.” In a separate letter to Khrushchev written almost immediately after the broadcast, he asserted that “I consider my letter to you of October twenty-seventh and your reply of today as firm undertakings on the part of both our governments which should be promptly carried out.”

Although there was a sense of relief and exultation among most of the ExComm members after word of Khrushchev’s decision had been received, several members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were less enthusiastic. Admiral George Anderson reportedly complained that “we have been had,” while General Curtis LeMay suggested that the United States should “go in and make a strike on Monday anyway.” In the afternoon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff instructed military commanders not to relax their alert procedures, warning that the Soviet Union’s offer to dismantle the missile sites might well amount merely to an “insincere proposal meant to gain time.”

In [Havana](#), [Fidel Castro](#), who had not been consulted or informed of the decision beforehand, reportedly went into a rage upon hearing of the Soviet move, cursing Khrushchev as “son of a bitch, bastard, asshole.” A few days later, Castro would publicly state in a speech at the University of [Havana](#) that Khrushchev lacked “cojones” (balls). After meeting with high military leaders during the morning, Castro apparently went to San Antonio Air Force Base in order to himself man an anti-aircraft weapon and perhaps be able to shoot down a US low-altitude aircraft (however, such US planes were not passing over that particular base).

11:00AM: Robert Kennedy met with Anatoly Dobrynin at the Soviet ambassador’s request. Dobrynin noted that Premier Khrushchev has agreed to withdraw the [missiles](#), and he mentioned to the President’s brother that the Soviet leader had asked him to send his best wishes to him and the president.

The ExComm met. By this point, the full text of Premier Khrushchev’s message announcing the decision to dismantle the [missiles](#) in [Cuba](#) had been made available. [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) reported that the Soviet ship *Grozny* was standing still and that no other Soviet Bloc ships would be entering the quarantine zone during the day. [President Kennedy](#) directed that no air reconnaissance missions be flown during the day and that no action be taken against any Soviet Bloc ships with regard to the unresolved question of the [IL-28 bombers](#) in [Cuba](#). Kennedy agreed that the United States should consider the IL-28 s “[offensive weapons](#)” and press for their removal, but he also suggested that the United States should not “get hung up” on such an issue.

Around noon: [Fidel Castro](#) declared that the US assurance of non-aggression against [Cuba](#) was unsatisfactory unless it included additional measures. He outlined several specific demands, later to be known as his “Five Points.” They included an end to the economic blockade against [Cuba](#); an end to all subversive activities carried out from the United States against [Cuba](#); a halt to all attacks on [Cuba](#) carried out from US military bases on the island of Puerto Rico; cessation of aerial and naval reconnaissance flights in Cuban airspace and waters; and the return of the Guantánamo naval base to [Cuba](#).

1:00PM-3:00PM: According to information that would be given to U Thant by a Soviet commander several days afterward, instructions to dismantle the [missiles](#) in [Cuba](#) were received by the Soviet military in [Cuba](#) between 1PM and 3PM (actual dismantling of the sites would reportedly begin at 5PM).

1:04PM: At a background press briefing, Dean Rusk cautioned against any gloating at the Soviet decision, explaining that “if there is a debate, a rivalry, a contest going on in the Kremlin over how to play this situation, we don’t want ... to strengthen the hands of those in Moscow who wanted to play this another way.” Rusk also asserted, in a reference to inspection issues and the [IL-28 bombers](#) still in [Cuba](#), “it is not yet the time to say this is over.”

4:07PM: The Joint Chiefs of Staff asked the Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic Region to re-evaluate Oplan 316,



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the invasion plan of [Cuba](#), and determine what modifications should be made to the plan in light of the most recent intelligence estimates on military equipment in [Cuba](#). This military command was specifically directed to consider whether tactical nuclear weapons, air and ground or both, should be included in the arsenal of US forces invading [Cuba](#).

5:00PM: Actual dismantling of the 24 [medium-range nuclear ballistic missile sites](#) in [Cuba](#) reportedly began.

Evening: John Scali met with Soviet embassy official Fomin for the 4th time during the crisis. Fomin told Scali, "I am under instructions to thank you. The information you provided Chairman Khrushchev was most helpful to him in making up his mind quickly." Fomin then added, "And that includes your explosion of Saturday" — indicating that US anger, as conveyed by Scali, toward the broadening of Soviet demands had reinforced Khrushchev's decision to accept the U.S. proposal for ending the crisis.

The Soviet embassy in [Havana](#) received a lengthy telegram from the Kremlin explaining the decision to withdraw the [missiles](#). Any other move, the message argued, would have meant "global conflagration and consequently the destruction of the Cuban revolution." The cable also stressed that "the Soviet government under no circumstances would refuse to fulfill its international duty to defend [Cuba](#)." Soviet Ambassador Alekseyev passed on the telegram to [Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado](#), who reportedly was somewhat reassured by it.

In summary, on this day Premier Nikita Khrushchev agreed to dismantle the [missile](#) sites and remove [offensive weaponry](#) from [Cuba](#) and the US agreed to remove [offensive missiles](#) from Turkey, and pledged not to invade [Cuba](#). The removal of [Soviet missiles](#) from [Cuba](#) was publicly announced by Radio Moscow.

October 29, Monday: John Kenneth Galbraith, US ambassador to New Delhi, announced that the US was granting an Indian request for arms in its struggle against [China](#).

While black student [James Meredith](#) (no relation) ate in the cafeteria, 200 white students at the University of Mississippi hurled bottles and firecrackers at armed US soldiers who had been delegated to guard him.

Morning: Soviet First Deputy Premier Vasily V. Kuznetsov met with U Thant. Kuznetsov, sent by Premier Khrushchev to New York City to work out the details of a settlement to the crisis, informed U Thant that the Soviet [missiles](#) were in the process of being dismantled and shipped out of [Cuba](#). Kuznetsov proposed that when the dismantling was completed, the Soviet Union report to the Security Council, which would then authorize a UN team to visit [Cuba](#) for "on-site" verification.

As a result of an order from [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) to begin the process of removing Jupiter [missiles](#) from Turkey, an interdepartmental task force convened under Defense Department General Counsel John McNaughton. McNaughton reportedly opened the meeting by declaring that "those missiles are going to be out of there by April 1 if we have to shoot them out."

10:00AM: At the morning ExComm meeting, [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) ordered that US Navy ships maintain their quarantine stations. Low-level reconnaissance flights were directed to resume, but no U-2 spy plane missions were authorized.

3:30PM: U Thant briefed Adlai Stevenson, John McCloy, and Charles Yost on his meeting with Vasily Kuznetsov earlier on that day. U Thant tried to convince the Americans that the quarantine should now be suspended but McCloy and Stevenson disagreed, linking the end of the quarantine to the actual removal of these [offensive weapons](#) from [Cuba](#). They did agree, however, that the quarantine could be suspended for the duration of U Thant's visit to [Cuba](#), scheduled to begin on October 30th.

10:48PM: The Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic Region informed the Joint Chiefs of Staff that, in view of reports



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that Cuban forces had [nuclear-capable FROG short-range missiles](#), he intended to modify invasion plans so that US air and ground forces engaged in operations against [Cuba](#) would also be armed with tactical nuclear weapons. This command assured the Joint Chiefs of Staff that nuclear weapons would be fired only after Cuban or Soviet forces had initiated the use of nuclear weapons. The Joint Chiefs of Staff agreed to allow US invasion forces to be armed with nuclear-capable weapons but specified that the actual nuclear warheads should not be introduced into [Cuba](#) without further Joint Chiefs of Staff authorization.

The Soviet Union attempted to hammer out a formal agreement with the United States on the settlement of the missile crisis. Anatoly Dobrynin brought Robert Kennedy an unsigned letter from Premier Khrushchev explicitly spelling out the terms of the arrangement, including Robert Kennedy's pledge that the Jupiter IRBMs were to be removed from Turkey. The Attorney-General made no immediate response but took the letter with him to consider the proposal (when he would meet Dobrynin the following day, Kennedy would reject the idea of creating any written agreement involving the Jupiter [missiles](#)).

Nikita Khrushchev had inadvertently opened the door to US demands that additional weapon systems be removed by telling Kennedy in his October 28th letter that he would remove "those weapons you describe as [offensive](#)." Following the ExComm's discussion of the IL-28 question on the 28th, State Department analyst Raymond Garthoff recommended in a memo that "in addition to the MRBMs and IRBMs, the IL-28s should definitely be included in the items the United States wanted withdrawn from [Cuba](#)." Garthoff continued, however, that the United States could not "reasonably insist" on the withdrawal of MiG fighter aircraft, surface-to-air missiles or non-missile ground force weapons. Although the crisis has centered around the deployment of Soviet [missiles](#), the United States used several arguments to support its contention that those bombers were also "[offensive](#)." US negotiators pointed out that the quarantine proclamation explicitly included bomber aircraft, and they pointed to [President Kennedy's](#) letter of October 22d, which objected not only to the "long-range missile bases" but also to "other [offensive](#) systems in [Cuba](#)."

October 30, Tuesday: Dawn: The US quarantine of [Cuba](#) was suspended while UN Secretary General U Thant traveled to [Havana](#) to work out the details for inspections of the former [offensive ballistic missile sites](#).

3:00PM: Shortly after his arrival in [Havana](#), U Thant and his aides met with [Fidel Castro](#), [Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado](#) and Foreign Minister Raúl Roa. U Thant presented several verification proposals to ensure that the dismantling of the [missiles](#) was proceeding, including on-site inspection by a UN team, aerial inspection by UN reconnaissance planes, or verification by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Castro rejected each of these proposals as "intended to humiliate the Cuban State."

Premier Khrushchev sent [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) a 16-page message covering the missile crisis, the naval quarantine, a nuclear test-ban treaty, and the Berlin question. The Kremlin leader requested that the United States of America lift the quarantine immediately, as well as the economic blockade of [Cuba](#). He also suggested that the US withdraw from its base in Guantánamo, [Cuba](#). On the issue of a test ban treaty, Khrushchev proclaimed that "we now have conditions ripe for finalizing the agreement on signing a treaty on cessation of tests of thermonuclear weapons." Khrushchev also attempted to garner an agreement on Berlin that would exclude German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, because "the next crisis ... can be caused by the German question."

Robert Kennedy called Ambassador Dobrynin back to his office to discuss the letter Dobrynin had given him the day before spelling out the terms of the US/Soviet agreement resolving the Cuban missile crisis. Notes he prepared for the meeting reflect his position:

Read letter—Studied it over night. No quid pro quo as I told you. The letter makes it appear that there was. You asked me about missile bases in Turkey. I told you we would be out of them—four to five months. That still holds.... You have my word on this & that is sufficient. Take back your letter — Reconsider





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it & if you feel it is necessary to write letters then we will also write one which you cannot enjoy. Also if you should publish any document indicating a deal then it is off & also if done afterward will further affect the relationship.

Dobrynin acquiesced to Kennedy's demand and withdrew the letter.

In Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko informed Foy Kohler that the Soviet Union wished to reach an agreement as quickly as possible on the basis of the Kennedy/Khrushchev exchange of letters. Gromyko also suggested that some type of formal agreement should "codify" obligations on both sides. All operations by "Task Force W," which was the CIA's action arm for [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#) activities, were called to an immediate halt. However, during the crisis, the director of that task force, William Harvey, had on his own authority ordered teams of covert agents into [Cuba](#) to support any conventional US military operation that might occur. At the end of the month, a new mission was about to be dispatched. One of the operatives, concerned about a covert operation so soon after a settlement to the missile crisis has been reached, sent a message to Attorney-General Robert Kennedy to verify that the mission was in order. Angered to thus learn that CIA missions were continuing, the Attorney-General chastised Harvey and asked CIA Director McCone to terminate the operations. Edward Lansdale was subsequently sent to Miami to oversee the end of [OPERATION MONGOOSE](#). However, 3 of 10 scheduled 6-man sabotage teams had already been dispatched to [Cuba](#) (on November 8th, one of these teams would carry out its assigned sabotage operation).

October 31, Wednesday: 10:00AM: The ExComm reviewed the lack of progress in the talks between U Thant and [Fidel Castro](#). [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) directed that reconnaissance missions were to resume on the following day unless significant progress could be made in the discussions. U Thant met with [Castro](#), [Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado](#), and Roa for the 2d time during his stay in [Cuba](#). Castro agreed to send the body of Rudolf Anderson, the pilot of the downed U-2 spy plane, back to the United States. Castro claimed that Anderson's plane had been "brought down by [Cuban](#) anti-aircraft guns, manned only by Cubans, inside Cuban territory." Complaining about continued US aerial reconnaissance, he warned that "the Cuban people can no longer tolerate such daily provocations," and that [Cuba](#) would "destroy any plane any time which intruded in to Cuban airspace." U Thant continued to be unable to obtain any sort of approval from Castro for any form of verification of the Soviet missile withdrawal.

6:00PM: After hearing an update on U Thant's mission to [Cuba](#), [President Kennedy](#) ordered resumption of low-level reconnaissance and quarantine operations but continued the suspension of U-2 spy flights.

West German Justice Minister Wolfgang Stammberger resigned because he had not been informed in advance of the raid on [Der Spiegel](#) that had taken place on October 26th (Stammberger was a member of the FDP party, the junior coalition partner).

Belgium's House of Representatives approved a bill to divide the nation into 2 sections on the basis of language.

November: Saudi Arabia abolished [human slavery](#) (well, that was good of them).

The United States of America had removed all its [nuclear-tipped missiles](#) from Turkey (well, that was good of us).



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November 1, Thursday: When U Thant returned to New York without an agreement on the inspection of missile dismantling, the US resumed its quarantine of [Cuba](#).

Two songs by Charles Ives were performed for the initial time, at the Philadelphia Art Alliance: The Cage and Soliloquy, both to his own words.

November 2, Friday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) announced that the Soviet offensive missiles in [Cuba](#) were being dismantled.

Four pipelines of US oil companies were blown up in Puerto La Cruz, Venezuela.

Monody II for double bass by George Perle was performed for the initial time, in New Paltz, New York.

November 3, Saturday: The initial shipment of arms from the US arrived in Calcutta to aid India in its war with [China](#).

Hundreds of thousands of [Chinese](#) would march to the [Cuban](#) embassy in Peking over the following 3 days to express support for [Cuba](#) against the United States.

4 students were expelled from the University of Mississippi for having weapons in their dorm.

November 8, Thursday: The US Defense Department announced that its aerial surveillance indicated that all [medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles](#) in [Cuba](#) had been dismantled.

Thomas Galloway Dunlop Galbraith, Joint Undersecretary for Scotland, tendered his resignation to British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan after publication of letters he wrote to William Vassall, presently imprisoned for espionage. The letters instructed Vassall to bring secret documents to Galbraith's home in Scotland and included "personal requests and comments" (Vassall was a homosexual).

West German Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss admitted that his ministry had been responsible for the arrest of Conrad Ahlers in Spain (Ahlers had been the author of an article in Der Spiegel, alleging that the West German military was unprepared).

November 20, Tuesday: The United States ended its quarantine of [Cuba](#) after the USSR agreed to remove all its [bombers](#) from the island.

As [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) signed an executive order prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in federal and federally-funded housing, Senator John Stennis deemed this an "audacious usurpation of power." Had Senator Stennis of Mississippi been our President, he would not thus have abused the power of majority citizens to abuse minority citizens.

November 21, Wednesday: The Peoples Republic of [China](#) announced a unilateral withdrawal of its forces from India and a cease-fire.

The USSR announced that it had canceled a Warsaw Pact alert ordered at the height of the [Cuban Missile Crisis](#).



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December 5, Wednesday: [China](#) released 64 sick and wounded Indian prisoners at Bombila.

Martial law, imposed following the May 1961 coup, ended in South Korea. However, the military would still wield extraordinary power in civil justice.

The [Cuban](#) government nationalized all clothing, shoe and hardware firms, both retail and wholesale.

December 12, Wednesday: [China](#) released 17 sick and wounded Indian prisoners.

Speaking from the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev fired back at [Chinese](#) criticism of his handling of the [Cuban](#) Missile Crisis.

[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) strongly urged the creation of a direct communications link between the White House and the Kremlin.

December 21, Friday: After 4 days of meetings in Nassau, Bahamas, [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) and Prime Minister Harold MacMillan agreed on steps towards a unified western [nuclear force](#).

[Fidel Castro](#) agreed to release 1,113 prisoners left over from the Bay of Pigs invasion of the island of [Cuba](#), in return for \$53,000,000 worth of baby food and medicine.



CUBA

CUBA

1963

[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) met with [Cuban](#) officials to discuss normalization of relations.

January 14, Monday: US and UK proposals for a [multilateral NATO nuclear force](#) were rejected by French President Charles de Gaulle (he also finally rejected the application of Great Britain for membership in the European Economic Community).

Before a jubilant audience George Wallace, being sworn in as governor of Alabama, pledged to maintain “segregation now, segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever.”

THE BELL JAR was published under a pseudonym by William Heinemann Ltd. of London (that the author was Sylvia Plath would be revealed subsequent to her demise).

January 16, Wednesday: General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev announced in Berlin that the initial Soviet [100-megaton nuclear bomb](#) was ready to be used persuasively on somebody.

Great Britain and Saudi Arabia resumed the diplomatic relations that had been interrupted by the Suez War.

An agreement signed in al-Ittihad joined Aden to South Arabia.

January 17, Thursday: Italy agreed in principle to allow its freedom to be guaranteed by modern effective [Polaris submarine-launched nuclear-warhead missiles](#) rather than by those dumb old uncertain [Jupiter land-based nuclear-warhead missiles](#).

General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union visited the Friedrichstrasse crossing point of the Berlin Wall with East German leader Walter Ulbricht, to chat up the western tourists.

