

VARIOLATION¹ BEFORE DR. JENNER



"What we call the past is built on bits."

– [John Archibald Wheeler's THE SEARCH FOR LINKS](#)
(Proc. 3d Int. Symp. Foundations of Quantum
Mechanics, Tokyo, 1989)



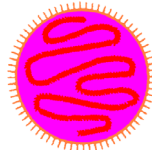
An [infectious](#) virus, according to Peter Medewar, is a piece of nucleic acid surrounded by bad news. This is what the virus carried by the female *Culicidae Aedes aegypti* mosquito, causing what was known as [black vomit](#),



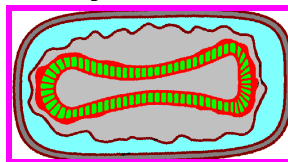
the American plague, yellow jacket, bronze John, dock fever, stranger's fever (now standardized as the "[yellow fever](#)") actually looks like, Disney-colored for your entertainment:



And this is what the [infectious](#) virus causing *Rubeola*, the incredibly deadly and devastating German [measles](#), looks like, likewise Disney-colored for your entertainment:



Most [infectious](#) viruses have fewer than 10 genes, although the virus that caused the [small pox](#) was the biggie exception, having from 200 to 400 genes:



Then, of course, there is the [influenza](#), which exists

1. Variola, from the Latin meaning "pimple," was the technical term for the small pox. Did Thoreau himself ever have the [small pox](#)? Was he ever variolated or vaccinated?

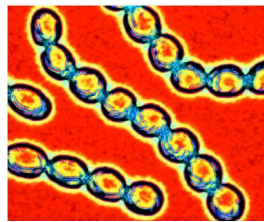
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in various forms as different sorts of this virus mutate and migrate from time to time from other species into humans – beginning with an “A” variety that made the leap from wild ducks to domesticated ducks circa 2500 BCE.

(And then there is our little friend the coma bacillus *Vibrio cholerae*, that occasionally makes its way from our privies into our water supplies and causes us to come down with the “[Asiatic cholera](#).”)

On the other hand, the [scarlet fever](#), also referred to as *Scarlatina*, is an [infection](#) caused not by a virus but by one or another of the hemoglobin-liberating bacteria, typically *Streptococcus pyogenes*. What did the insightful Herman Melville and little ward-of-the-state Laura Bridgman have in common? –their eyes had been damaged by scarlet fever.



In those times no careful distinction was possible between on the one hand [typhus](#) or “gaol fever” (an infection with the [bacterium Rickettsia rickettsii](#) from being bitten by lice and fleas resulting in headache, fever, and a rash of red spots on prisoners that had arrived in Europe during the 15th Century and was epidemic in 1557-1559), and on the other hand [typhoid fever](#) (an infection with the [bacterium Salmonella typhimurium](#) spread by contaminated food or water).

What has been referred to as “[syphilis](#)” ever since it came in the 19th Century to be distinguishable from gonorrhea (on the basis that it was, unlike gonorrhea, not curable with mercury) is an infection with another type of bacterium, the damaging [spirochete Treponema pallidum pallidum](#). It is commonly, although not always, transmitted through pleasurable sexual contact, and for that reason its victims bear a special they-did-this-to-themselves onus.

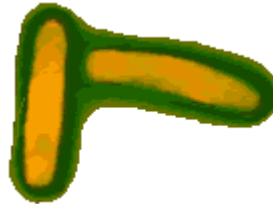


[TB](#), referred to in the 19th Century by such terms as

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phthisis (Greek φθίσις), is an infection caused by the bacillus *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* which contains 4,411,529 coded aminos in the about 4,000 genes of its genome.



A common error nowadays is to presume that tuberculosis affected only the lungs. It did not then and it does not now. It can settle in just about any part of the body, causing abscesses and crippling the bones and causing atrophy of the musculature. Humans can contract a human form of tuberculosis or a bovine form. One of the challenges of the 19th Century was to put a number of apparently quite different ailments together, and come to recognize that they were in fact not different diseases, but various forms taken by the infection:

- Yaksma
- Balasa
- Scrofula (TB in lymph nodes or glands of neck)
- Ecrouelles
- King's Evil
- Tabes mesenterica
- Phthisis
- Phthisis Pulmonaris (wasting away of a body part)
- Lung sickness ("Consumption")
- Gibbus
- Pott's Disease (TB in spinal vertebrae)
- Addison's Disease
- Lupus Vulgaris
- Bacillus of Koch
- Lungenschwindsucht
- Tuberculosis Pulmonum
- Pulmonary Tuberculosis ("galloping consumption")



Bubonic plague is caused by the bacillus *Yersina pestis* is an infection which is transmitted from rats to humans by the rat flea

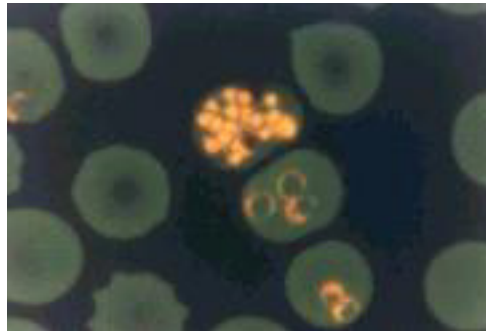
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Xenopsylla cheopsis.



Malaria is a relapsing infection characterized by chills and fever, caused by various protozoa of the genus *Plasmodium* introduced into the bloodstream of reptiles, of birds, and of mammals such as humankind by the *Culicidae* *Anopheles* mosquito.

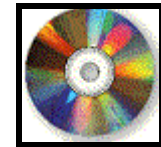


(**HINT:** If you ever want to "go there," click on one of these icons. Fear not, these are mere virtual viruses.)

According to Jared Diamond, native American populations were more affected by the germs of the European intrusives simply because they had had lesser contact with the domesticated species and their diseases:



"The major killers of humanity throughout our recent history -small pox, influenza, tuberculosis, malaria, plague, measles, and cholera- are infectious diseases that evolved from diseases of animals, even though most of the microbes responsible for our own epidemic illnesses are paradoxically now almost confined to humans.... [They] evolved out of diseases of Eurasian herd animals that became domesticated. Whereas many such animals existed in Eurasia, only five animals of any sort became domesticated in the Americas [due to the] ... paucity of wild starting material."