The French government demanded suspension of European Economic Community negotiations with Great Britain.

Capriccio for tuba and chamber orchestra by Gunther Schuller was performed for the initial time, in the Carnegie Recital Hall of New York, conducted by the composer.

January 20, Sunday: Turkey agreed in principle that, like Italy, it would allow its freedom to be guaranteed by modern effective [Polaris submarine-launched nuclear-warhead missiles](#) rather than by those dumb old uncertain [Jupiter land-based nuclear-warhead missiles](#).

UN troops occupied Baudouinville (Indonesia) and Kongolo (Nigeria), Katanga.

The Music Educators National Conference announced in Washington a six-year, \$1,380,000 grant by the Ford Foundation to stimulate the creative aspects of music in US public schools. This would be directed by a committee chaired by Norman Dello Joio.



## CUBA

## CUBA

January 22, Tuesday: With encouragement from the United States of America, the Organization of American States suspended [Cuba](#)'s membership.

February 1, Friday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) ordered resumption of [nuclear testing](#) in Nevada.

A government headed by Hastings Kamuzu Banda was sworn in in Zomba, Nyasaland. This would be the 1st Nyasaland government dominated by its own black citizens.

France attached its possessions of Saint Barthelemy and Saint-Martin to the department of Guadeloupe.

A Joyful Fugue for orchestra by Virgil Thomson was performed for the initial time, at the Philadelphia Academy of Music.

Romanza for wind quintet by Irving Fine was performed for the initial time, at the Library of Congress in Washington DC.

February 4, Monday: [Fidel Castro](#) responded to [Cuba](#)'s suspension from the Organization of American States with the Second Declaration of [Havana](#), calling upon the people of Latin America to rise up against imperialism and declaring, "The duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution."

February 6, Wednesday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) banned the carrying of US-government-financed cargo on any merchant ships engaged in trade with [Cuba](#).

February 7, Thursday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) broadened the partial trade restrictions imposed by [President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower](#) to a ban on all trade with [Cuba](#) (except for non-subsidized foods and medicines).

February 8, Friday: The [Kennedy](#) administration prohibited travel to [Cuba](#) by US citizens and made it illegal for US citizens to have financial and commercial transactions with [Cuba](#).

February 18, Monday: Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin delivered a message to [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#), that the several thousand Soviet troops remaining in [Cuba](#) would all be off the island by March 15th.

When the Venezuelan freighter *Anzoategui*, that had been seized off Venezuelan on February 12th, anchored in Brazilian waters near the island of Maracá, it was boarded and brought under the control of Brazilian authorities.

15 études pour alto saxophone et piano op.188 by Charles Koechlin was performed completely for the initial time, over the airwaves of Radio France III.

Piece for Two Instrumental Units by Stefan Wolpe was performed for the initial time, in McMillin Theater of Columbia University.

March: Food rationing was instituted on the island of [Cuba](#).



## CUBA

## CUBA

March 13, Wednesday: General Lyman Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, forwarded to [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) plans for a possible terror campaign against [Cuba](#).

March 15, Friday: Railroad workers staged a 24-hour nationwide strike for higher pay in France.

Two Soviet planes violated US airspace over Alaska. They left after 20-25 minutes. On the following day the US would protest the flight.

About 2,000 Soviet troops left [Cuba](#).

Five Bagatelles for oboe, violin and harpsichord by T.J.Anderson was performed for the initial time, at the University of Oklahoma.

San Fernando Sequence by Ernst Krenek was performed for the initial time, at San Fernando State College, California.

March 21, Thursday: A lengthy interview with [Fidel Castro](#) appeared in Le Monde. Castro voiced strong criticism of Nikita Khrushchev and communist parties around the world for their actions (or lack of action) during the [Cuban Missile Crisis](#). Hey, don't you guys get it? Duh. It's all about me and my island, all the time!

March 23, Saturday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) expanded the [Cuban](#) embargo to include imports of all goods made from or containing any materials from Cuba, even if manufactured in other countries. If you touch anyone who's got the cooties, you've got the cooties, so if you touch anyone who's touched anyone who's got the cooties, you've got the cooties!

March 30, Saturday: Fighting broke out between Pathet Lao and neutralist forces in the Plaine des Jarres of Laos.

The Algerian government seized all assets of all French citizens who had fled the country after independence.

One day after CIA Director McCone had recommended that the US not interfere with [Cuban](#) exiles who were mounting raids on their homeland from US soil, the Departments of State and Justice made a joint announcement that they intended to take "every step necessary" to prevent any such raids "launched, manned, or equipped from U.S. territory."

Sonata for violin and piano in D by Bohuslav Martinu was performed for the initial time, in Prague, 37 years after it was composed.

April 18, Thursday: Pathet Lao forces captured Phongsavan, the last neutralist town on the Plaine des Jarres.

José Miró Cardona resigned as leader of the anti-Castro [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Council, charging that [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) had chosen peaceful coexistence rather than keep his promise to invade [Cuba](#).

June: An endowed [Harry S Truman](#) Chair in American History was established at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri.<sup>316</sup>

316. Not bad, for a guy whose only college experience was a few classes at a business school!





## CUBA

## CUBA

June 20, Thursday: Taking into consideration the communications difficulties that were encountered during the [Cuba Missile Crisis](#), a plan for a “[Hot Line](#)” was agreed to between the White House and the Kremlin (this involved no “red telephone,” instead relying upon Teletype equipment). This agreement provided the 1st official recognition of the inherent danger of nuclear weapons and the possibility of an inadvertent war arising from technical or human error. The “Hot Line” thus established is being tested every hour and the subsequent dissolution of the USSR has not been allowed to interfere with this vital safeguard.



**ATOM BOMB**

July 8, Monday: Brunei withdrew from talks in London creating the Federation of Malaysia.

All [Cuban](#)-owned assets in the United States were frozen. The US government outlawed almost all financial transactions with that island.

When National Guard troops were ordered out of Cambridge, Maryland, anti-segregation demonstrations resumed where they left off.

July 24, Wednesday: Victor Marijnen replaced Jan Eduard de Quay as Prime Minister of the Netherlands.

When the United States government froze all [Cuban](#) accounts within its reach, the island’s government took over the American embassy building in [Havana](#).

September 30, Monday: Hurricane Flora struck the Leeward Islands. Over the next 8 days it would hit Haiti, [Cuba](#), and other islands in the Caribbean, causing more than 7,000 deaths.

Incidental music to Violet’s adaptation Color of Darkness: An Evening in the World of James Purdy by Ned Rorem was performed for the initial time, in Writer’s Stage, New York.

October 2, Wednesday: The United States government sent out cables to all Latin American governments and NATO nations outlining new measures to tighten its economic embargo of [Cuba](#).

[President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) sent Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge a mixed message, that “no initiative should now be taken to give any encouragement to a coup” in South [Vietnam](#) while he was seeking to “identify and build contacts with possible leadership as and when it appears.”





## CUBA

## CUBA

November 17, Sunday: [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) asked French journalist Jean Daniel to pass word along to [Fidel Castro](#) that he was now ready to negotiate normal relations and discontinue his embargo. According to former Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, “If Kennedy had lived I am confident that he would have negotiated that agreement and dropped the embargo because he was upset with the way the Soviet Union was playing a strong role in [Cuba](#) and Latin America...”

Using Soviet-supplied equipment, [Cuba](#) made itself the 1st nation in the Western Hemisphere to jam radio broadcasts. Its target of course was anti-Castro broadcasts originating on US soil.

December: South [Vietnam](#) had in the course of this year received \$500,000,000 worth of US aid. There were 16,300 American military advisors in country.

The [Vallecitos light-water uranium reactor \(VBWR\)](#), that had been the initial privately owned and operated nuclear power plant to deliver significant quantities of electricity to a public utility grid, had by this point delivered something like 40,000 megawatt-hours of clean, affordable, peaceful electrical electricity to its local utility customers. This facility would become [GE's test reactor \(GETR\)](#).

The USA bought back 1,113 of the Cuban exiles captured by [Fidel Castro](#) in the “Bay of Pigs” fiasco in exchange for \$53,000,000 payable in medicines and baby food. (Other of these POWs would be held at the Isle of Pines prison of [Cuba](#) until 1986.)





CUBA

CUBA

1964

January: [Fidel Castro](#) visited Moscow and signed a new trade agreement.

Robert Cunningham resigned as Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Friend Whittemore Whittier, the Assistant Headmaster, would serve as Acting Headmaster until June 30th.

In Chapel Hill, [North Carolina](#), a 30-year-old assistant professor of Zoology at Duke University, Friend Peter H. Klopfer, along with five other professors and several younger persons, were arrested on a charge of simple misdemeanor trespass after a [civil disobedience](#) action at a local segregated restaurant. The case of Professor Klopfer would differ from the others, who would all be convicted either after trials or after a collective plea bargain — in his case the jury would deadlock and the judge would declare a mistrial. Subsequent to this court event, however, the local prosecutor would rely on a procedural device whereby the indictment might remain open indefinitely, hanging over the professor's head as a legal threat to guarantee future “good” conduct. This interesting variant on primate behavior would be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, which would decide that such a legal procedural device might not be deployed in such manner as to nullify statutes of limitations.

February 6, Thursday: In retaliation for US seizure of 4 Cuban fishing boats, [Cuba](#) halted normal fresh-water deliveries to the US naval base at Guantánamo. [Fidel Castro](#) would permit this US military base to have water for but 1 hour each day.

February 7, Friday: The US Defense Department ordered dismissal of any [Cuban](#) civilian employee of the US naval base at Guantánamo who spent his or her salary off base.

Symphony no.1 by Arvo Pärt was performed for the initial time, in Tallinn.

Symphony no.5 by Roger Sessions was performed for the initial time, in Philadelphia.

Elegy for violin by Otto Luening was performed for the initial time, in [New York](#).

May 12, Tuesday: The new military government of Brazil broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

[President Lyndon Baines Johnson](#) signed a law giving the Agriculture Department authority to stop the sale of pesticides until their safety could be determined.

July 26, Sunday: A foreign ministers' meeting of the Organization of American States in Washington DC required its members to discontinue diplomatic and trade relations with [Cuba](#) ([Mexico](#) would be the only nation to refuse).



## CUBA

## CUBA

August 3, Monday: The [Mexican](#) government announced that it would maintain its diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#) in spite of the Organization of American States vote of July 26th.

String Sextet op.408 by Darius Milhaud was performed for the initial time, at the Library of Congress, Washington DC.

The USS *Maddox*, with a second destroyer USS *C. Turner Joy*, began to zigzag provocatively in the Gulf of Tonkin, coming within eight miles of North Vietnam's coast, while the South [Vietnamese](#) commandos in their speedboats harassed North Vietnamese along the coastline. At nightfall there were thunderstorms which affected the accuracy of electronic instruments on the destroyers, and nervous or overeager crew members, reading their instruments, persuaded themselves that they have been brought under torpedo attack again by North Vietnamese patrol boats. It must have been a pretty spectacle from the shore, for although there were no actual sightings of any actual attackers, both destroyers opened fire, destroying numerous apparent targets.

### TONKIN GULF "INCIDENT"

August 21, Friday: In [Saigon](#), students and Buddhist militants began a series of escalating protests against the regime of General Nguyen Khanh. Khanh would decide to share power with General Duong Van "Big" Minh and General Khiem, but amid the gross instability of the puppet government the streets of Saigon would disintegrate into chaos and mob violence.

Students and Buddhists marched in Hué against the South Vietnamese government.

After 2 days of fierce fighting, Congolese government troops regained control of Bukavu from rebels. The Congolese government rounded up and expelled citizens of the Congo Republic, Burundi, and Mali on the grounds that these nations were supporting the rebels.

Bolivia broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

August 26, Wednesday: At the Democratic National Convention, [President Lyndon Baines Johnson](#) was renominated. During his campaign he would declare that "We are not about to send American boys nine or ten thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves!"

VIETNAM



**Hey, hey, LBJ!**

September 8, Tuesday: Duong Van Minh became Chairman of the Provisional Leadership Committee of South Vietnam.

Uruguay broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#) leaving [Mexico](#) as the only nation in the Western Hemisphere maintaining ties.



## CUBA

## CUBA

December: [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#) began a world tour (he would visit 8 African countries and China).

Some 10,000 soldiers of the North [Vietnamese](#) Army arrived unannounced in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam via their Ho Chi Minh trail, carrying sophisticated weaponry from China and from the Soviet Union. They would be able to shore up Viet Cong battalions with the weapons and ammo, and were able to provide leaders experienced in larger-scale military operations.

December 11, Friday: The South African government announced the Bantu Laws Amendment Act would go into effect on January 1st. It gave all blacks living outside the homelands the status of temporary residents. This ended virtually all rights for blacks outside their “reservations.”

Alma Mahler Gropius Werfel died in [New York City](#).

3 anti-[Fidel Castro](#) Cubans fired a 3.6-kilo shell across the East River toward the United Nations building during a speech by [Cuban](#) Industry Minister [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#). The shell exploded about 200 meters offshore. The rocket launcher was found in Queens with a [Cuban](#) flag attached to it. At the same time a woman brandishing a hunting knife broke out of a crowd of anti-Castro demonstrators and ran toward the UN buildings and was subdued by police. She claimed to want to kill Guevara. 3 demonstrators manage to cut down the Soviet flag outside the UN.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1965**

[Hong Kong](#) functioned as a rest and recreation center (oh, all right, “centre”) for US troops.

The “fugitive from justice” [Robert F. Williams](#) and his wife relocated from [Cuba](#) to [China](#), where they would (it goes without saying) be treated with great consideration.

February 26, Friday: In Algiers, [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#) spoke about the mistakes of the [Cuban](#) revolution.

April 1, Thursday: [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#) resigned his [Cuban](#) citizenship and departed to wage armed struggle in Latin America.

[President Lyndon Baines Johnson](#) authorized sending 2 more Marine battalions and up to 20,000 logistical personnel to [Vietnam](#). The President also authorized American combat troops to go on the offensive go out on patrol to root out the Viet Cong. Although immediately this of course would come to be no secret at all in the countryside, for two months the American press and public would be kept in the dark.



**Hey, hey, LBJ!**

May 1, Saturday: [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#) wrote a farewell letter to [Fidel Castro](#).

October: More than 3,000 [Cubans](#) left in a boatlift from Camarioca to the USA.

October 3, Sunday: The new Communist Party of [Cuba](#) was inaugurated.

December 1, Wednesday: The [Cuban](#) airlift began. In its initial year the airlift would convey more than 45,000 refugees (only about 5% would require federal assistance and only for a short while).





CUBA

CUBA

1966

January 2, Sunday: Amidst deteriorating relations between the two countries, [China](#) announced it would reduce its rice exports to [Cuba](#) and would import less sugar from that island.

The Berlin Wall re-closed, after a grand sum total of 840,000 visits by West [Germans](#) to East Berlin since December 18th.

The Twelve for chorus and orchestra by William Walton to words of Auden was performed for the initial time, in [London](#)'s [Westminster Abbey](#), the composer conducting. The ceremony marked the [900th anniversary](#) of this venue created by [Edward the Confessor](#), one of the final Anglo-Saxon kings of England.



January 3, Monday: Until the 15th of the month, [Cuba](#) would be hosting the 1st Tricontinental Conference, from which would be founded the Organization for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the Organization for Latin American Solidarity.

November 2, Wednesday: [President Lyndon Baines Johnson](#) signed into law a [Cuban](#) Adjustment Act, that exempted Cuban immigrants from general US migration laws. Under the terms of this new enactment of law, any Cuban who had reached US territory since January 1st, 1959 was after 2 years eligible for permanent residency (123,000 Cubans would immediately apply for this permanent residency status).



CUBA

CUBA

1967

De Wit calculated the Earth's potential photosynthetic output. Using a human requirement of 1,000,000 kilocalories per year and allowing for city and recreation space, he calculated Earth's carrying capacity at 146,000,000,000 people.

High-fructose corn syrup was introduced commercially by Clinton Corn Processing Company of Clinton, Iowa. Manufactured using their patented enzyme *Isomerase*, the fructose sweetness of corn syrup was raised from 14% to 42%. With rising [sugar](#) prices, "Isosweet" became the sweetener for all major soft drinks.<sup>317</sup>

Although you would never have guessed that there was such a thing as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder by watching the year's movies, which included THE ONE-ARMED SWORDSMAN and THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY, [World War II](#) hero Audie Murphy admitted to suffering recurring war-induced nightmares.<sup>318</sup>

Wisconsin became the final state to remove its laws discriminating against [margarine](#).<sup>319</sup>

October 8, Sunday: Bolivian federal troops took [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) prisoner.

October 9, Monday: In the village of Vallegrande, [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) was shot to death while a prisoner of Bolivian federal troops.

Indonesia suspended diplomatic relations with [China](#) and ordered all [Chinese](#) diplomats out of the country.

Nigerian Federal troops began an assault on the Biafran town of Onitsha.

Elliott Carter wrote from Bellagio, Italy to Secretary of State Dean Rusk asking if anything could be done for Isang Yun, who had been kidnapped by South Korean agents from West Berlin during the previous July (the Secretary of State would neglect to reply).

October 10, Tuesday: Color television service was inaugurated in the USSR.

Bolivian officials announced that several days earlier [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) had been killed in a clash between his revolutionary forces and Bolivian federal troops (in fact he had been captured on October 8th and gunned down by a Bolivian officer on October 9th). Hans Werner Henze and Ernst Schnabel, the composer and poet of *Der Floß der Medusa*, would determine that they would turn the hero of the work into a Guevara-like figure.