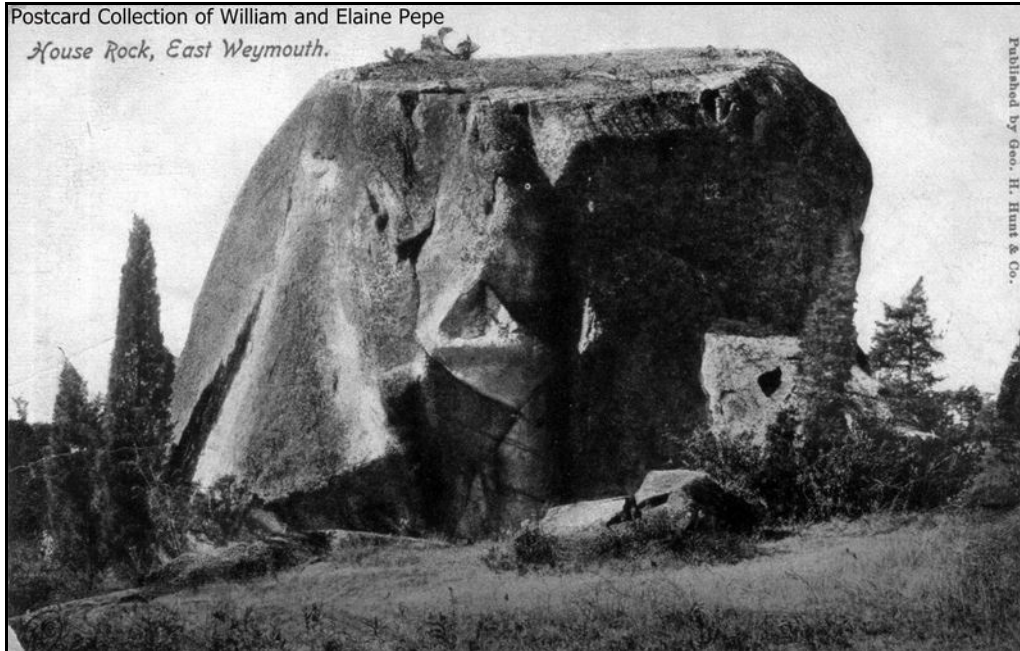
- Jared Diamond, GUNS, GERMS, AND STEEL: THE FATES OF HUMAN SOCIETIES (NY: W.W. Norton, 1997, pages 196ff

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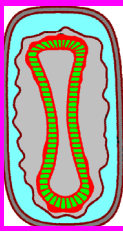
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10,000 BCE

About 12,000 years ago, the end of the most recent Ice Age and the beginning of our current Interglacial Era. A glacial erratic was left lying in an esker in what would become Weymouth in [New England](#).



Bone-tipped harpoons began to appear in Newfoundland, Iberia, and Central Equatorial Africa. The aboriginal inhabitants of Japan were manufacturing ceramic pottery, not for cooking but for storage of cosmetics and perfumes. New grasslands were springing up while many animal species were going extinct. These ecological changes were causing the people living along the banks of the world's rivers to establish the first permanent horticultural (literally, "hand-farming") settlements. We can note, in remains found in agricultural settlements in northeastern Africa, the appearance of [small pox](#). According to one popular theory, early villages provided homes for the young, infirm, and elderly. The rebuttal to that theory is that hand-farming is more time-consuming and at higher risk from ecological or military disaster than either hunting or gathering. Invention of the bow and arrow. Dogs and reindeer were being domesticated. Regardless of why horticulture happened, its impact on the human race was profound, as over the next 2,800 generations the Earth's human population would be increasing from 4,000,000 to 100,000,000.

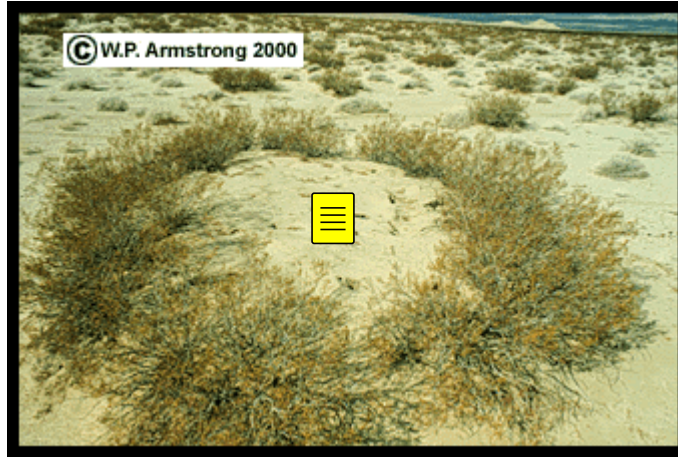


In the Mojave Desert, a seed sprouted that would give rise to this creosote bush *Larrea tridentata* that is still alive (since the plant has been dying toward the center and sending out shoots outward, it is the diameter of its

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circle that reveals to us that it has now been alive in this same generation for 12,000 years):



“Hey, good enough for me. Why don’t you go away?”

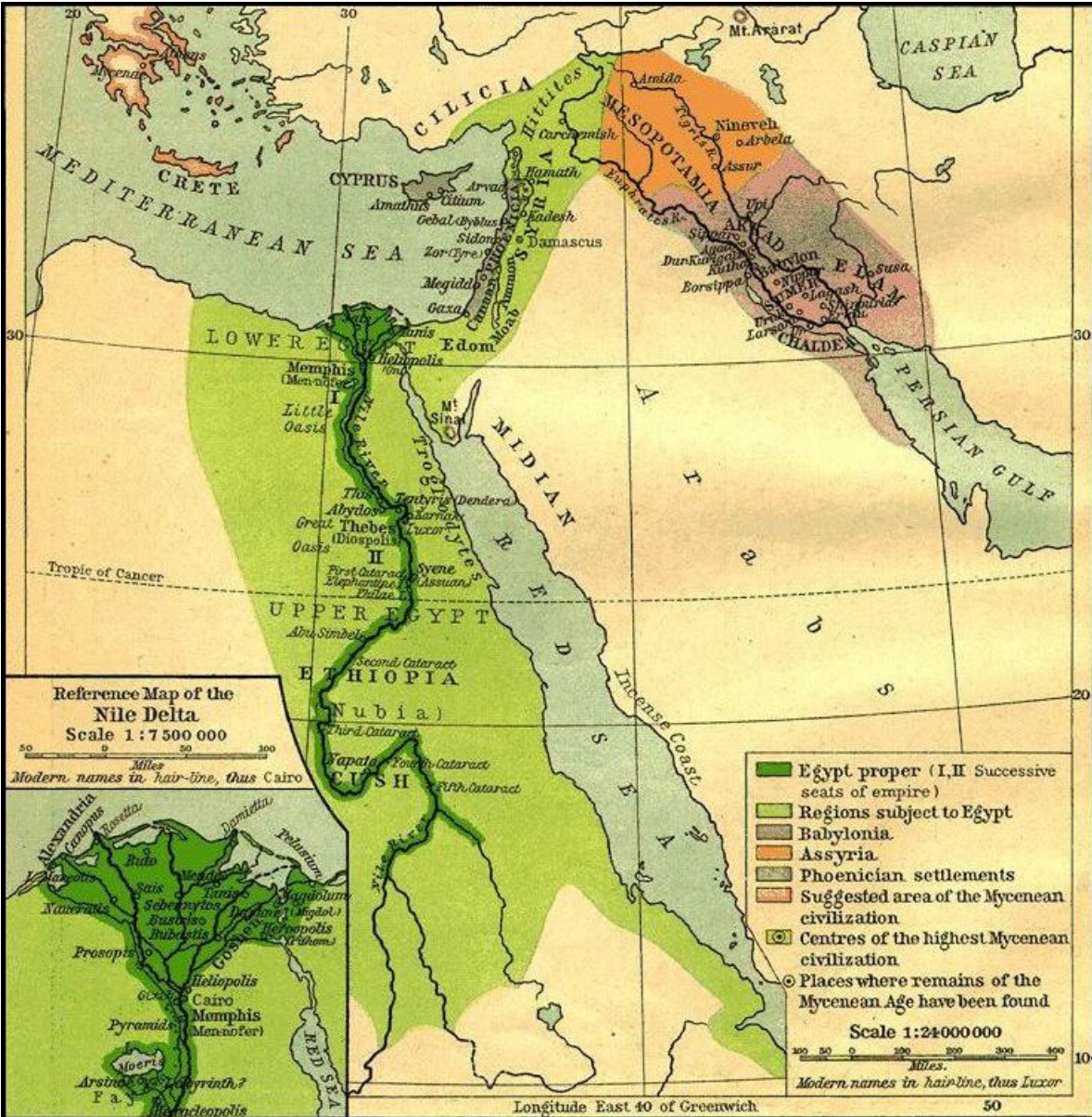
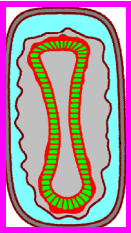
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1,350 BCE

The 1st small pox epidemic of which we have any knowledge occurred during the Egyptian/Hittite War.

During the following half-century, the Assyrian supremacy in Mesopotamia was beginning.

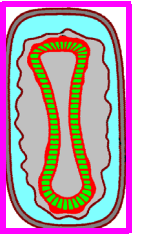


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1,157 BCE

The Pharaoh Ramses V of [Egypt](#) died young, probably of the [small pox](#).





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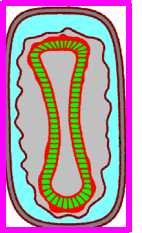
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48/49 CE

This time, when the [Thames River](#) in England overflowed, the waters extended through 4 counties and more than 10,000 of the sort of people who were in that vicinity on that island at that time (whoever they may have been) were drowned. They may have been your relatives — or maybe not.

During this year and the following one, the 1st victims of the [small pox](#) virus were being noted in [China](#).

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



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131 CE

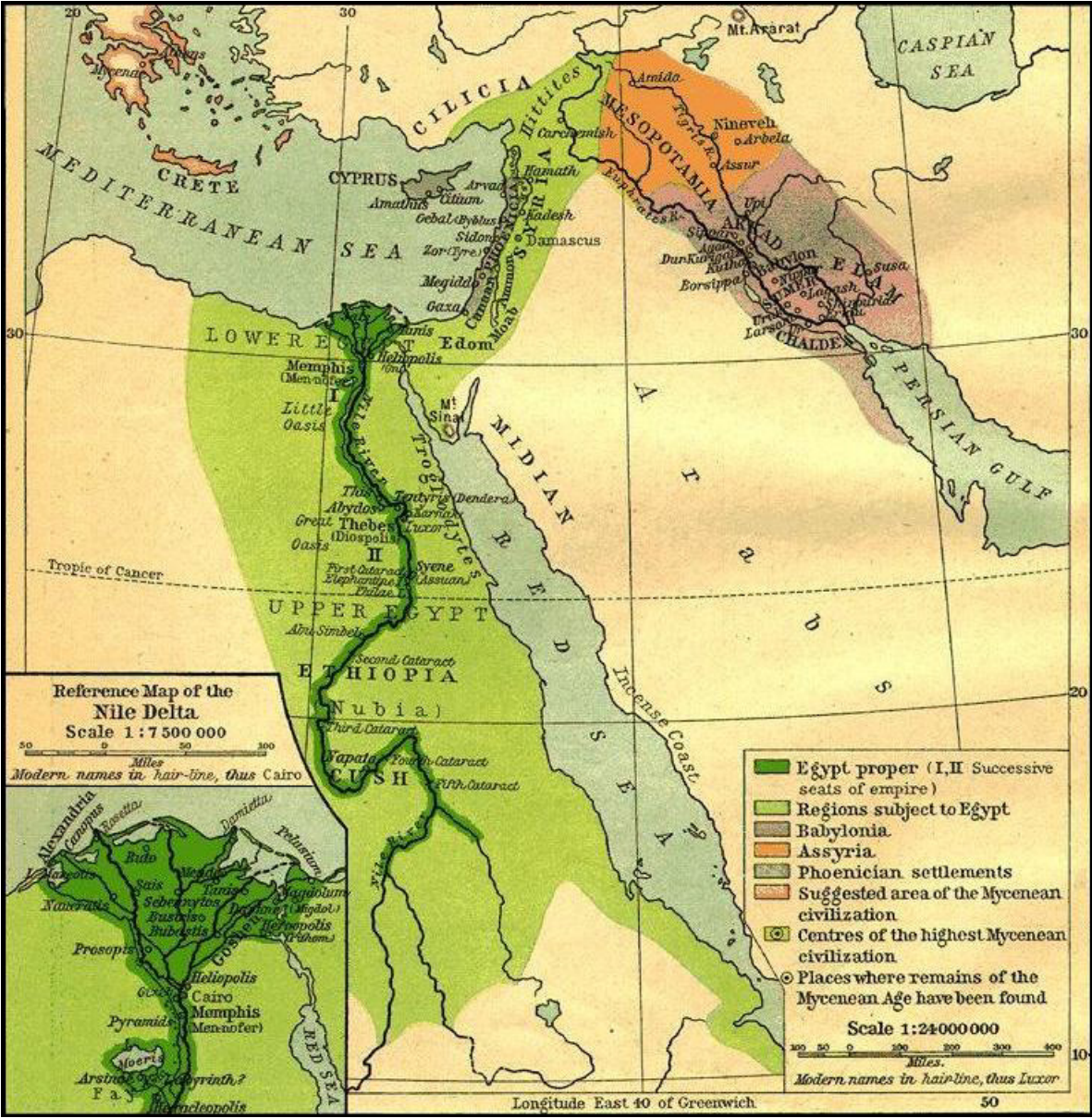
In about this year Claudius Galen of Pergamum (Turkey), Greek/Roman physician/anatomist, was born. His father, Aelius Nicon, was an architect and builder with an interest in mathematics, logic, and astronomy and a fondness for exotic mathematical and literary recreations. His mother (according to his account), was hot-tempered and argued with his father — the son compared her with Socrates' wife Xanthippe. Perhaps while still in his teens, Galen became a therapeutēs or “attendant” of the healing god Asclepius, whose sanctuary was an important cultural center not only for Pergamum, but also for the entire Roman province of Asia. The prestigious cult association of therapeutai included magistrates, senators, highly-placed members of the imperial civil service, and literary men from all over the province. Nicon had planned for his son to study philosophy or politics, the traditional pursuits of the cultured governing class into which he had been born. However, in 144 or 145 CE, Asclepius intervened through a dream, instructing Nicon to allow his son to study medicine. For the next four years Galen studied with the distinguished physicians who gathered at the sanctuary of Asclepius. In 148 or 149 CE Nicon died and the son at the age of 19 became rich and independent. He chose to travel and further his medical education at Smyrna (modern Izmir), Corinth, and Alexandria. In 157 CE he returned to his native city and a prestigious appointment: physician to the gladiators. From Autumn 157 to Autumn 161 he gained valuable practical experience in trauma and sports medicine, and he continued to pursue his studies in theoretical medicine and philosophy. By 161 CE Galen, at the age of 32, may have realized that even a great and prosperous provincial city like Pergamum could not offer the opportunities his talents and ambition demanded. He left, returning only for a 3-year span from 166 until some time in 169 CE. The rest of his career was spent in Rome. During his first stay at Rome Galen quickly became part of the intellectual life of the capital. His public lectures and anatomical demonstrations brought him to the attention of the consular Flavius Boethius, and through him to the notice of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. In 168 CE, Galen tells us, Marcus Aurelius and his co-emperor, Lucius Verus, invited him to return from Pergamum and to join them at their headquarters in Aquileia, where they were engaged in military operations against the Quadi and Marcomanni, barbarian tribes threatening the Danubian frontier. By the time Galen acted on the emperor's invitation, however, an outbreak of plague ([small pox?](#)) had forced Marcus and his court to return to Rome. There Galen joined them. He continued to write, lecture, and practice medicine, with the emperor's son Commodus and Marcus himself as his most illustrious patients. With the possible exception of a few journeys taken to investigate scientific phenomena, he remained at Rome until his death sometime after 210 CE. In 191 CE a fire in the Temple of Peace, where Galen had deposited many of his manuscripts for safe-keeping, destroyed important parts of his work. What remains, however, is enough to establish his reputation as the most prolific, cantankerous, and influential of ancient medical writers. His extant works fill some 20 scrolls in Greek. Other works survive only in Arabic or medieval Latin translations. Galen's works fall into three main categories: medical, philosophical, and philological. His medical writings encompass nearly every aspect of medical theory and practice in his era. In addition to summarizing the state of medicine at the height of the Roman Empire, he reported his own important advances in anatomy, physiology, and therapeutics. Throughout his treatises on knowledge and semantics he is concerned to argue that medicine, understood correctly, can have the same epistemological reliability, linguistic clarity, and intellectual standing that philosophy enjoyed. Likewise his treatises on the language of medicine and his commentaries on Hippocratic texts form part of his project to recover authentic medical knowledge from the accretions of mistaken doctrine.