317. What could go wrong?

318. Had Audie by taking thought added a cubit unto his stature?


319. Were Wisconsinites wiser than the rest of us Americans? Did they sense that the substitution of cheap margarine for expensive butter was causing heart attacks, cutting years off of lives? –No, Wisconsinites were merely the most vulnerable to the dairy lobbyists, coming around with fistfuls of cash to help venial politicians buy the TV spots that would win their re-election campaigns.



CUBA

CUBA

1968

Orlando Garrido reported that an Ivory-billed Woodpecker  *Campephilus principalis* had been sighted in [Cuba](#).



January 2, Tuesday: The [Cuban](#) government announced petroleum rationing due to a cutback in deliveries from the Soviet Union.

January 28, Sunday: Anibal Escalante and 8 others were expelled from the Communist Party of [Cuba](#) for “microfactionalist activities.”

March 13, Wednesday: [Fidel Castro](#) launched a “revolutionary offensive” that would nationalize 55,000 small [Cuban](#) businesses and lead to state control of nearly all trades and services.

October 23, Wednesday: Arabs engage in violent demonstrations against Israel in Ramallah, Jenin, and Nablus. Israeli authorities impose da curfew on Ramallah.

9 anti-[Fidel Castro Cuban](#) émigrés were arrested in [New York City](#) and charged with bombing offices of 6 nations that had trade relations with [Cuba](#).

Friede Anno 48, a cantata for soprano, chorus and piano by Karl Amadeus Hartmann to words of Gryphius, was performed for the initial time, in Cologne, 32 years after it had been composed.

Letters from Composers, a cycle for high voice and guitar by Dominick Argento to words of several composers, was performed for the initial time, at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota.



CUBA

CUBA

December 9, Monday: [Thomas Merton](#) died at Suwanganiwas, the Red Cross Centre at Samut Prakan outside Bangkok, at the age of 53, 27 years after entering the Gethsemani monastery. He had gone to Thailand to attend an interfaith conference between Catholic and non-Christian monks and had concluded his morning talk with “So I will disappear from view and we can all have a coke or something.” Back in his cottage, he stepped out of the shower and attempted to adjust a large 220-volt electric fan. When he was found there were severe electric burns on his torso.

A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: The first demonstration of a computer mouse, by its inventor, Douglas Engelbart of Stanford, took place at a computer conference at Stanford University.

Concerto-Rhapsody for piano and orchestra by Aram Khachaturian was performed for the initial time, in Gorky.

Stimmung für sex-tête no.24 for six voices by Karlheinz Stockhausen was performed for initial first time, in Paris.

Das Floss der “Medusa,” an oratorio volgare e militare for soprano, baritone, speaker, chorus, boys’ chorus, and orchestra by Hans Werner Henze to words of Schnabel, was to be premiered on this evening in Hamburg. Before the performance a poster of [Ernesto “Che” Guevara](#) was placed on stage, only to be torn down by the organizer of the concert. In retaliation, leftist students stuck a red flag on the platform. When concert officials attempt to remove the banner, the students vigorously defended it. Meanwhile, some members of the West German Radio Chorus refused to sing under the red flag but the composer would not allow it to be removed. Under these circumstances the chorus exited. Meanwhile police arrived in battle gear and arrested several students and shoved the poet, Ernst Schnabel, through a glass door before arresting him as well. Under these conditions the composer refused to go on and the concert was canceled.

A concerto for amplified piano, brass, string basses, and percussion was performed for the initial time in Royce Hall at the University of California at Los Angeles, with the composer Roy Harris himself conducting.

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE  
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN  
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.  
IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY  
RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE “LOOKED UPON FROM  
THE BIRD’S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY, ....” ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER,  
NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —  
BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.**



CUBA

CUBA

1969

January 2, Thursday: The [Cuban](#) government announced [sugar](#) rationing.

March 21, Friday: [Former President Harry S Truman](#) was visited by [President Richard Milhous Nixon](#) and Mrs. Pat Nixon, after which the Nixons presented to the Truman Library a Steinway piano that had been in the White House during [Truman](#)'s presidency.

After being photographed 3 times by Mexican police, Hans Werner Henze arrived in [Havana](#) on a flight from [Mexico City](#).

July 26, Saturday: The [Italian](#) daily [L'Unita](#) quoted Mikis Theodorakis as being in fear for his life.

Unbegrenzt from Aus dem sieben Tagen by Karlheinz Stockhausen was performed for the initial time, in St. Paul de Vence.

[Fidel Castro](#) announced the start of a campaign to produce 10,000,000 tons of [sugar](#) in the next [Cuban](#) harvest.

November 26, Wednesday: Symphony no.6 for two chamber orchestras by Hans Werner Henze was performed for the initial time, in [Havana](#).



## CUBA

## CUBA

December: The 1st contingent of the Venceremos Brigade (a group of volunteer workers from the US) arrived in [Cuba](#) to help with that year's [sugar](#) harvest.

[George W. Bush](#) moved to Houston, [Texas](#) and continued training with fighter/interceptor aircraft, with the 11th Squadron at Ellington Air Force Base.



**“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**

December 25, Thursday: Dr. [Fidel Castro](#) had banned Christmas celebrations this year, as [Cuba](#) had been officially Marxist/Leninist since 1962 and festivities would interfere with the all-important [sugar](#) harvest.

An Israeli raid across the [Suez Canal](#) caused widespread destruction in the [Egyptian](#) naval base at Ras Ghareb, 185 kilometers south of Port [Suez](#). Dismantling a 7-ton radar installation, they transported it by helicopter to the Israeli-held Sinai.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**CUBA****CUBA****1970**

May 19, Tuesday: [Fidel Castro](#) announced that [Cuba](#) missed its goal to produce 10,000,000 tons of [sugar](#) (missed it by 15%, managing to produce only 8,500,000 tons — which nevertheless was the largest harvest in the history of the island).

September 25, Friday: The United States of America advised the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that it really ought to discontinue construction of a [nuclear submarine base](#) in Cienfuegos, [Cuba](#).



Really, guys, who convinced you this was a smart idea?



## CUBA

## CUBA

November 12, Thursday: It wasn't a great day for America. The General Courts-Martial of Lieutenant William Calley convened in regard to allegations of the massacre of [Vietnamese](#) civilians at My Lai began at Fort Benning, Georgia.

The cellist and conductor Mstislav Rostropovich sent a letter to 4 Soviet newspapers defending Alyeksandr Solzhenitsyn. On this day he began a 36-hour general strike against the government in Argentina.

President Salvador Allende of Chile announced resumption of diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#).

December 3, Thursday: With protests and strikes paralyzing major cities in Spain, the trial of 16 Basque separatists began in Burgos.

British Trade Commissioner James Cross was released by Quebec separatists in Montréal. He had been held for 59 days. According to an agreement with the government of Québec, the 3 kidnapers and 4 of their relatives were flown to [Cuba](#).

The US federal Senate voted to discontinue funding for the development of a supersonic transport.

Concerto in Six Movements for piano and orchestra by Ned Rorem was performed for the initial time, in Syria Mosque, Pittsburgh.

Suite from Music for Films for tape by Vladimir Ussachevsky was performed for the initial time, at Weber State College, Ogden, Utah.

December 4, Friday: Cross-border fighting began in Kashmir. Indian and Pakistani aircraft carried out bombing raids on each other's territory and cities.

A bomb explosion destroyed a pub in Belfast killing 15 Catholics, including 2 children.

[Cuban](#) Premier [Fidel Castro](#) returned home after an extended visit to Chile, including stopover meetings with the presidents of Ecuador and Peru. This had been his 1st official visit anywhere in Latin America.



CUBA

CUBA

1971

March 20, Saturday: North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao forces began to fire mortar shells and rockets at the airport of Luang Prabang.

Prime Minister James Chichester-Clark of Northern [Ireland](#) resigned in a dispute about the tactics used against the Irish Republican Army, and was replaced by Brian Faulkner.

The poet Herberito Padilla was arrested and would be detained for 39 days, apparently for political differences with the [Cuban](#) government.

April 27, Tuesday: The [Cuban](#) government without explanation released the poet Heberito Padilla from prison (they had been holding him for more than 5 weeks).

September: The communications difficulties that had been encountered during the [Cuba Missile Crisis](#) had caused the creation of a "[Hot Line](#)," between Washington DC and Moscow (this involved no "red telephone," but Teletype machines connected both by cable and radio). At this point the cable and radio circuits were supplemented by 2 US Intelsat satellites and two Soviet Molniya II satellites.

[ATOM BOMB](#)

November 10, Wednesday: The federal Senate ratified a treaty that would return the Ryukyu Islands to [Japan](#) but continue US bases on Okinawa. As the Japanese Diet would consider the treaty, riots would break out in Tokyo and in Naha, Okinawa in opposition to US bases remaining on Okinawa.

[Cuban](#) Premier [Fidel Castro](#) began a 3-week visit to Chile, his 1st official visit anywhere in Latin America since 1959.

The City Council of Berkeley, California voted to offer sanctuary to all military deserters and ordered its city policemen not to assist federal or state authorities in any arrests of said deserters.

November 18, Thursday: During a question-and-answer period with students at the University of Concepción, Chile, [Fidel Castro](#) described the process by which he had become a communist.



CUBA

CUBA

1972

Since the annual Anniversary dinner of the [War Resisters League](#) did not actually take place, a “Non-award” was made to honor activist Ann McVey Upshure.

The Center for [Cuban](#) Studies was established in [New York City](#) to promote cultural and academic exchange.

A break-in at the Watergate Hotel in beautiful downtown Washington DC marked the beginning of a drama that would culminate after more than 2 years with the resignation from office of President [Richard Milhous Nixon](#). In his book THE ENDS OF POWER, former Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman would charge that the Central Intelligence Agency had sanitized its involvement both in Watergate and in the assassination of President [President John Fitzgerald Kennedy](#) and that the Oval Office tapes contained hidden clues. Nixon’s references to “Bay of Pigs,” according to Haldeman, were in regard to the assassination of President Kennedy just as his references to “the [Cubans](#)” pertained to the Watergate operatives (most of whom were in fact ex-Battista thugs). While such retrojections are implausible we may note that on the tape President Nixon characterized the “report” of the Warren Commission accurately as “the greatest hoax that has ever been perpetuated.”

May 3, Wednesday: The body of [J. Edgar Hoover](#) lay in state in the Rotunda of the Capitol Building in [Washington DC](#), as politician after politician came around to find out if it could really be true. (Frenzied efforts were made to locate and destroy all the blackmail files he had been keeping for so many years in his office, in order to ensure that his influence had been laid to rest for good.) In a ceremony at the [White House](#), President [Richard Milhous Nixon](#) appointed long time [FBI](#) operative L. Patrick Gray III as Acting Director (when Gray’s questionable personal role in the Watergate burglary would be revealed by the press, he would withdraw his name from the Senate’s consideration).

[Cuba](#)’s [Fidel Castro](#) began a 63-day tour of Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union.

June 17, Saturday: Washington security guard Frank Willis noticed something suspicious and called the police to report an apparent breakin, and 5 burglars, speaking Cuban Spanish, were discovered inside the Democratic National Committee Headquarters at the [Watergate](#) office building in [Washington DC](#). It would be discovered that the men had ties to the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) and had been attempting to plant hidden microphones in Democratic National Committee offices. Subsequent investigations would reveal that these men were ex-Batista thugs who after [Fidel Castro](#) took over [Cuba](#) had gone to work covertly for the White House! Go figure. (The event would several years later result in the resignation of President [Richard Milhous Nixon](#).)



“Power is not for the nice guy down the street  
or for the man next door.”

— [Richard Milhous Nixon](#)



(It is worth remembering here that Nixon’s 1st break-in had been while he was a scholarship law student at Duke University — he had broken into the dean’s office to take an advance peek at his class standing.)

July 11, Tuesday: A North [Vietnamese](#) attack on An Loc was thwarted by South Vietnamese with the assistance of a few B-52 air strikes.

[Cuba](#) joined the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, an economic organization of the Soviet Union, East European socialist countries, and Mongolia.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

November 19, Sunday: [Cuba](#)'s [Fidel Castro](#) accepted a US proposal to begin formal negotiations over the problem of airline hijackings.

December 21, Thursday: Agence France-Presse reported that the [Cuban](#) embassy in Hanoi has been heavily damaged by US bombs. On this day, also, the embassy of India was damaged by bombs.

India and Pakistan announced that they had withdrawn their forces behind the cease fire line in Kashmir and all along their common border.

A treaty between East and West Germany was signed in East Berlin.



CUBA

CUBA

1973

Lewis Perry's completed project, called PATTERNS OF [ANARCHY](#), had brought him to an inference that not only did the anarchistic tradition in the USA exhibit "a distinctive emphasis on individual 'self-ownership'," but also that this distinctive American emphasis had demonstrably sprung out of the distinctive American antebellum experience of white Americans, attempting desperately "to escape the perils of 'slavery'." What he had become concerned to establish, in his next project RADICAL ABOLITIONISM published in this year,<sup>320</sup> was that in that pre-civil-war context the claim which the nonviolence had typically been making –that to abolish slavery through violence or through the threat of force by the government would be like trying to kill the Devil with a gun or a sword, would be impossibly wrongheaded– was a claim which was quite plausible within that context. They were able to reason closely, and correctly foresee, that to eliminate American slavery through the use of the wrong tactics –and create our society in which all Americans of color had been nominally "freed" but were still detested and still feared by still-racist white Americans– would be to create for the future of our culture precisely the "centuries of continuing violence and coercion" which we have been experiencing.



The neighborhood [Committees for the Defense of the Revolution](#) celebrated their 13th year. According to [Cuba's](#) official newspaper [Granma](#), total membership had risen to about 4,750,000 (that tight little island hasn't ever had an [FBI](#) because it hasn't ever needed one).

February 15, Thursday: [Cuba](#) and the US signed an antihijacking accord, agreeing to work together to intercept further hijacking of planes and ships.


April 6, Friday: Eastern Airlines 8894 landed at Miami International Airport at 11:55AM with the final 84 passengers of the [Cuban](#) airlift. Since 1965, 3,049 flights had brought 260,561 Cubans to the continent, rendering this the largest airborne refugee operation in American history.

November 15, Thursday: [Egypt](#) and Israel began exchanging prisoners of war by way of the Red Cross, or Red Crescent.

Anti-government students took over Patras University in Greece.

In an effort to improve productivity, the 13th Congress of the [Cuban](#) Labor Confederation linked wages to job performance.



320.  Lewis Perry. RADICAL ABOLITIONISM: [ANARCHY](#) AND THE GOVERNMENT OF GOD IN ANTISLAVERY THOUGHT. Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 1973







CUBA

CUBA

1974

January 28, Monday: Israeli forces lifted the siege of [Suez](#). The UN handed the city over to [Egypt](#).

Herbert Porter, former official of [President Richard Milhouse Nixon](#)'s campaign committee, pleaded guilty to having made false statements to the FBI (and would receive a sentence of 30 days in jail).

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev arrived in [Cuba](#) for a week-long visit. Fun in the sun.

September: The federal Congress appropriated only \$700,000,000 for South [Vietnam](#). This would leave the South Vietnamese Army underfunded and would result in a decline of military readiness and of morale. "Why should we try? –Obviously, you don't love us anymore!"

Senators Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island) and Jacob Javits (R-New York) visited [Cuba](#) — the 1st US elected officials to visit the island since the break of diplomatic relations.

September 11, Wednesday: An anti-[Castro](#) terrorist group, OMEGA 7, was founded. In the US, where else?

November: Assistant Secretary of State William Rogers and Assistant to the Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger conducted secret normalization talks with [Cuban](#) officials in Washington DC and New York City. Talks about [Cuban](#) involvement in Angola were discontinued.

A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: Hal Chamberlin and others began publishing [The Computer Hobbyist](#) magazine.



CUBA

CUBA

1975

[Cuban](#) troops landed in Angola.

June 17, Tuesday: Voters in the Mariana Islands approved the establishment of a Commonwealth in association with the United States of America. Residents of the islands would be made US citizens.

[Cubans](#) battled police in Elizabeth, New Jersey. 7 people were injured, 143 arrested.

July 29, Tuesday: A military coup led by Muritala Rufai Mohammed overthrew the Nigerian government of General Yakubu Gowon.

The Portuguese government imposed press censorship on all news from Angola.

In Wonderland, scenes 2, 3 and 5 from An Alice Symphony for amplified soprano and orchestra by David Del Tredici was performed for the initial time, in Aspen, Colorado.

The Organization of American States voted to end political and economic sanctions against [Cuba](#). This opened the way for each member nation to determine for itself whether it wanted diplomatic and trade relations with [Cuba](#) (relations which many had already begun to establish).

August 21, Thursday: The United States of America announced that it would allow foreign subsidiaries of US companies to sell products in [Cuba](#), and that other nations would no longer be penalized for trade with [Cuba](#).

October 5, Sunday: A bomb explodes under a car carrying five Civil Guards in Aranzazu, near Bilbao, Spain. 3 were killed, 2 seriously injured. In retaliation conservative terrorists killed a bar owner near Bilbao, because he was the brother of an ETA leader.

Parliamentary elections in Austria left the parties completely unchanged. The government of Social Democrat Bruno Kreisky continued in power.



Frank Church, chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence Activities of the federal Senate, revealed that the CIA had made several attempts to kill [Fidel Castro](#).

Left wing Monteneros attacked an army garrison, airport, and prison in Formosa, Argentina, apparently in an attempt to free imprisoned comrades. The attempt failed and 30 people were killed.

In Memory for strings, percussion, tape and slides by Ben Johnston was performed for the initial time, at the dedication of Erlanger House in Urbana, Illinois.

A Preview of Coming Attractions for orchestra by Lejaren Hiller was performed for the initial time, in Buffalo, New York.