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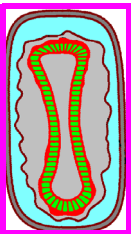
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164 CE

The Mesopotamian city of Selucia on the Tigris was destroyed by Roman general Avidius Cassius.



Roman legions returning from Syria brought back a plague that began to quickly spread throughout the Empire, depopulating whole cities. This was during the reign of Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius and the plague would run its course by 180 CE. Many Romans would be blaming the Christians for this misfortune. The plague was presumably the small pox.



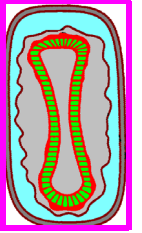


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165 CE

The [small pox](#) microorganism reached [Rome](#) for the 1st time, and millions would die in the Roman Empire during this year and the following one. This devastation would be referred to as the “Plague of Antoninus,” and actually would be continuing until 180 CE. The Greek doctor Galen would abandon Rome and its sufferers, seeking relative personal safety in the countryside.



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180 CE

After the Emperor [Marcus Aurelius](#) had died during a plague ([small pox?](#)), his son Commodus took over as Caesar of the [Roman](#) Empire.



There was to be no more [Pax Romana](#). For the following more than a century –until 284 CE– Rome would be enduring a series of soldier-emperors:

- 180-192 CE — Commodus (then there would be Pertinax, and Didius Julianus, with the empire auctioned off by the Praetorian Guard)
- 193-211 CE — Septimus Severus
- 211-217 CE — Caracalla
- 253-253 CE — Aemilian
- 270-275 CE — Aurelian
- 276-282 CE — Probus



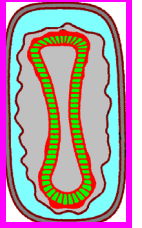
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570 CE

June 8: [Mohammed](#), the Prophet of Islam, was born in Mecca.²

In about this year, an attack on Mecca by the Yemenis and Ethiopians was stopped by the [small pox](#). This plague was significant partly because it coincided with the birth of the Muslim prophet, and partly because of elephants the Ethiopians reportedly had in their van (“reportedly,” because we aren’t sure those were actual animals; they may have been merely the elephant-headed standards of Indo/Ethiopian court astrologers).



2. There seems to be a possibility that the date should be 571 rather than 570. The infant would be orphaned early in life. It is not known what name the mother used for her infant, as “Mohammed,” which means “praiseworthy” or “highly praised,” may well have begun to be used as an honorific appellation at some later point. His contemporaries may also have described him as “al-’Amin,” “the trustworthy.”

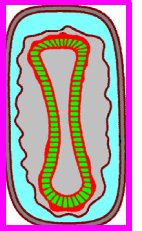


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583-585 CE

At this point the [small pox](#) was spreading from [China](#) into [Korea](#) and [Japan](#).



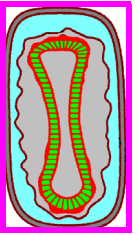
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700-1000 CE

During the centuries from 700 CE to 1000 CE, the [small pox](#) would be spreading through Europe, and through northern and western Africa.

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES

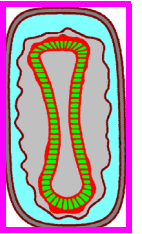


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1240

Because the virus causing the [small pox](#) has no insect vector, the theory that it was spread through human contact was available at an early point, but during this period that theory had to compete with others, such as the miasmatic theory. Gilbertus Anglicus's *COMPENDIUM MEDICINAE* may have been the earliest to assert the small pox to be a [contagion](#).³



3. Girolamo Fracastoro (1476-1553), in *DE CONTAGIONE ET CONTAGIOSIS MORBIS ET CVRATIONE* in 1546, would argue that it, and [measles](#) as well, were clearly diseases spread by “small seeds” (*seminaria*) attached to infected objects. It would be Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1578-1644) and Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1738) who would make the [contagion](#) theory of small pox widely credible.

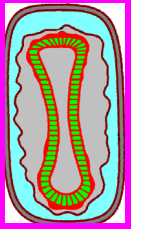


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1241


The [small pox](#) reached Iceland and Denmark.