November 5, Wednesday: At the request of the newly inaugurated Angolan government, [Cuba](#) sent a large contingent of troops to help the Angolans repel the invasion by South African forces that had been launched on October 23d.



CUBA

CUBA

November 20, Thursday: Palestinian terrorists attacked an Israeli settlement on the Golan Heights, killing 3 and injuring 2.

The event came, that all of Spain had been holding its breath for! Generalissimo Francisco Franco, fascist dictator for 36 years, died in Madrid at the age of 82. He was replaced as head of state by a regency council headed by Alejandro Rodríguez de Valcárcel y Nebreda.

The Select Committee on Intelligence of the federal Senate submitted its 347-page “interim report.” It had uncovered that the intelligence services of the federal government had attempted to assassinate 5 foreign leaders, [Fidel Castro](#), Patrice Lumumba, Rafael Trujillo, Rene Schneider, and Ngo Dinh Diem. They had been unable to trace this to any direct orders from any United States president but their evidence strongly suggested that [President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#) had personally authorized the murder of Patrice Lumumba. The report identified more than 8 of the administration’s plots to kill [Fidel Castro](#) between 1960 and 1965, as well as additional plans to off other such leaders in [Cuba](#).

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December 17, Wednesday: The First Congress of the Communist Party of [Cuba](#) was held in [Havana](#) (until the 22d). It would adopt party statutes, a programmatic platform, and a draft of the constitution.

December 20, Saturday: [President Gerald Rudolph Ford](#) announced that the [Cuban](#) military involvement in Angola would negate any possibility of restoring full diplomatic relations with the island in the near future.



CUBA

CUBA

1976

February 18, Wednesday: [President Gerald Rudolph Ford](#) issued Executive Order 11905 banning assassinations of foreign political leaders by US agencies: “No employee of the United States Government shall engage in, or conspire to engage in, political assassination.”



June 23, Wednesday: In a Security Council vote, citing the continued presence there of [Cuban](#) troops, the United States vetoed admission of Angola to the UN.

[Pravda](#) announced that a “magnificent monument” has been erected over Babi Yar with the inscription: “Here in 1941-42 German fascist invaders executed over 100,000 citizens of the city of Kiev and prisoners of war.” The erection of the monument was entirely due to the fantastic popularity of Yevgeny Yevtushenko’s poem Babi Yar which began “No monument stands over Babi Yar.” The poem was 1 of 5 Yevtushenko poems set to music by Dmitri Shostakovich in his Symphony no.13 (you will notice that this official Soviet monument somehow neglected to mention an annoying factoid, that the vast majority of those murdered at Babi Yar had been Jews).

The Golden Pavilion, an opera by Toshiro Mayuzumi to words of Henneberg after Mishima, was performed for the first time, at the Deutsche Oper, Berlin.

September 21, Tuesday: In 1971, [Marcos Orlando Letelier del Solar](#) had been appointed ambassador to the United States by Salvador Allende, the socialist president of Chile. After the Chilean coup of 1973 that brought Augusto Pinochet to power, he had been one of the 1st members of the Allende administration to be arrested by the Chilean government and sent to a political prison in Tierra del Fuego. After his release in 1974 he moved to Washington DC, and became a senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies. He had been assisted at the Institute for Policy Studies by Ronni Karpen Moffitt, a 25-year-old fundraiser who ran a “Music Carryout” program that produced musical instruments for the poor, and also campaigned for democracy in Chile. In 1975 Letelier had become Director of Planning and Development for the International Political Economy Programme of the Transnational Institute, an international think tank for progressive politics affiliated with the Institute for Policy Studies. On this day agents of the Chilean secret police and its assassination project “Operation Condor” had placed plastic explosive under the left side of the car being used for commuting to work. [The bomb went off at about 9:35AM as it rounded Sheridan Circle in Embassy Row in Washington DC.](#) Letelier was driving with his assistant Ronni Karpen Moffitt in the passenger seat, and her husband of 4 months Michael was sitting behind her. Much of Letelier’s lower torso had been blown away, and his legs severed. Ronni’s larynx and carotid artery had been slashed by shrapnel. Michael would be able to crawl out the back window of the wrecked car. Michael Townley had organized the operation and 5 anti-Castro [Cuban](#) exiles had placed the explosive: José Dionisio Suárez, Virgilio Paz Romero, Alvin Ross Díaz, Guillermo Sampoll, and Ignacio Novo Sampoll. Armando Fernandez Larios had also been involved in this. Declassified US intelligence documents have since confirmed that this assassination had been directly ordered by the military dictator Pinochet.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

October 6, Wednesday: The military of Thailand, led by Sa-ngad Chaloryu, overthrew the government and abolished the constitution.

In [China](#), Premier Zhou Enlai and Chairman Mao Zedong having died, the infamous “Gang of Four,” Chang Chung-kiao, Chiang Ching, Wang Hong-wen, and Yao Wen-yuan, were arrested by the military commander of Peking under the orders of Hua Kuo-feng (they would be sentenced in 1981).

A bomb killed all 73 people aboard a [Cuban](#) commercial jet as it took off from Barbados. Most passengers were teenagers. Luis Posada Carrilles, an anti-Castro activist trained by the CIA, would be charged, and in 1998 would admit to (although he would later deny) more than a decade of anti-Castro terrorist activities funded by the Cuban-American National Foundation, a nonprofit based in Miami and reportedly the most influential lobby in Washington, headed until he died in 1997 by Jorge Mas Canosa.

December 3, Friday: Patrick John Hillery replaced a presidential commission to become President of [Ireland](#).

[Fidel Castro](#) was elected president of the State Council, which, under the new [Cuban](#) constitution, consolidated the previous positions of president and prime minister. The new president was to serve as head of state –and as head of government –and as commander in chief of the Armed Forces.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1977**

March 19, Saturday: [President Jimmy Carter](#) dropped the ban on travel to [Cuba](#) and on US citizens spending dollars in [Cuba](#).

April 4, Monday: Zaire broke diplomatic relations with [Cuba](#), claiming that this island was aiding rebels in Shaba Province.

Symphony no.3 (Symphony of Sorrowful Songs) op.36 for soprano and orchestra by Henryk Górecki was performed for the initial time, in Royan.

April 27, Wednesday: The US and [Cuba](#) signed a maritime boundary and fishing rights accord.



May 25, Wednesday: The US Department of State warned that [Cuba](#)'s recent deployment of military advisors in Ethiopia could "impede the improvement of US-Cuban relations."

In [China](#), the Communist government decided it no longer needed to prevent performance and publication of the plays of [William Shakespeare](#).

In the Netherlands, the Labor Party under Prime Minister Joop den Uyl gained 10 seats in national elections, raising its total to 53. The Christian Democratic Appeal, newly reorganized, won 49 seats.

The premier of George Lucas's "Star Wars."



At Uppsala University, "Westerlings for chorus" by Peter Maxwell Davies was performed for the initial time, although in an incomplete state.

In Schwetzingen, String Quartet no.4 and String Quartet no.5 by Hans Werner Henze were performed for the initial time.

May 30, Monday: The United States and [Cuba](#) agreed to set up "interest sections" in each other's capitals.

CUBA

CUBA

September: A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: A month after launching the TRS-80, despite sales projections of only 3,000 per year, sales had reached 5 figures: 10,000 units.

The USA and Cuba opened "interest sections" in each other's capitals.

A geologic map of earthquake faults in Eastern Alameda County, California had indicated that the Verona fault passed beneath the GE test reactor (GETR) at which I (Austin Meredith) had been a "jumper." During this month surface trenching near the reactor made the Verona fault apparent to the eye.

ASSLEY



Q: What is the correct distance to live from the nearest atomic reactor?

A: 91,400,000-94,510,000 miles, which works out to be 499 light-seconds, or 1 AU (Astronomical Unit).



November 5, Saturday: Having known each other for 3 months, George Walker Bush and Laura Welch were wed in a small ceremony at the First United Methodist Church in Midland, Texas.

Citing the presence of Cuban and Soviet advisors in Ethiopia, and the conflict of interest that represented, Somalia expelled its Soviet advisors and broke diplomatic relations with Cuba.

November 13, Sunday: In Thailand, military dictator Sagnad Chaloryu became Chairman of the National Policy Council while Kriangsak Chomanan became Prime Minister.

The Somali government ended its friendship treaty with the USSR, expelling all Soviet advisors and breaking relations with Cuba.

Book of Hours and Seasons for mezzo-soprano, flute, cello and piano by John Harbison to words of Goethe was performed for the initial time, in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

December 14, Wednesday: Representatives of Egypt, Israel, the United Nations, and the United States opened a conference in Cairo to determine procedures for future peace negotiations.

At the midpoint of this month, Cuban combat troops began to arrive in Ethiopia (eventually their total would reach nearly 20,000).



CUBA

CUBA

1978

January: At the request of the Ethiopian government, thousands of [Cuban](#) troops, supported and led by Soviet, East German, and Cuban officers, helped repel a Somali invasion of Ethiopia.

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "Robert Pleasants on [Quakerism](#): Some Account of the First Settlement of [Friends](#) in Virginia" ([The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography](#), 86:1, pages 3-16).

February 14, Tuesday: Palestinian terrorists blew up a bus in Jerusalem, killing 2 and injuring 35.

On a street in Rome, the Red Brigades killed a judge.

Ethiopian forces, supported by [Cuba](#) and the USSR, were reported to have won back Diredawa and Harar from Somali rebels.

A Paris court found L. Ron Hubbard, founder of the Church of Scientology, guilty of raising money under false pretenses, and sentenced him to 4 years in prison and fined him \$7,350 (reportedly, at the time Hubbard was on his yacht somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean).

February 27, Monday: [Egyptian](#) President Anwar el-Sadat revoked privileges held by Palestinians in Egypt.

When the Nicaraguan National Guard put down an anti-government riot in Diriamba, 7 were killed and 15 injured.

[Secretary of State Cyrus Vance](#) asserted that he could not foresee the normalization of relations with [Cuba](#) — on account of the continued presence of [Cuban](#) troops in Africa.

May 16, Tuesday: Ethiopian and [Cuban](#) troops began a major offensive against rebels in Eritrea.

July 1, Saturday: Claude Eatherly died. He had been the pilot of a weather reconnaissance B-29, the *Straight Flush*, that had taken part in the raid that dropped the [A-bomb](#) on Hiroshima, Japan. His part in the event had been to radio back to the approaching [Enola Gay](#) that visibility was clear over the target.

**WORLD WAR II**

Eatherly's life subsequent to this involvement in a historic incident of violence had been exceedingly problematic, even crazed. Very clearly the locomotive of his life had gone off the rails but it is problematic whether this was due to the A-weapon, or something far more mysterious and personal. He had involved himself in a bunch of questionable stuff such as running guns for [Cuban](#) revolutionaries — but seems also to have made a number of attempts to re-create himself as a minor hero of [civil disobedience](#).<sup>321</sup>

321. Examples: he once forged a check for a small amount and contributed the money to a fund for the children of Hiroshima; he would break into post offices without taking anything; he stuck up a bank with a fake or broken gun and had them put the money in a bag, then walked out without the bag. —The more you study the details of this life the less any of it makes sense.

## CUBA

## CUBA

July 31, Monday: [Fidel Castro](#) called for the removal of US military bases from Guantánamo Bay. Bombings of the [Cuban](#) United Nations Mission, the [Cuban](#) Interests Section, and the Soviet Mission by anti-Castro exile groups would follow throughout the autumn.



August 1, Tuesday: A bomb intended to kill Argentine Navy Chief of Staff Armando Lambruschini exploded in a Buenos Aires apartment building. Although the admiral himself was unhurt, the blast killed his daughter and at least 1 other person, and injured 10.

A Washington DC grand jury indicted 3 Chileans and 4 [Cuban](#) exiles in the 1976 murders of [Marcos Orlando Letelier del Solar](#), former Chilean ambassador to the US, and his aide.

December: The US federal government announced that the full force of the law was going to be used against those responsible for terrorist actions, such as the recent bombings by anti-[Fidel Castro Cuban](#) exiles. (As far as I'm aware, this was pure bluff, and no serious inquiry or arrest would ever take place other than routine investigations done by local cop-shops.)

News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- Epson announced the MX-80 dot matrix printer, which established a new standard in high performance with low price for printers.



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

- Atari announced the Atari 400 and 800 personal computers, using the 6502 microprocessor. The Atari 800 was code-named "Colleen."
- Microsoft's sales for the year reach US\$1 million.



CUBA

CUBA

1979

January 1, Monday: The Peoples Republic of [China](#) and the United States of America, two nations devoted to the service of the people, formally established diplomatic ties (of course this similarity between the two nations was immediately commented upon; both nations also enjoyed Coca Cola, and three hours later, Coca Cola announced its intention to reenter the Chinese market).

[China](#) officially adopted the Pinyin method of transliterating Chinese into the Latin alphabet.

The Republic of Guinea changed its name to the Peoples Revolutionary Republic of Guinea.

The Brazilian state of Mato Grosso do Sul was created from part of Mato Grosso.

Cuban-Americans were told they could visit their families in [Cuba](#). More than 100,000 would visit during the coming year.

February 14, Wednesday: Muslim extremists in Afghanistan kidnapped United States ambassador Adolph Dubs. When Afghan troops stormed the building where he was being held, several kidnappers and the ambassador were killed in the gunfire.

Leftist guerrillas in Iran invaded the United States embassy in Tehran and held 100 people hostage. After a few hours, they were freed by followers of Ayatollah Khomeini.

A federal court in Washington DC found 3 [Cuban](#) exiles guilty in the 1976 murders of [Marcos Orlando Letelier del Solar](#), former Chilean ambassador to the US, and his aide.

March 23, Friday: The Kurdish regions of Iran quieted, when the Iranian government promised to start taking their demands seriously.

Palestinian terrorists exploded a bomb in the main square of Jerusalem, killing 1 and injuring 14.

A federal court in Washington sentenced 2 [Cuban](#) exiles to life in prison for the 1976 murders of [Marcos Orlando Letelier del Solar](#), former Chilean ambassador to the US, and his aide.

June 19, Tuesday: Representative Ted Weiss (D-NY) introduced legislation to end the US trade blockade against [Cuba](#) and re-establish diplomatic relations (his legislation would be unsuccessful).

July: [Cuba](#) developed close relations with the Sandanista government in Nicaragua (since 1977 [Cuba](#) had been supporting the Sandanista insurgency in Nicaragua against the rule of Anastasio Somoza).

News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- Apple Computer released DOS 3.2.1.
- CompuServe began a service to computer hobbyists called MicroNET, offering bulletin boards, databases, and games.





**CUBA**

**CUBA**

September 3, Monday: At a meeting of the 6th summit of the Nonaligned Movement in [Havana](#), one that would go on until the 9th, [Fidel Castro](#) would be elected chair of the movement (he would serve until 1982).



**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1980**

March 16, Sunday: Allowed to emigrate by [Fidel Castro](#), [Cuban](#) poet Heberto Padilla Lorenzo arrived in [New York](#).

April 1, Tuesday: Two unions agreed to a wage increase, thus ending a 13-week strike against British Steel.

Six [Cubans](#) seeking asylum drove a bus through the gates of the Peruvian embassy in [Havana](#).

Incidental music to Pushkin's play Yevgeny Onegin op.71 by Sergei Prokofiev was performed for the initial time, over the airwaves of the BBC originating in London.

The radio preacher Willie Day Smith of Irving, [Texas](#) had been predicting that this day would produce the [Second Coming](#) of Jesus Christ (Source: WHAT ABOUT THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST?).





## CUBA

## CUBA

April 6, Sunday: Ihsan Sabri Çaglayangil replaced Fahri Sabri Korutürk as acting President of Turkey. The parliament had failed to elect a successor to Korutürk and his term ends on this day.

Over the previous week, 7,000 [Cubans](#) had entered the grounds of the Peruvian embassy in Havana seeking asylum.

Leftists guerrillas released 3 non-diplomats from the Dominican embassy in Bogotá.

3M began marketing Post-It® notes in the United States.

April 16, Wednesday: The initial batch of the more than 7,000 [Cubans](#) seeking asylum in the Peruvian embassy was flown out of [Havana](#) to Costa Rica.

April 21, Monday: Boats crowded with refugees begin leaving Mariel, [Cuba](#) for Florida.

May 10, Saturday: Georgios Ioannou Rallis replaced Konstantinos Karamanlis as Prime Minister of Greece (Karamanlis had been elected president).

The Swiss Olympic Committee narrowly voted to attend the Moscow games.

While a Bahamian patrol boat, the *Flamingo* had in tow 2 Cuban fishing vessels it had impounded near Santo Domingo Cay north of Cuba, [Cuban](#) warplanes attacked. They sank it, with 4 deaths.

On the Sheer Threshold of the Night for four solo voices and chorus by Harrison Birtwistle to words of Boethius translated by Waddell, was performed for the initial time, at the Hessischer Rundfunk, Frankfurt.

May 14, Wednesday: When Corsican separatists fired automatic weapons at the Iranian embassy in Paris, they injured 4 French policemen who were guarding the building.

[President Jimmy Carter](#) closed the open door to refugees from [Cuba](#) — in 3 weeks, 46,000 people had already arrived.

The orchestration of Steve Reich's Variations for winds, strings and keyboards was performed for the initial time, in War Memorial Opera House, San Francisco.

May 21, Wednesday: Anti-government protesters took control of Gwangju, South Korea as a way to protest against the military coup that had occurred in their nation on December 12, 1979. By May 27th an unknown number of them (the military would maintain a communications blackout), perhaps as many as several thousand, would be dead. The US would deny any involvement in this. In 2002 the local cemetery to which the bodies of the killed had been carried would be declared a [Korean](#) national cemetery.

[KOREAN WAR](#)

After a moratorium of several months large-scale executions resumed in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In the month since the beginning of the boat lift out of the harbor of Mariel, [Cuba](#) allowed by the president, Dr. [Fidel Castro](#), 67,000 Cubans had made it to the United States, including an unknown number of criminals and mentally ill persons specially released from their institutions for this purpose by the island's communist government. The tide of refugees was beginning to tail off.

[President Jimmy Carter](#) declared a state of emergency in the [Love Canal](#) area of Niagara Falls, New York.

Prism for orchestra by Jacob Druckman was performed for the initial time, in Baltimore.

Premier of the George Lucas "Star Wars" sequel "The Empire Strikes Back."



I had promised to take my four children, but the media were warning about exposure to the malathion spray coming from the Medfly helicopters nightly. There was a schedule of overflights posted, so I consulted that schedule and determined that there was not going to be any spraying on the night in question in our vicinity. I therefore drove my children to the local shopping mall having a theatre, and we got in line outside the locked glass doors of the megaplex. The area outside the theatre was open to the sky. A spray formation of helicopters came overhead, and I ran forward and hammered on the glass doors: "Let us in! Let us in! They're spraying us!" The theatre employees in the lobby ignored us. So I called to the children and we ran to the nearest building overhang, taking what shelter we could. We could feel the droplets on our skin (we were the only ones seeking shelter; the others waiting in line simply stood and stared or stood and ignored us). The next day I called the Medfly Hotline to file a report, only to listen to them assure us over and over that in fact no such spraying had taken place at that location on that evening. The spray line of helicopters moving across the night sky, each one diagonally behind and to the side of the one before it, with the telltale horizontal spray bar beneath them, had been a figment of our perfervid imagination. A few days later Michelle exhibited flu-like symptoms (hoarseness and fever, as I recall), but none of the other children reacted and she quickly recovered.

September 11, Tuesday: Anti-[Fidel Castro](#) terrorists gunned down Felix García Rodríguez of the [Cuban](#) UN mission as he drove in [New York City](#).



## CUBA

## CUBA

September 26, Wednesday: When a bomb exploded at the annual *Oktoberfest* in München, 12 were killed and more than 200 injured. The police suspected this had been done by neo-Nazis.

The government of [Cuba](#) closed the port of Mariel, ending the boatlift of refugees to the United States (since April 21st 125,000 Cubans had been transported to Florida in small boats).

Music for a Celebration for chorus, audience and orchestra by Gunther Schuller was performed for the initial time, in Springfield, Massachusetts.

November 5, Wednesday: The families of [Marcos Orlando Letelier del Solar](#) and Ronni Karpen Moffitt were awarded \$4,900,000 in damages by a federal judge in Washington DC. This judgment was to be paid by the government of Chile, by Juan Manuel Contrera, former head of the Chilean secret police, by 2 secret police agents, by 2 [Cuban](#) exiles, and by an American — the people who had actually carried forward this assassination.





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1981

March 16, Monday: In Qantara, a bombardment by Christian militia killed 3 United Nations (Nigerian) soldiers and injured 11.

The [New York Times](#) reported that former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard of Anastasio Somoza had been training in Florida, alongside [Cuban](#) exiles, to overthrow the new government of Nicaragua.

October 6, Tuesday: Anwar el-Sadat was assassinated during the annual victory celebration in [Cairo](#) of Egypt's crossing of the [Suez Canal](#). In addition to Sadat, 11 others were killed, including the [Cuban](#) ambassador, an Omani general, and a Coptic Orthodox bishop, and 28 were wounded, including Vice President Hosni Mubarak, Irish Defence Minister James Tully, and 4 US military liaison officers. The assassination detail had been led by Lieutenant Khalid Islambouli after a *fatwa* approving the assassination had been obtained from Omar Abdel-Rahman. Lt. Islambouli would be tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death, and would be executed during April 1982.

**“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**



CUBA

CUBA

1982

March 9, Tuesday: The [Reagan](#) administration released intelligence photographs supposedly showing a massive military buildup by Nicaragua, supported by [Cuba](#) and the USSR.

Fu for vocal soloists and twelve instruments by Tan Dun was performed for the initial time, in Beijing.

Charles James Haughey of *Fianna Fáil* replaced Garret Fitzgerald of *Fine Gael* as Prime Minister of [Ireland](#).

La vera storia, an opera by Luciano Berio to words of Calvino and the composer, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro alla Scala, Milan.

March 12, Friday: Orlando Jose Tardencillas Espinosa, a Nicaraguan captured with leftist guerrillas in El Salvador who had admitted to having been trained in [Cuba](#) and Ethiopia, recanted his confession and claimed that it had been extracted from him by [torture](#). Never mind, the administration of [President Ronald Wilson Reagan](#) would continue to claim this as proof of their contention of outside direction of the Salvadoran insurgency.

October 18, Monday: Mrs. Bess Truman died at the age of 97. Funeral services would be held in the Trinity Episcopal Church in Independence on October 21st, after which the body would be interred in the courtyard of the Truman Library.

Responding to a personal appeal from French President François Mitterand, [Fidel Castro](#) released a poet, Armando Valladares, from prison. This poet had served 22 years of a 30-year sentence for criticizing the government.

On a visit to Moscow, 5 West German composers had a “secret” meeting with 7 Soviet composers in the apartment of Edison Denisov. Among the 7 were Sofia Gubaidulina and Alfred Schnittke. During a long night, the 12 were able to make deep personal and lasting connections.

Pour Maurice for baritone and piano by Iannis Xenakis was performed for the initial time, in Brussels.

Evocation no.3 for viola and piano by Ralph Shapey was performed for the initial time, in Alice Tully Hall, New York.



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1983

October 25: 5:30AM: 1,900 US troops with token contingents from Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent Islands invaded Grenada. Despite hurried, inadequate preparations and woefully inept intelligence, they managed to secure Pearls Airport, Point Salinas, and Ft. Frederick. During the attack a United States Navy plane bombed a psychiatric hospital on Grenada, killing 12. The facts about this bombing would be kept secret until October 31st.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher told Parliament that she had expressed her “very considerable doubts” to [President Ronald Wilson Reagan](#) upon hearing of his plan to invade Grenada. The French government termed this “a surprising action in relation to international law.”



October 26, Wednesday: Grenadian and [Cuban](#) forces continued their defense of Richmond Hill, east of St. George’s.

A meeting of the Organization of American States in Washington condemned the invasion of Grenada. Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada expressed his government’s “regret” over the invasion.

October 27, Thursday: Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told the Bundestag that “had we been given the opportunity to do so, we would have advised against the intervention (in Grenada).…”

La trahison orale, a Musikepos über den Teufel, by Mauricio Kagel, was performed for the initial time, in Salle Gémier, Paris, directed by the composer.

October 28, Friday: The Security Council of the United Nations voted 11-1-3 to condemn the invasion of Grenada (the one nay vote was a veto by the United States).

October 29, Saturday: 200,000 people demonstrated throughout Denmark against the deployment of US [medium-range nuclear missiles](#).

Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard of Grenada was captured by invading troops.

Aether for violin and piano by Roger Reynolds was performed for the first time, at the Library of Congress, Washington.



## CUBA

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October 30: Hudson Austin, leader of the military government of Grenada, was captured by invading troops.

An earthquake in eastern Turkey killed 1,233 people.

National elections took place in Argentina to end 8 years of military rule. Raul Alfonsin of the Radical Civic Union was elected president defeating the Peronist candidate. His party gained a majority of seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Oedipus der Tyrann, oder Der Vater vertreibt seinen Sohn und schickt die Tochter in die Küche, a musical play by Hans Werner Henze, von Böse, Holt and Lang to words of Hollmüller, was performed for the initial time, in Kindberg.

November 2, Wednesday: White South Africans approved a new constitution in which nonwhites of Asian descent and mixed-race citizens were to play only a circumscribed role.

The Pentagon announced the end of hostilities in Grenada. Casualties were put at 87 killed. The United Nations General Assembly voted 108 over 9 in favor of a resolution “deeply deploring” the US invasion of Grenada.

67 wounded [Cubans](#), soldiers and medical personnel, along with some [Cuban](#) civilians, were returned to [Cuba](#) where they were met by [Fidel Castro](#) and most members of the Politburo.

[President Ronald Wilson Reagan](#) signed a bill making the 3d Monday in January a federal holiday celebrating the birthday of the Reverend Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr. (individual states that considered it ridiculous to celebrate the birth of yet another citizen of color could, of course, feel free to disregard such a federal holiday — and indeed they would).

November 9, Wednesday: The last [Cuban](#) soldier left Grenada bound for [Havana](#).

The Blue Guitar for solo guitar by Michael Tippett was performed for the initial time, at the Ambassador Auditorium, Pasadena, California.

December 15, Thursday: US naval forces fired on Druse positions near Beirut.

Warsaw Pact negotiators left talks with NATO in Vienna on cutting conventional forces in Europe. They refused to set a date to meet again.

The final US combat troops departed from the Caribbean island of Grenada.

Sonatina for two violas by Isang Yun was performed for the initial time, in Tokyo.

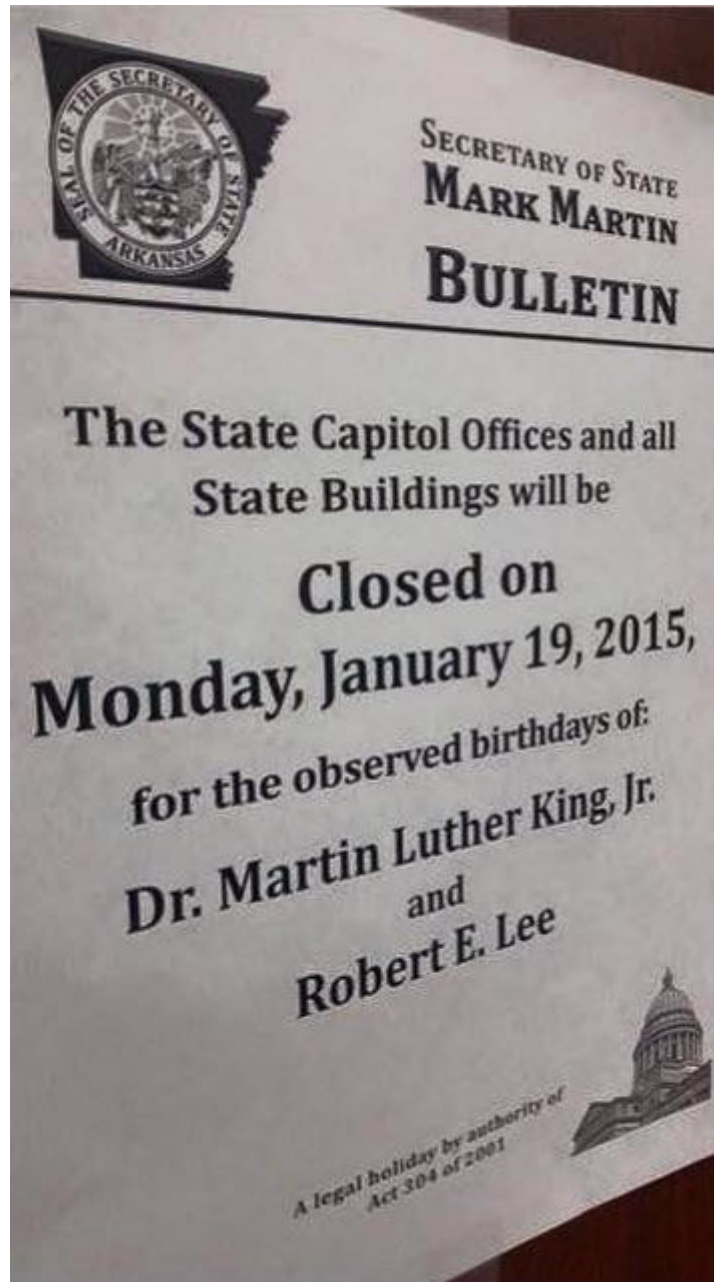
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**1984**

May 23, Wednesday: [Cuba](#) announced it would take no part in this year's Summer Olympics, the one that was going to be held in Los Angeles.

A committee of the federal House of Representatives reported that debate materials stolen from the 1980 [Jimmy Carter](#) campaign and taken to the Reagan campaign had been received there by William Casey, who was currently the director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

November 9, Friday: Anti-[Castro Cuban](#) terrorist Eduardo Arocena was sentenced to life imprisonment in New York.





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1985

May 20, Monday: Palestinian guerrillas released 3 Israeli prisoners at Geneva airport. In return, Israel released 394 Arabs in Geneva, 150 on the Golan Heights, and 606 in the occupied territories. Among those released were convicted murderers.

US-government-funded “Radio Marti” began anti-[Castro](#) broadcasts from US soil to [Cuba](#). Almost immediately Cuba would begin to jam such broadcasts.

October 24, Thursday: An Argentine judge ruled that Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín’s order of October 22d, for the arrest of 12 people in connection with a wave of bombings possibly related to the trial of the junta members, had been unconstitutional.

Leftist rebels in El Salvador released the daughter of President José Napoleón Duarte and her friend along with 23 mayors and other officials. In return, the government freed 22 prisoners and allowed 96 others to go to [Cuba](#) for medical treatment.

1986

US Army personnel and aircraft began to assist Bolivia in the sort of supply-side anti-drug operations that could be relied upon to meet our program objectives, by being guaranteeably both endless and ineffectual.<sup>322</sup>



US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

At the Anniversary dinner of the [War Resisters League](#) the League Peace Award was presented to the Plowshares Disarmament Community.

The communications difficulties that had been encountered during the [Cuba Missile Crisis](#) had caused the creation of a “[Hot Line](#),” between Washington DC and Moscow (this involved no “red telephone,” but Teletype machines connected by cable, radio, and satellite). At this point the rapid-communication system came also to include FAXes.

ATOM BOMB

An uncontained [nuclear pile](#) at Chernobyl melted down, and would eventuate in approximately the sort of contamination typical of the purposeful detonation of one low-yield ground-burst atomic weapon. The fissile

322. There is so much money in it, and the production and distribution of such drugs is such a simple matter, that no amount of supply-side antidrug activities is ever going to accomplish anything but drive up the street price of these illicit commodities, thus helping these drug dealers. The factuality of this assertion is widely recognized. The only thing that could ever conceivably work effectively, to reduce the consumption of illicit drugs, would be a demand-side program, to help users overcome their unfortunate dependency upon such externalities. The hypothesis, therefore, that the purpose of the federal government’s War on Drugs is the suppression of drug addiction and the destruction of the drug cartels, is a hypothesis which has no credibility whatever. The actual purpose of the federal government in waging its War on Drugs must therefore of necessity be something other than its announced purpose. What might that actual purpose be?

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materials of the pile would eat their way into the ground beneath the plant, and sink downward toward China until the point at which the fissile components became so mingled with molten rock that the mass solidified. It solidified in the shape of an elephant's foot, and that is what it is now termed: "The Elephant's Foot."



Later on, the USSR would send miners to create horizontal shafts well beneath and to the sides of this Elephant's Foot formation, far enough in distance from the material that the miners were safe from its intense radioactivity, and these shafts would then be filled with concrete, in such manner as to create an open-topped below-ground containment box. The next step, still as of 2011 to be accomplished, is to be the construction of an above-ground containment dome arching over the pile of sand and cement that now covers the site — and it is currently estimated that the cost of this above-ground containment dome will be in the neighborhood of \$1,400,000,000.

[I will insert at this point a record of an Internet discussion list, on which I wrote in regard to the reactors in the USSR in comparison with the Mark-I reactors I used to work on in the USA, designed and installed turnkey by General Electric. I wrote that the engineering design of these GE reactors in which I had participated, because they had involved containment vessels, was only marginally less dangerous than the engineering design of the USSR reactors, that had not involved containment vessels. I was struggling to point out that good design is the least part of the problem, that good design needs to be implemented by honest and straightforward construction activity, honest and straightforward plant operation and maintenance, and honest and straightforward regulatory activity, that if it is not so implemented, it is worse than worthless. Admittedly, the Russians lacked design sophistication, they were trying to do it on the cheap. I was struggling to point out that by way of contrast, it was not design sophistication, but honesty and straightforwardness, in which we in the US were deficient.




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For instance, during my work career I was once called upon to replace an ailing job study engineer. He was a person of color, and a heavy smoker, and was in the process of dying of cancer of the throat. I had three months to learn his skills and replace him at his desk, while he continued to work. He was supposedly receiving radiation therapy. This was in Cincinnati, [Ohio](#) in 1965. In actual fact, I now have learned that he was simply not receiving radiation therapy. He had been receiving radiation but it was not in any sense therapy. What had been happening was that our employer, Procter and Gamble, had volunteered him for an experiment being funded by our federal government at the University of Cincinnati, an experiment in which massive doses of radiation were being administered to terminal cancer patients until they died under the guise of treatment — in order to accumulate rate statistics on the length of time it takes people to die when subjected to various intensities of radiation exposure. He had been being murdered in cold blood. In 7 weeks the man was dead. He had been chosen for this experiment on the basis of his wage scale, his lack of health benefits, and his race. Meanwhile he had been being allowed to work out the remainder of his life, at his desk every day — training me. The existence of this murderous research program at the University of Cincinnati, funded by our Atomic Energy Commission, has, if you read the newspapers, now been exposed and documented, and indeed, has been acknowledged. Behind the hospital in which he died, out by their air conditioning equipment, is a bronze plaque in honor of the people who were killed in this manner. They are all named on this plaque, and you can walk past the air conditioning outlets and read the list of names. However, although our federal government has “come clean” as to this program for the evaluation of the impact of nuclear weapons of mass destruction, they have not yet allowed any research into whether other similar programs had also been going on in regard to our biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. —Nor have they been willing to provide any lists, of the names of all the cancer-terminal people like the man I replaced, whom they have over the years been murdering in cold blood.