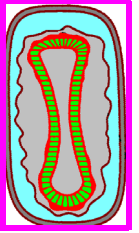


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1346

General Jeffery Amherst's proposal of the use of the [small pox](#) virus in bio-warfare in America against non-white populations in 1763  is far from the 1st reported employment of such a tactic of warfare. For instance, in this year 1346, invaders "from the East," presumably Tartars, are reported to have attempted to spread not only terror but also the Black Death by catapulting the bodies of their [bubonic plague](#) victims over



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the Caffa city wall and onto the lanes and rooftops of this port on the Crimean peninsula in the Black Sea.⁴



GERM WARFARE



- of England ; which lays the foundation of a long and desolating war between both nations.
- 1293 There is a regular succession of English parliaments from this year, being the 22d of Edward I.
- 1298 The present Turkish empire begins in Bithynia under Ottoman.
Silver-hafted knives, spoons, and cups, a great luxury.
Tallow candles so great a luxury, that splinters of wood were used for lights.
Wine sold only by apothecaries as a cordial.
- 1302 The mariner's compass invented, or improved, by Givia of Naples.
- 1307 The beginning of the Swiss cantons.
- 1308 The popes remove to Avignon, in France, for 70 years.
- 1310 Lincoln's Inn society established.
- 1314 The battle of Bannockburn, between Edward II. and Robert Bruce, which establishes the latter on the throne of Scotland.
The cardinals set fire to the conclave, and separate. A vacancy in the papal chair for two years.
- 1320 Gold first coined in Christendom ; 1344, ditto in England.
- 1336 Two Brabant weavers settle at York, "which," says Edward III. "may prove of great benefit to us and our subjects."
- 1337 The first comet whose course is described with astronomical exactness.
- 1340 Gunpowder and Guns first invented by Swartz, a monk of Cologne ; 1346, Edward III. had four pieces of cannon, which contributed to gain him the battle of Cressy ; 1346, bombs and mortars were invented.
Oil-painting first made use of by John Vaneck.
Heralds college instituted in England.
- 1344 The first creation to titles by patents used by Edward III.
- 1346 The battle of Durham, in which David, king of Scots, is taken prisoner.
- 1349 The order of the garter instituted in England by Edward III. altered in 1557, and consists of 26 knights.

**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).

4. It has been of great interest to me that, in the cross-pollination of the New World and the Old World which occurred in the 16th Century, the normally inflexible statistical laws of epidemiology did not obtain. That is to say, one would have expected in accordance with the well-understood parameters of epidemiology that where the human populations were denser, and subject to greater rates of mixing, that is to say, in the national states of Europe, we should have seen a greater rate of mortality, and where the human populations were unquestionably, considerably less dense, and the barriers to mixing much greater, that is to say, in tribal North and Central America, we should have seen a lesser rate of mortality, while in fact precisely the opposite seems to have obtained. (This, to me, raises the specter that the recorded instance of General Jeffery Amherst's proposal for [germ warfare](#) against the native populations was not unique, and not a precedent, but is simply the first case on current record of a long-standing tradition of European warfare against indigenous populations. And I am reminded here that it was Prime Minister [Winston Churchill](#)'s early experience of warfare against African indigenes which persuaded him as to the merits of germ warfare, upon which during WWII he became so insistent that the USA actually set up a germ bomb factory for him outside Terre Haute, Indiana. Try finding out about this germ bomb factory of WWII vintage by writing off to your government under the Freedom of Information Act, if you have no better way to waste your time — that manufacturing plant was managed for the US government by the local chapter of the Indiana Ku Klux Klan and some of my Long uncles and great-uncles worked in it. My point here is that we are commonly able to grasp that "instances of record" is merely a subset of "instances," except that in the case of outrageous accusations such as the accusation that white people commit genocide against non-white people there is considered to be no plausibility to the suspicion that there are likely to have been instances which were not placed upon the record.)



The received explanation for this curious history, as found in Jared Diamond's GUNS, GERMS, AND STEEL: THE FATES OF HUMAN SOCIETIES (NY: W.W. Norton, 1997, pages 196-7), is:



"The major killers of humanity throughout our recent history - [small pox](#), [influenza](#), [tuberculosis](#), [malaria](#), [plague](#), [measles](#), and [cholera](#)- are [infectious](#) diseases that evolved from diseases of animals, even though most of the microbes responsible for our own epidemic illnesses are paradoxically now almost confined to humans.... [They] evolved out of diseases of Eurasian herd animals that became domesticated. Whereas many such animals existed in Eurasia, only five animals of any sort became domesticated in the Americas [due to the] ... paucity of wild starting material."



- Jared Diamond, GUNS, GERMS, AND STEEL:
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16TH CENTURY

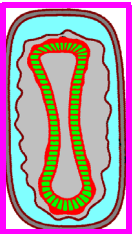
1518

East Asian porcelain reached Europe.

Upon the death of King Henry VII in 1509 [Captain Sebastian Cabot](#) had been invited to Spain by King Ferdinand V, and after being appointed there as one of the “Council of the New Indies,” on this day he was designated as the pilot-major of Spain.

At a ducal banquet, noble guests were observed to be picking up their meats off their plates and inserting them into their mouths by the use of a silver forked implement.

An African slave aboard the ship of the *conquistadore* Panfilo de Narváez brought the [variola](#) virus to the region of the Caribbean. Soon this would spread to [Mexico](#) and Peru bringing the deaths by pandemic disease of literally millions of Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas (its most famous victim would be the Grand Inca himself). – And then north to the Great Lakes and south to the Argentine pampas. Wherever this went it killed as many as half its victims, and more if there were large numbers of children (70% of its victims were less than two years of age). The disease would be returning at least once a generation after that, clearing a swath of despair and destruction through the American native tribes as no army in history has ever been able to do — a great facilitation to the European conquest. Between 1519 and 1605 the enslaved native population of “New Spain” would decline due to all causes –such as exploitation and despair as well as disease– from some 25,000,000 to an estimate of perhaps 1,000,000.⁵



5. 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.

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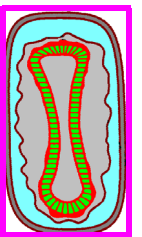
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1519

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 backed 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





THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

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 Pardes who on occasion fought in place of her husband.

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

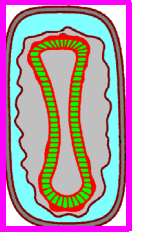


THE SMALL POX

1534

The King of Siam died of the [small pox](#).

THE SMALL POX



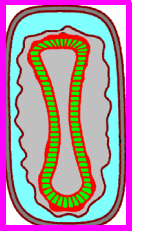


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1544

A very virulent form of the [small pox](#) appeared in [Naples](#).



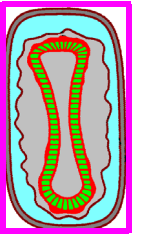


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1546

Because the virus causing the [small pox](#) has no insect vector, the theory that it was spread through human contact was available at an early point, but this theory had to compete with others such as the miasmatic theory. Gilbertus Anglicus's *COMPENDIUM MEDICINAE* had been perhaps the earliest, *circa* 1240, to assert the small pox to be a [contagion](#). Girolamo Fracastoro (1476-1553), in *DE CONTAGIONE ET CONTAGIOSIS MORBIS ET CVRATIONE* in this year, argued that it, and [measles](#) as well, were clearly diseases that were being spread by "small seeds" (*seminaria*) attached to infected objects.⁶ He was also the 1st to suggest the [contagious](#) nature of [tuberculosis](#): "the seeds of contagion remain in such bodies as articles of clothing and bedsheets used by the infected."