In the absence of honesty and straightforwardness, the statistics the industry accumulates in order to compare fossil fuel with nuclear fuel are meaningless. The marginal differences they document so well are quite overwhelmed by the great areas of uncertainty, caused by our entire lack of information as to existing levels of private contractor fraud and government regulatory fraud.

Several Cuban and international scientists reported glimpses of **Ivory-billed Woodpeckers**  *Campephilus principalis* in [Cuba](#), but without photographs or sound recordings.

June 25, Wednesday: The US House of Representatives voted \$100,000,000 in aid to the right-wing rebels in Nicaragua.

Brazil and [Cuba](#) resumed diplomatic relations after an estrangement lasting 22 years.

Three works by Jonathan Lloyd were performed for the initial time, in the Almeida Theater, London: Almeida Dances for clarinet/alto saxophone, percussion, piano and string quartet, Feuding Fiddles for two violins, and String Quartet no.1 “Of Time and Motion.”

Concerto for saxophone quartet and orchestra by Samuel Adler was performed for the initial time, in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands.

July 7, Monday: A [Cuban](#) immigrant went berserk on [New York](#)'s Staten Island Ferry, wounding 9.



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1987

Cuban scientists reported a female Ivory-billed Woodpecker *Campephilus principalis* in the mountains of Cuba.



Jenny Clack discovered *Acanthostega*, the most complete Devonian *tetrapod* specimen as yet identified. Since it had functional gills as well as legs, it would appear that land animals may already have had legs as they emerged from the water.

PALEONTOLOGY

Allan Wilson and Rebecca Cann discovered that all humans share a common ancestor, who lived in Africa as recently as 150,000 years ago. Because the discovery was based on examination of mitochondrial DNA, the ancestral entity would be awarded the popular (and somewhat misleading) name of “Mitochondrial Eve” (the finding, although controversial, would be supported by another such discovery in 2000).

Dhananjay Mohabey discovered what looks like a simple clutch of dinosaur eggs in India. Eventually he, Jeffrey Wilson, and colleagues would report that the fossil find had included not merely the eggs of a *sauropod*, but also a predatory Cretaceous snake that was apparently snapping up hapless hatchlings.

Charles Bonner collected a *plesiosaur* mother-and-fetus fossil. Nearly a quarter century later, O’Keefe and Chiappe would describe this as evidence that plesiosaurs gave live birth, and might well have been attentive mothers.

THE SCIENCE OF 1987

November 11, Wednesday: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union removed Boris Yeltsin from his post as head of the Moscow party.

South Africa admitted that its forces had been in Angola and had fought Cubans and Soviets.

Irises by Vincent Van Gogh sold at auction for \$53,900,000.





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1988

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#) became Clerk of the Third Haven, [Maryland](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (he would serve in that capacity until 2001).

The communications difficulties that had been encountered during the [Cuba Missile Crisis](#) had caused the creation of a “[Hot Line](#),” between Washington DC and Moscow (this involved no “red telephone,” but Teletype machines and FAX machines connected by cable, radio, and satellite). At this point enough confidence in the FAX machines had built up that the rapid-communication system threw out its old Teletype equipment.

ATOM BOMB

At the age of 92, Tufts University awarded [Friend Floyd Schmoes](#) an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters.<sup>323</sup> Also, the [Japanese](#) government presented him with the Hiroshima Peace Prize and he was made an Honorary Citizen of that nation.<sup>324</sup> The award came with a cash prize of some \$5,000 and the problem would arise of how to dispose of this since it would have been unseemly to have personally benefitted. The Schmoes would need to cast about for some way to make an appropriate use of this money. Floyd would decide to petition the city of [Seattle WA](#) to allow him to use the money, and his own labors, to transform a tiny weedy and rocky garbage-strewn piece of city property at the north end of Seattle’s University Bridge overlooking Lake Union into a “peace park,” one in commemoration of those who had died as a consequence of our 1945 [A-bomb](#) that was a near miss on the city of [Hiroshima](#) (a direct hit, however, on the Catholic cathedral, and on a POW camp known to contain many Americans).

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

SADAKO SASAKI

January 29, Friday: UNITA rebels and South African forces scored major gains over Angolan government troops and their [Cuban](#) allies at Cuito Cuanavale in the southeast of Angola but the defenders kept control of the town.

Sinfonietta I for chamber orchestra by George Perle was performed for the initial time, in St. Paul, Minnesota.

July 13, Wednesday: The Federal Election Commission in [Mexico](#) awarded the July 6th presidential election to the ruling PRI candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari. 260 of 500 seats in the Chamber of Deputies were awarded to the ruling PRI. The delay of a week in announcing the returns would produce charges of fraud from opposition candidates.

After a 3d round of negotiations in New York, Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and the United States agreed on principles for a cessation of hostilities in Angola.

Taurhiphanie for computer generated stereo tape by Iannis Xenakis was performed for the initial time, in Arles.

323. Eat your heart out, all you other folks who never managed to finish your dissertation.

324. It is to be noted that when another foreigner, Reginald Horace Blyth, who had similarly been awarded the Emperor’s Order of the Sacred Treasures in the 4th Class, had asked in 1957 to be made a citizen of Japan — that request had been turned aside.



## CUBA

## CUBA

August 8, Monday: After 3 weeks of negotiations, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar announced that Iran and Iraq had agreed to a cease fire, to take effect August 20th.

After talks in Geneva, Angola, [Cuba](#), and South Africa announced a truce in Angola and Namibia.

The original version of Ballata and Ballabile by Charles Villiers Stanford was performed for the initial time, in Belfast, 72 years after it had been composed.

November 15, Tuesday: Representatives of Angola, [Cuba](#), South Africa, and the United States agreed in Geneva to a timetable for withdrawal of Cuban troops and independence for Namibia.

In Algiers, the Palestine National Council declared the independence of Palestine. They accepted UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis of a peace agreement. Yasir Arafat agreed to the 1948 partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states.

December 13, Tuesday: Acting President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of Pakistan was inaugurated for a full 5-year term.

Representatives of Angola, Cuba, and South Africa signed an agreement in Brazzaville providing for the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The government of [Ireland](#), fearing terrorism suspect Father Patrick Ryan wouldn't get a fair trial in Great Britain, decided they couldn't allow him to be extradited.



**CUBA**

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**1989**

January 10, Tuesday: [Cuban](#) troops began departing from Angola.



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**CUBA**

**1991**

September 11, Wednesday: Soviet President Gorbachev announced that he would soon withdraw Soviet troops from [Cuba](#).



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1992

The Oliver Stone film *JFK* examined the possibility of a conspiracy behind the assassination of President Kennedy. Although this film was ridiculously inept, it would swell public interest in such assassination conspiracy theories, and to counter these speculations, the US Congress would authorize public access to government records related even indirectly to the assassination. Although Army General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had ordered that all Joint Chiefs documents related to the Bay of Pigs invasion of [Cuba](#) be destroyed, nobody had thought to destroy their documents relating to their contemplated “Operation Northwoods,” and so in 2004 these incriminating documents would become available to the American public and James Bamford would be able to publish them in his Doubleday book, *BODY OF SECRETS*:

These were Joint Chiefs of Staff documents. The reason these were held secret for so long is the Joint Chiefs never wanted to give these up because they were so embarrassing. The whole point of a democracy is to have leaders responding to the public will, and here this is the complete reverse, the military trying to trick the American people into a war that they want but that nobody else wants.

#### US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

What was it that these “Operation Northwoods” documents that had not been destroyed revealed to us? They revealed that General Lemnitzer, who at the time was the senior member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had signed and forwarded to [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) and President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, for their final approval, a plan for the US military to blow up some of its own military bases, sink some of its own warships, either hijack or shoot down military and civilian US aircraft, and conduct a “terror campaign in the Miami [Florida] area, in other Florida cities, and even in Washington [DC].” The intent of this military plan was to allow the President of the United States the political option of going before the federal Congress and alleging that we were under attack by [Fidel Castro](#) — and ask for a Declaration of War against Cuba. Fortunately, either President Kennedy or Secretary of Defense McNamara, or both, decided not to enlist our nation in this military agenda.

February 1, Saturday: On the 10th anniversary of John Walker’s phenomenally successful software firm Autodesk the company’s management announced that they had had a bad sales quarter — and the value of its stock collapsed from \$52 to \$40 in one day (from a 1991 high of more than \$60 to a record low of \$23 1/2 by the middle of February). When Walker’s praise for his company’s management was less than effusive, the venture capitalists replaced him as CEO with a more function-oriented person, Carol Bartz (money problems and new managers would spell the end of Autodesk’s vulnerability to the Xanadu dream).

The Commonwealth of Independent States agreed to remove all its remaining troops from the Baltic states.

A cease-fire went into effect in El Salvador, ending 12 years of civil war that has cost 75,000 lives.

At Camp David, Presidents Bush and Yeltsin declared a formal end to the Cold War.

The United States began repatriating thousands of Haitian refugees whom it had plucked off the sea and had held since September at Guantánamo naval station in [Cuba](#).



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1993



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Washington DC, Johnny Cash recited his patriotic poem “Rugged Old Flag” while citizens held up flags that represented the “POW/MIA”: [Vietnam](#)-era prisoners of war and servicemen and women still not accounted for after the ending of hostilities.

**CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY**

United Nations arms inspectors left Iraq because they were not allowed to install cameras at missile sites.

The last Russian troops left [Cuba](#) (having been a constant presence on the island since 1962).

Suite for saxophone by Robin Holloway was performed for the initial time, in West Road Concert Hall, Cambridge.







**CUBA**

**CUBA**

**1994**

August 19, Friday: Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga replaced Ranit Wickremasinghe as Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.

[President William Jefferson Clinton](#) announced that he was ending the US policy of granting automatic residency status to all [Cuban](#) immigrants.



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1996

Steven Spielberg released his movie AMISTAD. An undercritical review of this Hollywood production by a professor of law has produced the following howler: “AMISTAD begins with the event that made that ship’s history different from other slave ships: the gradual extraction of a nail from the ship which allowed [Joseph Cinqué](#) (also known as [Sengbe Pie](#)) to free first himself and then the other slaves on board.” Obviously, the movie has made it appear as if the other slaves aboard [La Amistad](#) had been, on the night of the takeover of the vessel in [Cuban](#) waters, chained, whereas it is generally recognized by historians that only Cinqué was in restraints (a collar) — because only he had made any previous gesture toward escape.



I frankly acknowledge that I was initially overwhelmed by the Spielberg movie on *La Amistad*. However, after a period I began to have second thoughts. On the following screen are some other very problematic aspects of the movie, more accurately presented:



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- My trepidations center on the figure of [Joseph Cinqué](#) standing in court and petitioning “Give me free.” To my way of thinking Cinqué should have been presented as potentially a perplexing Patrick Henry figure, that is, as the sort of problematic person who indeed wanted freedom for himself but was ready to allow that having freedom for oneself involved, in that social context, the necessity of taking it away from others — of oneself owning slaves. The charge is available, that in both the case of Patrick Henry and the case of Cinqué, the personal freedom that was desired included the freedom to enslave others.
- It seems to me that the idea of “giving” freedom that is presented in this movie is a modern conceit and was something entirely alien to that time and place. To the very best of my understanding, freedom was recognized as something that was never given, but instead was recognized as something which ever of necessity had to be **taken**. My suspicion is that such a petition as this movie’s “Give me free” would have been greeted in that time and place with simple derision, with mockery; such a petitioner with manacled hands would have become the butt of rude rough barroom jests — would not by most have been taken at all seriously.
- The presentation of the complexities of the actual case, in this movie, were confined to the lower-court proceedings, and the appearance of this marvelous actor Anthony Hopkins performing [John Quincy Adams](#) before the Supreme Court of the United States of America was so constructed as to make it seem, quite falsely, that at the highest levels of our jurisprudence the Supremes were able to decide this case upon broad and righteous principles. The fact of the situation was quite different, of course. The Supremes decided this case on the basis of the same legal fine points and quibbling as had the lower courts. Had any of the petitioners made the mistake of informing the Supreme Court that actually he had been captured in Africa years ago while still quite young, before the international treaty in question had come into effect, the Supremes would have immediately and remorselessly returned these men to Cuba to face torture and execution. Thus, despite the fact that the movie’s depiction of our legal confusion begins with great accuracy, the movie winds up, suspiciously, merely perpetuating a popular patriotic myth, that at the **very highest** levels of our government, decency and wisdom must and shall prevail.
- [John Quincy Adams](#) defended the [La Amistad](#) mutineers by asserting a States Rights argument, not to be interfered with by the federal government, when in fact he, and his father before him, had been politically opposed to such States Rights. The Adamses were the quintessential political hacks of the first 50 years of the Republic, relentlessly pushing the economic agenda of their immediate neighbors at the expense of the rest of the citizens of the country. John Adams had attempted to subvert the Constitution and free speech with the Alien and Sedition acts and, when the voters punished him for this, seems never to have understood that he and those of his class were not entitled to more freedom than others. To become President after his father, the son had to subvert the electoral process through back-room political maneuvering, and be appointed to rule by the House of Representatives.



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- The historical defense attorney Roger Sherman Baldwin, portrayed by the actor Matthew McConaughey as a cynical but ineffectual real estate lawyer, had been an abolitionist before this case began, rather than merely as presented in this movie, a person able to see only the property implications of a human being's struggle for freedom. This defense attorney's supposed "development" during the film, from an insensitive ambulance-chaser to a caring abolitionist, falsifies this historical person's earlier commitment to the movement. The movie gives us no sense whatever that this ridiculous man is going to go on to become the honored governor of the State of Connecticut.
- The linguist who is depicted in the movie as a bumbling idiot and fraud –evidently for comic relief– was actually one of our foremost students of language during that period, Josiah Gibbs. It was this historical person, rather than the fictional Joadson or the fictional Baldwin, who successfully scoured eastern ports looking for a black sailor who understood the Mende language.
- District court judge Andrew T. Judson was opposed to abolitionists before the trial began and had strong racial antipathies — and yet very much overcame all this in rendering his verdict.
- [Joseph Cinqué](#) lied to his helpers in America. The film, however, never suggests that he was other than totally reliable.
- Cinqué would have been allowed to assist in no way in the creation of the legal defenses mounted by Roger Sherman Baldwin or [John Quincy Adams](#). He would not even have been kept informed. To suppose that a black person would have been consulted or heeded, by any white movers and shakers, is to seriously misrepresent the ethos of 19th-Century America.
- [John Quincy Adams](#) was already assisting the defense team, as early as the district court trial, sending them questions and raising issues for their consideration.
- If a southerner like John C. Calhoun had mentioned the import of such a case it would not have been by use of a term such as "civil war." (He might conceivably have referred, instead, to "disunion" or to "secession.")
- Since the vessel [La Amistad](#) was brought into the Connecticut port during the month of August, there could not have been snow in the air.
- The depiction of presidential candidate Martin Van Buren on a campaign train indicates precious little awareness of 1840s campaign practices.
- The treaties governing the case were not merely the 1795 Pinckney treaty which might require the slaves to be returned to Spain, but also an 1819 American-Spanish treaty reconfirming that 1795 treaty and an 1817 Anglo-Spanish treaty which had outlawed the purchase of Africans in Africa for purposes of enslavement.



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- President Martin Van Buren did not appoint a special judge for the circuit court trial. The critical trial was conducted at the district court level and the hearing in the circuit court was merely an exercise in which the district court decision was affirmed so that the case could be rapidly appealed to the Supreme Court. The replacement of a local judge with the imaginary judge “Coughlin” for Van Buren’s political gain as depicted in the film is not merely pure filmic invention, but masks some real and even more repulsive national history. As an outrageous betrayal of our legal process at the highest levels, Secretary of State Forsyth had made arrangements for the persons involved to be placed on the USS *Grampus* and returned to Cuba to be tortured and murdered **no matter what the conclusion reached in the trial**. The President of the United States, his Secretary of State, and this Connecticut district attorney had agreed in early 1840 to a strategy that would subvert the entire course of justice and violate the separation of powers, simply to be rid of a political bombshell before the 1840 election. The prosecutor, District Attorney Holabird, changed tactics in the middle of the trial by acknowledging that the captives were indeed Africans, merely so that the White House could continue to hold them in custody even if this court set them free. In [John Quincy Adams](#)’s summation before the Supreme Court he of course described the pattern of executive interference with the [La Amistad](#) court case and revealed Van Buren’s shocking 1840 plot to send the Africans to Cuba regardless of the lower court’s decision, because executive interference with the judiciary is of course a topic which can be reliably expected to make justices of the Supreme Court most sympathetic (personal freedom is, by contrast, a “ho-hummer”).
- The appeal from Judge Judson’s ruling to the Supreme Court in 1841, nearly two years and three presidents (Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, and John Tyler) after the case had originally begun, was heard by five Southern justices rather than seven as was asserted in the movie’s voiceover. When the Supreme Court heard [John Quincy Adams](#)’s oral argument, only seven justices rather than the nine depicted in the movie were in attendance. This sort of merely numerical inaccuracy is insignificant, of course, but it does point out how little consideration Spielberg gave to the historical details underlying his movie — since this falsifying of the number of justices on the bench in fact served no storyline function whatever.
- The movie omits to mention that a rescue was being prepared by abolitionists who were willing to risk violating the law and having all their property seized by the government, in order to forward the victims to safety on the underground railroad. The rescue would have been easy since the African women were working in local homes and since [Joseph Cinqué](#) and the other African men were allowed out of the jail for regular sports on the New Haven town common, a green across from the tavern housing the jail facility. They staged athletic exhibitions and Americans tossed coins which the Africans used to buy rum in the saloon that was the entrance to the jail and that was being run by the jailer. Had this rescue plan been implemented their path to Canada might very well have led, at one point, through the Thoreau boardinghouse or through the home of the village blacksmith in Concord, Massachusetts.
- This Hollywood movie seems to have drawn a great deal of its visual imagery from the mural “Mutiny on the *Amistad*” created in 1939 by the African-American artist Hale Woodruff at Talladega College’s Savery Library, in Alabama. It is obviously from this mural that the movie has derived the ludicrous and impossible shape of its Hollywood prop-shop machetes, which make sense only from the perspective of a flat wall painting projecting three-dimensionally and which never could have functioned to chop sugarcane.