HIERONYMI FRACASTORII

6. It would be Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1578-1644) and Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1738) who would make the [contagion](#) theory of the small pox widely credible.



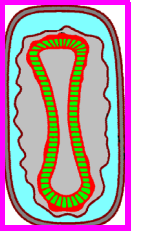
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1560

A [small pox](#) epidemic ravaged Portugal's Brazilian colony, increasing the need for fresh African [slaves](#) to cut the [sugar cane](#).

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY



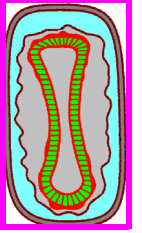


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1570

In Venice and nearby cities on the Mediterranean during this year and the next, some 10,000 people would be dying of the [small pox](#).



GOD HAVE MERCY ON THIS HOUSE

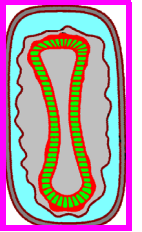


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1589

The [small pox](#) spread through eastern Africa.



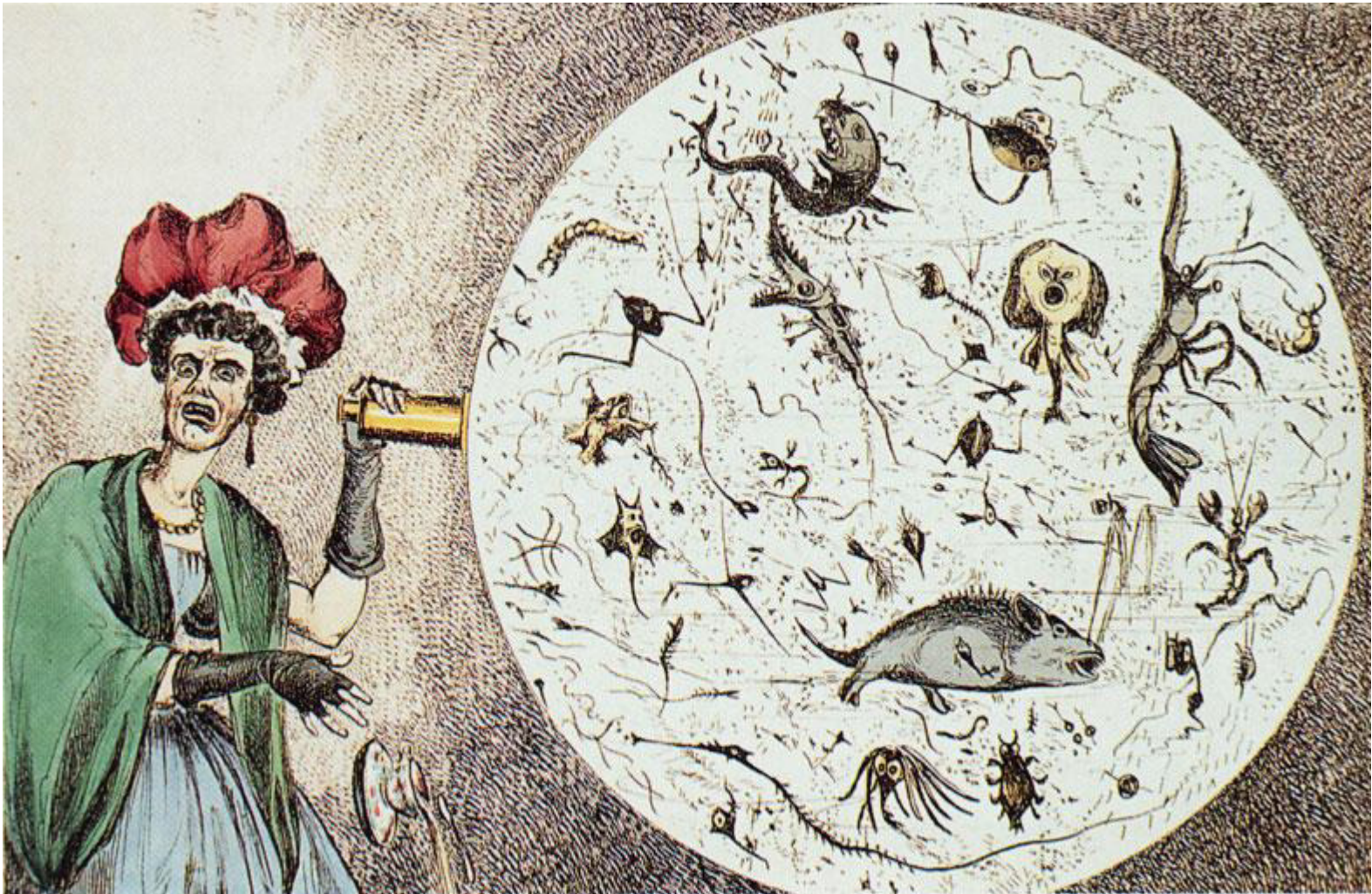
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1590

At about this point, Zacharius Jensen of the Netherlands constructed a compound microscope with a converging objective lens and a diverging eye lens.
This 1st microscope left a lot to the imagination:

HISTORY OF OPTICS



Ulrich Vogelsang carved a dragon statue at Klagenfurt, Austria, that he based on the skull of a Pleistocene woolly rhinoceros found during the 14th Century.

PALEONTOLOGY

José de Acosta's *NATURAL AND MORAL HISTORY OF THE INDIES* describing such weird creatures of the present era as iguanas — and they were visible to the naked eye!

THE SCIENCE OF 1590



THE SMALL POX

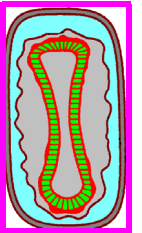
THE SMALL POX

17TH CENTURY

1605

April 7, Sunday (Old Style): At the age of 49 [King Naresuan](#) died in Thailand, evidently of the [small pox](#) (although he had already had it once, in 1574).

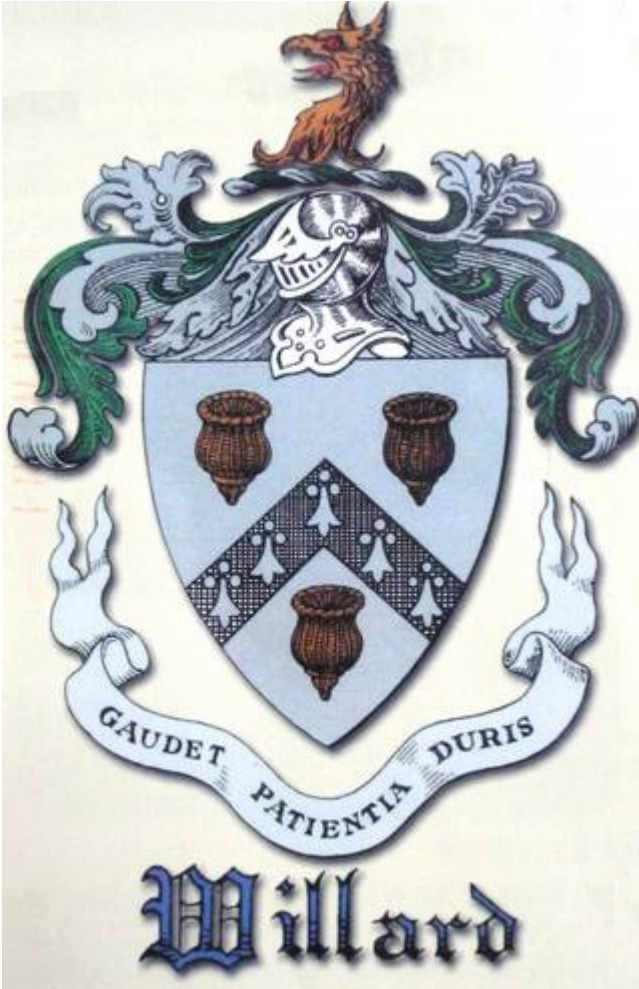
[Simon Willard](#), son of Richard Willard and Margery Humphrie, was christened at Horsmonden (pronounced horsemen-DEN), in Kent. As you can see from the stained-glass window below and from the wall display in



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

St. Margaret's Church on the following screen, everybody's now quite pleased about that:



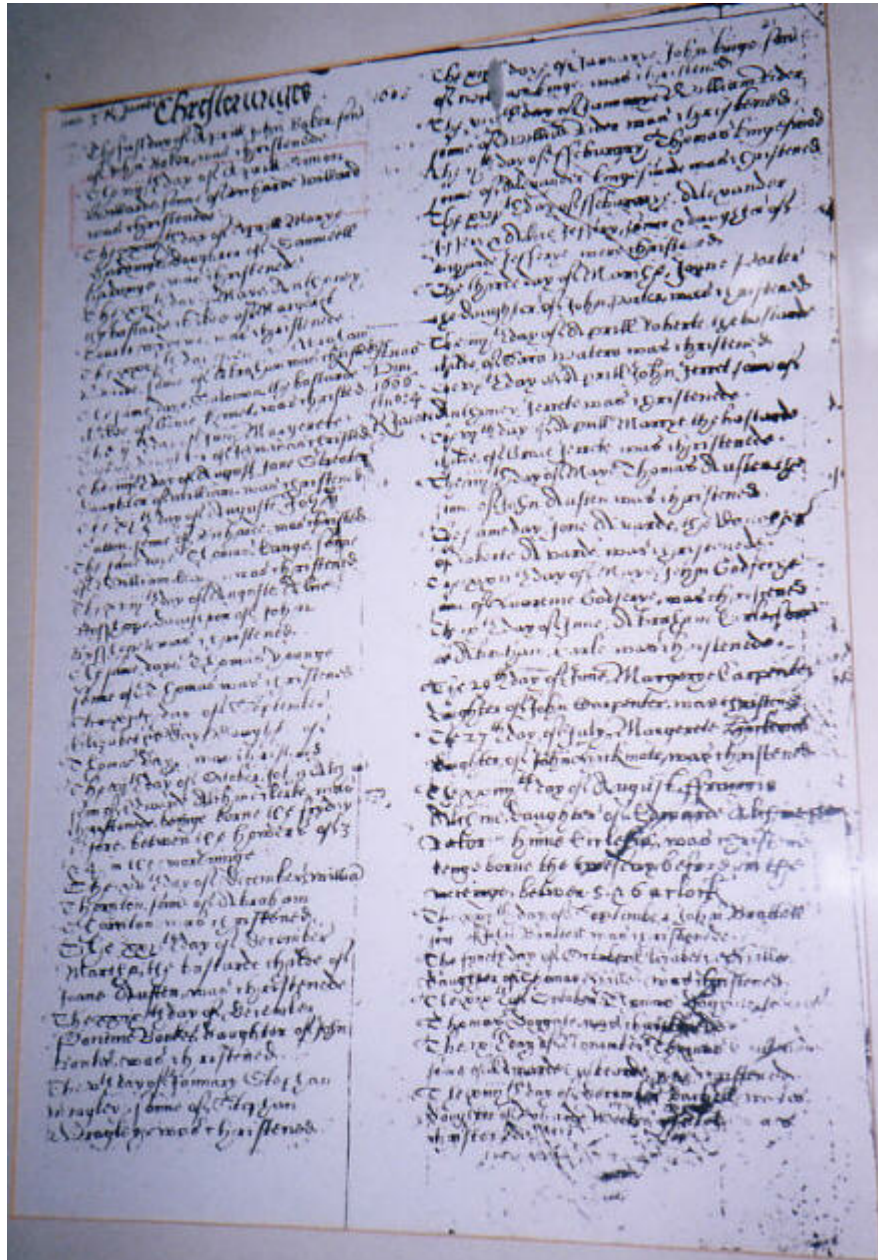
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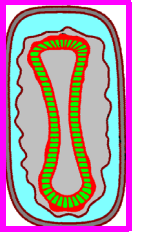


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1614

In Europe, the small pox (so called in contrast to the “great pox” or syphilis) was pandemic.

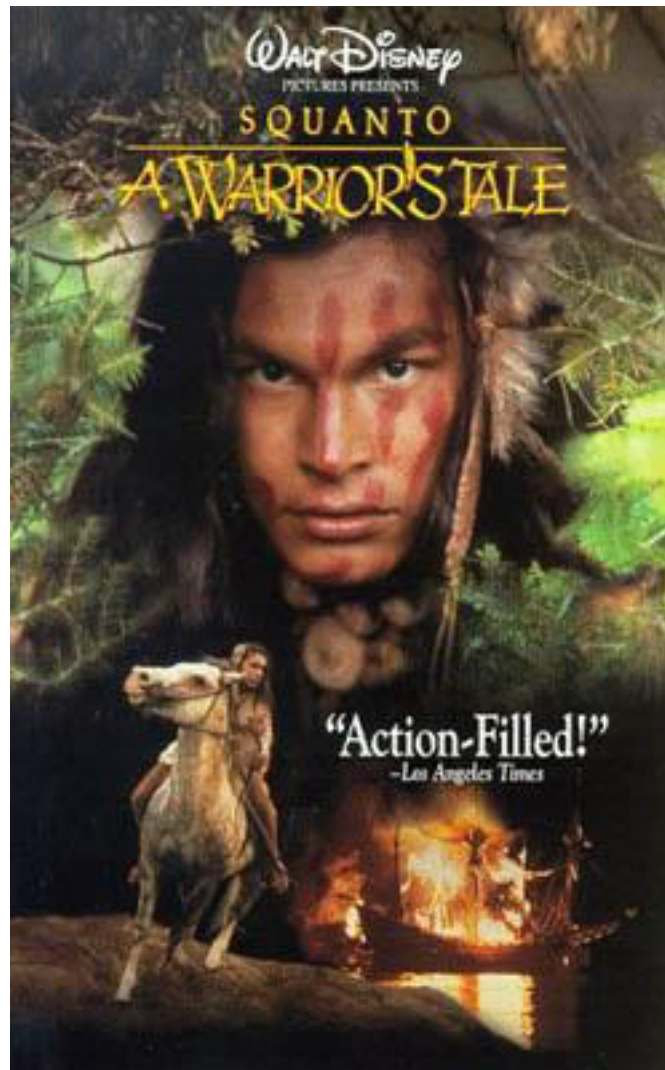


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

In this year *Shetwarroes/Skicowaros* was accompanying an English expedition to Maine.