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- The movie has been based not on a reliable source such as Howard Jones's 1987 historical study *MUTINY ON THE AMISTAD: THE SAGE OF A SLAVE REVOLT AND ITS IMPACT ON AMERICAN ABOLITION, LAW AND DIPLOMACY*, but instead on a 1953 novelization of the incident by William A. Owens entitled *BLACK MUTINY: THE REVOLT ON THE SCHOONER AMISTAD*. On the current paperback edition of that novel, the publisher is claiming it as "a key historical reference for the major motion picture *AMISTAD*." The implication, of course, is that that old novelization by Owens is a careful and current historical account of the event; however, whatever scholarship went into the creation of this novel was not careful at the time, and assuredly is no longer current. On the back of the book as currently republished appears the following significant disclaimer: "Written as a novel in 1953 by William A. Owens, this is one historian's view of the Amistad mutiny."
- The movie seems to be arguing, especially in that final dramatic courtroom explanation, that an American ideology of freedom was the ultimate heroic force — and this is really, really problematic. In fact, it is a dangerous nationalistic mythification.
- At the home of [John Quincy Adams](#) in Quincy, Massachusetts, the amaryllis plant used in the movie has four blooms, which for 1839 is at least two too many. The Spielberg film seems to turn on an influence by [Joseph Cinqué](#) upon Adams, in which Cinqué communicates to Adams an African perspective having to do with influence by ancestral spirits. In this African perspective, the ancestral spirits are actively struggling to cause their descendants, in the present, to honor them by appropriate behavior and by the offering of appropriate rites. Adams receives this in the movie, however, in a typically American way, as a need to live up to an example which has been set for us by our illustrious forbears. Not only would Cinqué never have been invited to visit Adams in his home, not only did such an interaction probably never take place even away from that home environment, but, in addition, these two points of view about heritage have little or nothing in common and the attempt which the movie takes to equate them is, if it is anything at all, disingenuous.
- The story that Cinqué returned to Africa only to become himself a slave trader seems to have derived from page 308 of William Owens's 1953 book *SLAVE MUTINY*. Owens seems to have done some research for this 1953 book, for in his "Afterword" he indicates that his typewritten notes from documentary sources were deposited in the New Haven Colony Historical Society. However, there are no footnotes in this volume and the author admits that he invented dialogue and "settings" for dramatic effect. Howard Jones, in his 1987 scholarly study *MUTINY ON THE AMISTAD: THE SAGE OF A SLAVE REVOLT AND ITS IMPACT ON AMERICAN ABOLITION, LAW AND DIPLOMACY*, alleges that "Cinqué returned to his people, although he eventually worked as an interpreter for the AMA mission at Kaw-Mende until his death about 1879" (page 255, note 27).
- Many of the settings used in the movie were anachronistic. [Newport](#) was used to represent New Haven, and many of the buildings visible in the scenes date only to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Newport's early 18th-Century Colony House stood in appropriately for the courtroom, for Roger Sherman Baldwin's office, and for the hotel in which Baldwin stayed during the Supreme Court deliberations. However, the [Rhode Island](#) State Capitol, erected in 1900, was used to represent the United States Capitol, apparently in the mistaken belief that the US Capitol in 1839 already had its dome despite that fact that this elaboration would not be added until the 1850s and 1860s. (The Roman Catholic church in which Judge Coughlin prayed was similarly anachronistic for the time and place of the [La Amistad](#) events.)





- The *AMISTAD* movie does depict how [Joseph Cinqué](#) was kidnapped near the British colony of Sierra Leone by neighbors, but it fails to place sufficient emphasis upon the fact that this was done on account of his refusal to pay an acknowledged debt. He was apparently delivered to a Spanish slave merchant on the coast. Many Africans in North America did indeed owe their enslavement to this sort of initiation, though more were kidnapped in raids or wars. By British law Sierra Leone was supposed to be slave-free. At two points the film uses the Lomboko fort near Sierra Leone, that at the time was owned by the Havana trading house of Don Pedro Martínez. During the 19th Century era of illegal slave-trading many slaves were indeed kept in such “[barracoons](#)” but throughout the earlier era of legal slave-trading most slaves had been bought or bartered direct from other Africans.

Cinqué was a member of an inland rice-farming group, the Mende, who basically lived by trading slaves and kola and palm products out toward the trading groups on the coast of Africa while trading European goods in toward the interior of the continent. At the time he was captured about half of the people living in Mende territory were slaves in agricultural work or in transit to the coastal trade. He probably had several names (Joseph Cinqué, Cinquez, or Singbe Pieh) not because Americans spelled his name in any manner convenient for them but because he had been trading with Englishmen, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Cinqué’s account of his capture –that the Portuguese seized him on a road near his home– is unlikely to have been the truth of the matter. More likely, he was himself a trader and had been betrayed into the same sort of thing to which he was subjecting others. Presumably Cinqué would have been telling the Americans what he supposed they wanted to hear, when he claimed that he had been a rice farmer and that he himself had never owned slaves. Cinqué was known as an African prince in his time, at least in America, and to be a prince among the Mende would have been to be a slaveholder and to be at least complicitous in the traffic in humans.

The basal problem in the *AMISTAD* movie is that it entirely elides the critical difference between not wanting to oneself be a slave or captive, and being opposed to slavery. The same problem surfaces in our understanding the Americo-Liberians of the period, who were by no means abolitionist in their sentiments. They were settlers who sought to serve as middlemen between two great systems of slave-produced goods — North American and African. They claimed to be Virginians and, even in Monrovia, they were indeed Virginians.

If we deflate these myths of the Patrick Henry who wanted freedom, the Cinqué who wanted freedom, etc., and if we deflate this Americo-Liberians-as-abolitionists myth, we may come to see more clearly the black and the white men and women who **did** oppose slavery.

Religious organizations with a history of involvement in abolitionism (the New Haven Congregationalists and the United Church of Christ and the United Methodists, among others) have been protesting that the movie invents a conversation in which abolitionist Lewis Tappan speculated that the African prisoners might be more valuable if they were executed and became “martyrs” to the anti-slavery cause. However, they should most definitely not be objecting, since such thought processes were in fact very common among white abolitionists. It is precisely what these religious organizations found most problematic about the movie, that I myself found most true to the actuality of the antebellum situation. I am grateful for the negative portrait of the abolitionists, in particular of the Buffum character. The arrogant manner in which these abolitionists seized upon the Right, in order to magnify themselves by invidious contrast with white Southerners who were the sheerest scum, was one of the prime causes of our civil war, and the trauma of our civil war is one of the prime reasons why even now this nation cannot bring itself to treat its citizens of color with anything approaching fairness. Had these abolitionists approached the Southern white as a person of honor facing an intransigent situation and a painful choice, the civil strife might have been averted and thus the era of Reconstruction and Segregation, from which in fact we have not yet emerged, could have been averted.

These religious organizations have protested that “Tappan himself was willing to become a martyr, and, in fact, he and his brother paid dearly for their lifelong struggle against slavery.” This tempts me to go “Oh, give me a break.” In fact the prime cover story of the person who wants to sacrifice others to his own cause has **always** been “Look at how I myself am sacrificing, you cannot blame me for sacrificing you as well.” It is long



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overdue for the American public to see these abolitionists as the self-righteous troublemakers they were, part of all the problems rather than the solution for any of them. For too long we have attempted to ignore the deep chasms of suspicion that lay between the white abolitionists and the black abolitionists. It seems to me that in this constructed carriage scene in the movie, in which the Buffum character is made to speculate that the black prisoners may need to die for the good of the general movement, there was a spiritual accuracy which so far has been evading us. In fact the white abolitionists of the 19th Century in general impatiently wanted the black abolitionists to “sacrifice more for the cause,” and the response of the black abolitionists of the 19th Century was ever that the white abolitionists did not truly grasp what the struggle was all about, that the nature of the problem was that the black people of America were **already** being forced to sacrifice much too much during their lives.

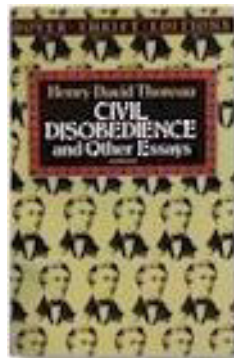
An excerpt from an Internet page offered by one of these religious organizations reads:

- > Visit our Amistad Page, designed to help you and your congregation
- > interpret the new Steven Spielberg movie. This epic about African
- > slaves who fought for their freedom and the Christian abolitionists
- > who defended them in court marks the beginning of the mass movement
- > to abolish slavery in the US.

But this is quite tendentious. In fact this case had no known influence on the abolition of slavery either in the US or in Africa. Had the slaves aboard the [La Amistad](#) not freed themselves, in general import nothing about US history and nothing about African history would be altered in the slightest. The advent of general freedom would have been neither delayed nor accelerated.

Here's another such snippet.

- > Although the movie is historically accurate when it shows the horror
- > of the slave trade or the courage of the *La Amistad* captives rising
- > up against their tormenters, the screenplay often misrepresents
- > Christian abolitionists as arrogant or self-serving. The movie even
- > invents a conversation in which abolitionist Lewis Tappan speculates
- > that the African prisoners might be more valuable if they were
- > executed and became “martyrs” to the anti-slavery cause. [and a
- > little below] “Tappan himself was willing to become a martyr, and,
- > in fact, he and his brother paid dearly for their lifelong struggle
- > against slavery,” says the Rev. Thomas E. Dipko, a United Church of
- > Christ minister and head of an agency whose predecessor body was
- > founded by Tappan and other Christian abolitionists. “They advocated
- > civil disobedience for reasons of conscience, but they would never
- > have welcomed or exploited the suffering of other people,
- > particularly of slaves.”



To see how exceedingly accurate the film's negative portrayal of certain white abolitionists actually is—to see how very complicit abolitionism could be with a straightforward racist desire to solve the American problem of the presence of inferior people by arranging for American peoples of color to be eliminated— please consider a fine new study of the complex motivations of [Waldo Emerson](#) issued in 1997 by Oxford UP. The monograph of which I speak is by Anita Haya Patterson and is titled FROM EMERSON TO KING: DEMOCRACY, RACE, AND THE POLITICS OF PROTEST:

From Pages 4-5: "What I have found to be most compelling and bewildering about Emerson's writing -what has made it hardest for me to know how to think about him- is that his defense of rights and his racism are intimately and deliberately connected.... [T]he fervent, critical recuperation of American democracy undertaken by Emerson was shaped and indeed made conceptually coherent only through his recourse to racist language and ideology. [Continuing in an endnote] Compare Orlando Patterson's claims regarding the sociohistorical necessity and consequences of the central contradiction between articulate defenses of freedom and the fact of slavery in America. Observing that 'Americans have never been able to explain how it came to pass that the most articulate defender[s] of their freedoms ... were large-scale, largely unrepentant slaveholders,' Patterson finds that '[s]lavery is associated not only with the development of advanced economies, but also with the emergence of several of the most profoundly cherished ideals and beliefs in the Western tradition. The idea of freedom and the concept of property were both intimately bound up with the rise of slavery, their very antithesis. The great innovators not only took slavery for granted, they insisted on its necessity to their way of life.... The joint rise of slavery and cultivation of freedom was no accident. It was ... a sociohistorical necessity' (SLAVERY AND SOCIAL DEATH: A COMPARATIVE STUDY [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982], viii-ix)."

What Anita Haya Patterson, Orlando's spouse, is alleging in this new 1997 book of hers is that all of us, even our most radical abolitionists, were and are deeply influenced by the "double-consciousness" we find in esteemed characters such as Emerson, a doubled consciousness which has been created over the centuries by our most intransigent national race and class predicament. Her hope is that we will find the courage and the grace, rather than merely to renounce in some easy and superficial manner this doubled consciousness we have inherited as Americans of various skin hues and of various heritages, instead to learn something of great value from it.



Thus the last sentence of her Epilogue is not merely a question but is also a daunting challenge for us all:

Page 199, Epilogue: "How can double **possibly** mean nothing?"

This is a thinking and feeling person's book. I recommend it highly. If we were to pay attention to materials such as this, America would become a quite different place. But will such a movie make America a better place?



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In fact I am not at all certain that it is even **theoretically** possible to make a Hollywood movie that is historically truthful:

- Hollywood history must be histrionic, that is, it must present struggle in terms of good versus evil, and present this from the viewpoint of the righteous who have triumphed or will eventually triumph. The viewing public will not attend, and would not grasp the story line of, any historical narrative which deviated from these conventions. Thus in the *AMISTAD* movie, it was necessary to falsify history in order to present the legal case for freeing the Africans, once that case reaches the Supreme Court of the United States, as if it had been a struggle in which good triumphed over evil. The movie would therefore leave it entirely unexplained why, when in October 1841 the American slaves aboard the *Creole* revolted and killed some of the crew of the vessel and forced the survivors to sail the vessel to neutral waters in the Bahamas, the US government would spend the next 15 years unsuccessfully badgering the British authorities who had promptly freed these American slaves to return this “property” to US control so we could torture and murder “it.” Likewise, the falsehoods inherent in the movie would leave it entirely unexplained how it could be that when in 1857 the Supremes would rule in the case of Dred Scott, that no American black had any rights that any American white was bound to respect, this decision would rendered by a court the majority of the sitting members of which had been the very justices who had earlier voted to free the Africans of the *La Amistad* case!
- The point of view of the “Point of View” characters (POV) must be the one designated as righteous, or politically correct. Sorry little historical facts, such as that ex-President [John Quincy Adams](#) never displayed any concern whatever in regard to the slaves held by his wife’s family, and did not turn antislavery until after he had come to believe, in his sulking at home, that it had been the intransigent opposition of the Southern proslavery Democrats which had prevented him in his own turn as US president from accomplishing anything of note, prevented him from rising above mediocrity, sorry little historical facts such as these, must be neglected. It must be presented that Adams would have invited a negro into his home, and would have indulged in personal intimate conversation with that negro — certainly false. It must be presented that Adams was operating out of sympathy and generosity rather than out of vengefulness. Likewise, since the figure of [Joseph Cinqué](#) is the POV character in this film for black Americans, Cinqué must be falsified into an abolitionist. There is no evidence that Cinqué, who came from the Mende, a slave-owning tribe, was opposed to slavery. The only evidence we have is that he was, like the slaveholder Patrick Henry, in favor of **his own** freedom. Whether his personal freedom involved an entitlement to enslave others, or excluded an entitlement to enslave others, is something which is not on the record. We do know that he himself had been enslaved while in Africa due to his refusal to pay back an acknowledged personal debt.



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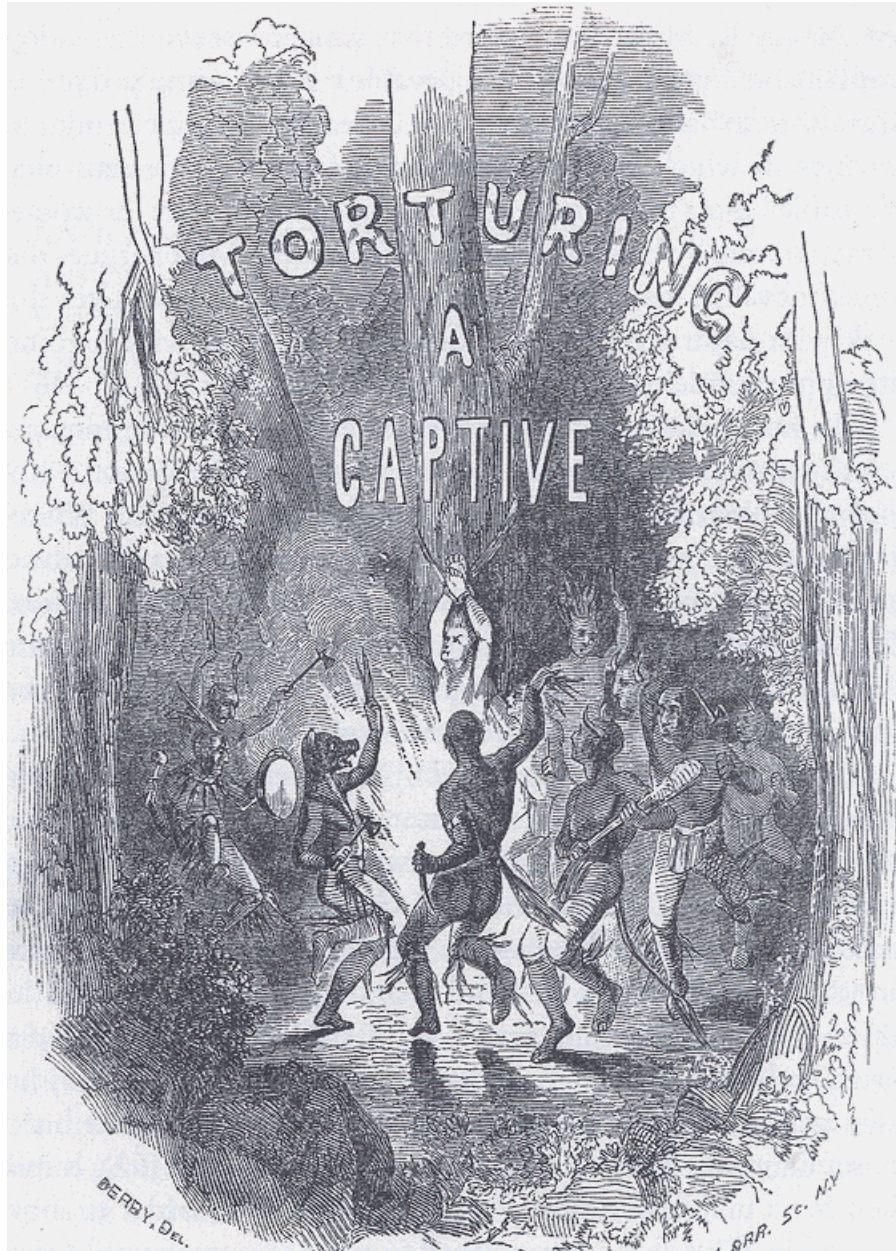
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- The audience must be provided with a POV character with whom they can personally identify. Up to this point, that POV has always been, as in the case of the movies about A MAN CALLED HORSE, through white eyes. Even in this Spielberg movie *AMISTAD*, where there is a POV through black eyes, the audience is distanced by the techniques of subtle filmic narration, and this subtle filmic narration is overwhelmingly through white eyes and through white attitudes. Thus, even when the only heroes and the only actors on the screen are black, the structure of the events which they portray is the structure necessitated by the overarching white frame of reference, which is “We’ve got these people in our jail and are trying to figure out how best to dispose of them, so we need to figure out how we came to such a pass.”
- The story must be that of triumph, of overcoming. There is no triumph and no overcoming whatever in the true story of the *La Amistad*. By the conclusion of the case no lessons whatever had been learned, and no general societal situations had been altered in the slightest. The disposition of this case is therefore of necessity presented falsely in this movie, in order to transform it into a story of triumph, of overcoming, one of having had an influence upon the breaking out of a purgative civil war later on in our national trajectory. But that civil war would not be fought over the issue of slavery, rather it would be fought over the issue of union, plus, that civil war would most definitely not prove to be in any sense purgative. Nor did the *La Amistad* case (as is demonstrated in spades by the subsequent cases of the *Creole* and of *Dred Scott*) have any influence whatever toward the bringing on of this period of civil strife. To Why was this particular subject-matter chosen, to make a film of? The historic *Amistad* case was important and dramatic but in fact it had nothing whatever to do with the ending of human enslavement. It neither accelerated nor postponed our US Civil War. It created no freedom precedent. This historical case was entirely about adherence to international treaties by signatories to them. If at any time it had been established that these people had been transported from Africa during their teens, **before** the treaties in question had come into effect, all of them would have been instantly returned to Cuba by our justices, to be inevitably tortured and murdered. These were the same justices who, later, would decide the *Dred Scott* case. Their action in this case was



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consistent with their agenda, to make slavery work as an institution.



The Dreamworld studio, and director Steven Spielberg, have touted their film *AMISTAD* as a critical examination of slavery in antebellum America. They even prepared classroom materials to be used along with the showing of the film in schools. Why did they not do this with the story of [Nat Turner](#)'s revolt, instead, or with a major escape narrative such as that of Douglass, or the Crafts, or Tubman, or with a major rescue narrative such as those dealing with Shadrach or Jerry? The nasty suspicious thought arises, that the reason might be, because dealing with such real-life scenarios would have made it quite impossible to create yet another crowd-pleasing tale of self-righteousness and national unity and democratic triumph.



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"Nobody ever bought a product that made them feel worse."

— [George W. Bush](#)

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Notice how readily the [La Amistad](#) incident lent itself to a portrayal in which the iniquity of human enslavement becomes associated with silly, moribund, reactionary, monarchical, and antirepublican despots in the Old World, rather than displaying itself as a fundamental economic, social, and ideological component of our American society. The makers of AMISTAD have merely provided us with yet another in a long series of sanctimonious images of American history in which Our Nation triumphs over Wrong Others without taking note of its own moral failings.

Slavery provided us with [sugar](#), AMISTAD with saccharine.

February 24, Saturday: When [Cuban](#) jets shot down 2 small planes piloted by [Cuban](#) exiles from the United States mainland, 4 people were killed. The exact location of the incident, whether over [Cuban](#) or international waters, was in dispute.

February 26, Monday: A car bomb exploded outside a Tirana supermarket, killing 5 and wounding 30. 2 former members of the Albanian secret police were arrested.

The United States reacted to the incident of February 24th by suspending all charter flights between the US and [Cuba](#).

1997

Diana, Princess of Wales, evading paparazzi in Paris, was killed in a car crash.



The remains of [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) were taken from Bolivia to a special mausoleum in Santa Clara, [Cuba](#).



DIGGING UP THE DEAD

February 12, Wednesday: Stefan Antonov Sofiyanski replaced Zhan Vasilev Videnov as Prime Minister of Bulgaria.

A congregation of Coptic Christians in Abu Qurqas, [Egypt](#) was attacked in their church by gunmen, killing 9.

The Clinton administration announced that US news organizations would be allowed to set up offices in [Cuba](#).

April 5, Saturday: Alan Ginsberg died in New York at the age of 70.

US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger states that there is no possibility of US relations with [Cuba](#) while [Cuba](#) still had troops in Africa.

April 30, Wednesday: In Miami, news director at WQBA radio Emilio Milián hosted a popular show "Habla el Pueblo" (The People Speak). Somebody put a bomb in his car and he lost both legs.

October 17, Friday: In Santa Clara, [Cuba](#), amidst solemn ceremony, the remains of [Ernesto "Che" Guevara](#) were placed in a mausoleum (although he had been killed in Bolivia on October 9th, 1967, the remains had not been identified until July of this year).

US District Judge Garland Burrell Jr. ruled the government's psychiatric testing of [Theodore John Kaczynski](#) could begin on October 25th, but reserved judgment on the number of physicians, the length of the evaluation, and whether this might be videotaped. Prosecutors indicated that they needed this to prepare their case against a possible mental defect defense and wanted to use multiple physicians with lengthy evaluation. The defense argued that only one psychiatrist was needed and that testing should be limited. Judge Burrell indicated that he would probably turn aside the government's request to videotape the evaluation.

In Poland, Jerzy Karol Buzek, at the head of a 2-party center/right coalition, replaced Włodzimierz



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Cimoszewicz as Prime Minister.

In Norway, Kjell Magne Bondevik of the Christian Democratic Party, at the head of a 3-party minority center/right coalition, replaced Thorbjørn Jagland of the Labor Party as Prime Minister.

Etude 16 from György Ligeti's Etudes for piano Book III was performed for the initial time, in Donaueschingen.

Sequenza IXc for bass clarinet by Luciano Berio was performed for the initial time, in Turin.

Two Voices — an allegory for orchestra and electronic sound generators, by Roger Reynolds, was performed for the initial time, at the Philadelphia Academy of Music.

1998

January 21, Wednesday: Prison psychiatrist Dr. Sally Johnson reported that although [Theodore John Kaczynski](#) was indeed a paranoid schizophrenic, he was nevertheless competent to stand trial. Back in court with his sanity a non-issue, the defendant persuaded prosecution and defense to stipulate his legal right to defend himself. The prosecution team announced that it had resumed plea negotiations with the defense team. The judge had not as yet issued a ruling.

Iraq froze all UN weapons inspections.

Pope John Paul II landed in [Cuba](#) for a 5-day visit during which he would criticize [Fidel Castro](#) for suppression of religious freedom.

Stories began entering the press that, contrary to sworn testimony from both of them, [US President William Jefferson Clinton](#) and intern Monica Lewinsky had indeed had sexual relations, and that he told her to lie about it under oath. The President angrily denied both allegations, that he'd had an affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky and that he'd tried to get her to lie about it.

GOVERNMENT SCANDALS



January 23, Friday: Speaking in Camaguey, Cuba, Pope John Paul II criticized the US embargo of [Cuba](#) and urged Cubans not to fall into the abyss of capitalism (he had the idea, gotten from where I don't know, that what capitalism does is enrich the few at the expense of the many).

Mir Aimal Kasi was sentenced to death in Fairfax, Virginia for having committed 2 murders outside the Central Intelligence Agency in 1993.



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2000

January 5, Thursday: Tamil terrorists exploded a bomb outside the office of Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike in Colombo. 13 people were killed, counting the bomber. The Prime Minister was unhurt.

Israel handed over 5% more of the West Bank to Palestinian control.

The US Immigration and Naturalization Service ordered the return of 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez to his father in [Cuba](#).

January 6, Friday: Hundreds of [Cuban](#)-Americans disrupted traffic in Miami to protest the US Immigration and Naturalization Service's order to return 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez to his father in [Cuba](#).

Red Silk Dance for piano and orchestra by Bright Sheng was performed for the initial time, in Symphony Hall, Boston.

March 21, Tuesday: Pope John Paul II began an historic 6-day visit to Israel and the West Bank.

A federal judge upheld the Immigration and Naturalization Service ruling that 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez should be returned to his father in [Cuba](#).

April 22, Saturday: US Immigration and Naturalization Service agents entered a Miami residence in which Elian Gonzalez was being sheltered and removed the 6-year-old, to transport him to a reunion with his father at Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland. Meanwhile, a number of [Cuban](#)-Americans protesters in Miami were dispersed by the use of tear gas.





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**2001**

October: For the 10th consecutive year, in the United Nations, there was a vote on a resolution to end the US embargo of [Cuba](#). The vote passed by 167 over 3 (the 3 nations opposing the end of the embargo were the Marshall Islands, Israel, and the United States of America).



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2004

September 30, Thursday: According to a report by David Ruppe of ABC News, headlined “U.S. Military Wanted to Provoke War With Cuba,” in the early 1960s the US military had among other things been drafting plans to themselves terrorize our cities, in order to provoke the US public into supporting another military invasion of [Cuba](#):

In the early 1960s, America’s top military leaders reportedly drafted plans to kill innocent people and commit acts of terrorism in U.S. cities to create public support for a war against Cuba. Code named Operation Northwoods, the plans reportedly included the possible assassination of Cuban émigrés, sinking boats of Cuban refugees on the high seas, hijacking planes, blowing up a U.S. ship, and even orchestrating violent terrorism in U.S. cities. The plans were developed as ways to trick the American public and the international community into supporting a war to oust Cuba’s then new leader, communist [Fidel Castro](#). America’s top military brass even contemplated causing U.S. military casualties, writing: “We could blow up a U.S. ship in Guantánamo Bay and blame Cuba,” and, “casualty lists in U.S. newspapers would cause a helpful wave of national indignation.” Details of the plans are described in BODY OF SECRETS (Doubleday), a new book by investigative reporter James Bamford about the history of America’s largest spy agency, the National Security Agency. However, the plans were not connected to the agency, he notes. The plans had the written approval of all of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and were presented to President Kennedy’s defense secretary, [Robert McNamara](#), in March 1962. But they apparently were rejected by the civilian leadership and have gone undisclosed for nearly 40 years. “These were Joint Chiefs of Staff documents. The reason these were held secret for so long is the Joint Chiefs never wanted to give these up because they were so embarrassing,” Bamford told ABCNEWS.com. “The whole point of a democracy is to have leaders responding to the public will, and here this is the complete reverse, the military trying to trick the American people into a war that they want but that nobody else wants.”

### **Gunning for War**

The documents show “the Joint Chiefs of Staff drew up and approved plans for what may be the most corrupt plan ever created by the U.S. government,” writes Bamford. The Joint Chiefs even proposed using the potential death of astronaut John Glenn during the first attempt to put an American into orbit as a false pretext for war with Cuba, the documents show. Should the rocket explode and kill Glenn, they wrote, “the objective is to provide irrevocable proof ... that the fault lies with the Communists et all Cuba [*sic*].” The plans were motivated by an intense desire among senior military leaders to depose Castro, who seized power in 1959 to become the first communist leader in the Western Hemisphere – only 90 miles from U.S. shores. The earlier CIA-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba by Cuban exiles had been a disastrous failure, in which the military was not allowed to provide firepower. The military leaders now wanted a shot at it. “The whole thing was so bizarre,” says Bamford, noting public



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and international support would be needed for an invasion, but apparently neither the American public, nor the Cuban public, wanted to see U.S. troops deployed to drive out Castro. Reflecting this, the U.S. plan called for establishing prolonged military -not democratic- control over the island nation after the invasion. "That's what we're supposed to be freeing them from," Bamford says. "The only way we would have succeeded is by doing exactly what the Russians were doing all over the world, by imposing a government by tyranny, basically what we were accusing Castro himself of doing."

### **'Over the Edge'**

The Joint Chiefs at the time were headed by Eisenhower appointee Army Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, who, with the signed plans in hand made a pitch to McNamara on March 13, 1962, recommending Operation Northwoods be run by the military. Whether the Joint Chiefs' plans were rejected by McNamara in the meeting is not clear. But three days later, President Kennedy told Lemnitzer directly there was virtually no possibility of ever using overt force to take Cuba, Bamford reports. Within months, Lemnitzer would be denied another term as chairman and transferred to another job. The secret plans came at a time when there was distrust in the military leadership about their civilian leadership, with leaders in the Kennedy administration viewed as too liberal, insufficiently experienced and soft on communism. At the same time, however, there were real concerns in American society about their military overstepping its bounds. There were reports U.S. military leaders had encouraged their subordinates to vote conservative during the election. And at least two popular books were published focusing on a right-wing military leadership pushing the limits against government policy of the day. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee published its own report on right-wing extremism in the military, warning a "considerable danger" in the "education and propaganda activities of military personnel" had been uncovered. The committee even called for an examination of any ties between Lemnitzer and right-wing groups. But Congress didn't get wind of Northwoods, says Bamford. "Although no one in Congress could have known at the time," he writes, "Lemnitzer and the Joint Chiefs had quietly slipped over the edge." Even after Lemnitzer was gone, he writes, the Joint Chiefs continued to plan "pretext" operations at least through 1963. One idea was to create a war between Cuba and another Latin American country so that the United States could intervene. Another was to pay someone in the Castro government to attack U.S. forces at the Guantánamo naval base - an act, which Bamford notes, would have amounted to treason. And another was to fly low level U-2 flights over Cuba, with the intention of having one shot down as a pretext for a war. "There really was a worry at the time about the military going off crazy and they did, but they never succeeded, but it wasn't for lack of trying," he says.

### **After 40 Years**

Ironically, the documents came to light, says Bamford, in part because of the 1992 Oliver Stone film *JFK*, which examined the possibility of a conspiracy behind the assassination of President Kennedy. As public interest in the assassination



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swelled after *JFK's* release, Congress passed a law designed to increase the public's access to government records related to the assassination. The author says a friend on the board tipped him off to the documents. Afraid of a congressional investigation, Lemnitzer had ordered all Joint Chiefs documents related to the Bay of Pigs destroyed, says Bamford. But somehow, these remained. "The scary thing is none of this stuff comes out until 40 years after," says Bamford.

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**US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS**



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**2008**

January 1, Monday: The communications difficulties that had been encountered during the [Cuba Missile Crisis](#) had caused the creation of a "[Hot Line](#)," between Washington DC and Moscow (this involved no "red telephone," but FAX machines connected by cable and satellite). At this point the system switched over from FAX to email and chat utilities.

**ATOM BOMB**



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2008

February: A groundbreaking ceremony was held for an additional classroom building, “West House,” at the Princeton Friends School on the grounds of the [Quaker](#) monthly meeting at Stony Brook near Princeton, [New Jersey](#). This facility was to feature two primary classrooms, two science labs, a Learning Center, an art room, and a nurse’s office.

[Fidel Castro](#) announced his resignation as President of [Cuba](#).

February 24, Sunday: Raúl Castro was declared the new President of [Cuba](#). In his inauguration speech he promised to remove some restrictions on freedom.





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**2009**

March: Raúl Castro removed some of [Fidel Castro](#)'s appointees.

June 3, Wednesday: The Organization of American States adopted a resolution to end its 47-year ban on [Cuban](#) membership. The resolution stated, however, that full membership would need to be delayed until Cuba was "in conformity with the practices, purposes, and principles of the OAS." After this announcement Fidel Castro restated his position that he was not interested in joining.



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2013

January 14, Monday: In 1961 the [Cuban](#) government had imposed broad restrictions on travel to prevent the mass emigration of people after the 1959 revolution, and had approved exit visas only on rare occasions. On this day it ended the requirement that any citizen who wished to travel abroad would be required to obtain an expensive government permit plus a letter of invitation. The travel situation became: Cubans needed only a passport and a national ID card to leave and for the 1st time would be allowed to take their young children with them. However, a passport cost on average 5 months' salary. Observers expected that Cubans with paying relatives abroad would be most likely to be able to take advantage of the new policy. (In the 1st year of the program more than 180,000 Cubans would leave and return.)



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2014

December 17, Wednesday: Talks with [Cuban](#) officials and American officials including President [Barack Obama](#) resulted in the exchange of [Alan Phillip Gross](#), 52 political prisoners, and an unnamed non-citizen agent of the United States in return for the release of 3 Cuban agents currently imprisoned in the United States. Additionally, while the embargo between the United States and Cuba would not immediately be lifted, it would be relaxed to allow import, export and, within certain limits, commerce.



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2015

April 11, Saturday: President Raúl Castro of [Cuba](#) met with President [Barack Obama](#) in Panama.

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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: June 24, 2016

# ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

## GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in



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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.