The *Nauset* and *Mashpee* bands of *Wampanoag*, living as they did on [Cape Cod](#), had a fresh contact with the pale strangers from the ocean, this time with the expedition of Captain Thomas Hunt. At this point, while 27 of his tribespeople were being kidnapped to be sold into [slavery](#) in Malága, *Massasoit*, also known as *Ousamequin* “Yellow Feather,” was a young adult. Among the captive Algonquians was a young man named *Tahendo/Tisquantun/Tantum/Squanto/Squanto* of *Patuxet* (the native village which afterward would be renamed as the “Plymouth” of the English people), who after being sold as a slave in Spain had somehow managed to find his way back from slavery in Spain to stay again for a time in London with the Newfoundland Company’s treasurer John Slany. Most of the other victims of this slave raid eventually would also be redeemed (but by Spanish friars rather than, as the Walt Disney movie had it, by monks near Plymouth, England).

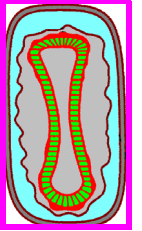


INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

Since their villages along the Merrimack River were all well inland from the coast, *Pennacook* indigenes would have little direct contact with European intrusives before 1620. At about this point, nevertheless, there began among the Pennacook, already devastated by epidemic, another catastrophic epidemic. To the north, pre-existing hostilities between Abenaki (Penobscot) and *Micmac* were being aggravated by competition for the fur trade with the new French trading posts in Acadia, and these hostilities had finally exploded into what is known as the Tarrateen War (1607-1615). The Micmac were emerging from this eight-year struggle victorious, and soon their war parties would be sweeping down the coast of Maine into Pennacook territory. By 1617 the warfare would have reached into eastern Massachusetts, but there the Micmac would encounter a new and more terrible enemy, for in 1614 as the English slavers had been raiding Wampanoag villages, they had infected the population with a new and extremely deadly sickness to which there had been built up no local immunological resistance — the dreaded [small pox](#).



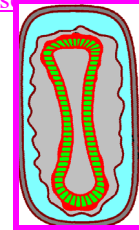
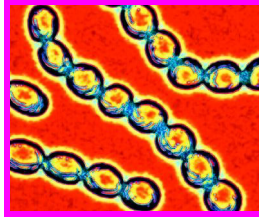
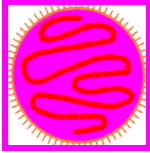
MASSACHUSETTS BAY

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1616

There was in the Algonquin villages of what are now southern and central [New Hampshire](#), northeastern Massachusetts, and southern Maine an epidemic of what is likely to have been [measles](#) or [scarlet fever](#).



The American population between the Narragansett bay and the Saco River was reduced from an estimated 100,000 to 5,000. Since virtually every village of the Massachuset along this coast within 30 miles of the ocean, all the way from the region of Portland down to Cape Cod, quickly fell victim, there has been much speculation that the epidemic was the [small pox](#) and that it had been carried to the natives by their contact with the French sailors, either the ones who had died in the vicinity of the waters of Boston Harbor or the ones who had survived and been [enslaved](#) by the native Americans. “They died in heaps, as they lay in their houses; and the living that were able to shift for themselves would run away.”



The First Comers, coming across these piles of bones later, would term the places “a new found Golgotha.” Even years after this epidemic, “Their skulls and bones were found in many places lying still above the ground, where their houses and dwelling had been.” Historians generally do not credit that the epidemic must have been carried by these crewmen, citing the possibility of rats from this or another ship, and yet the historical estimate is that something like 19 out of every 20 humans along this coast had died during this outbreak. Meanwhile, a native war in Maine was desolating that region as well, so as the Pilgrims would arrive, they

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

would discover that by means of a “wonderful plague” God had cleared a path for them.



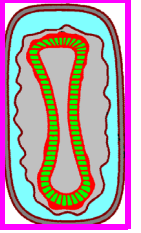


THE SMALL POX

1623

There were reports of the [small pox](#) in Russia.

THE SMALL POX

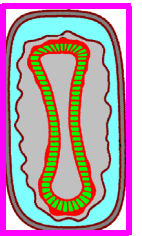
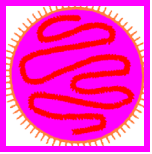


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1629

At this point after the series of what is likely to have been [measles](#) or [scarlet fever](#) epidemics, the white intrusives on the Shawmut peninsula were able to count fewer than 500 surviving Massachusetts natives — and the [small pox](#) would carry away many of these in 1633. Shortly afterward, the Reverend [John Eliot](#) would



begin his missionary work among the surviving few. The new converts would be gathered into 14 villages of “Praying Indians,” including the following, in which, subjected to strict Puritan rules of conduct, their tribal traditions would quickly disappear:

- Cowate
- Magachnak
- [Natick](#)
- Pequimmit
- Punkapog
- Titicut
- Wannamanhut

Job Nasutan, a Massachusetts, would work with the Reverend Eliot to translate the BIBLE into Algonquin, and Crispus Attucks, who would be killed in the downtown brawl known as the Boston Massacre, would be born of a free black father and a Massachusetts mother. Although there are now a few surviving individuals who are able to trace ancestry to the Massachusetts, no organized group of the Massachusetts is known to have survived into the 19th Century.

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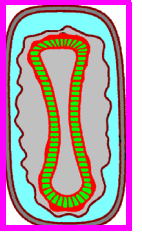


THE SMALL POX

1631

In the Massachusetts Bay area, there was a [small pox](#) epidemic.

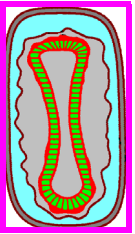
THE SMALL POX



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1633



Winter: A massive [small pox](#) epidemic hit the northeast throughout New England including the [Connecticut](#) tribes, and out to the Huron country in southern Ontario. This one wasn't just limited to the Massachusett. Depopulation was severe.



When the extermination of the Pequot would begin in 1637, there actually would be precious few disease survivors left for the white people to exterminate.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND.

From the year of the World

to the year of Christ 1673.

The people that inhabited this Countrey are judged to be of the *Tartars* called *Samonids* that border upon *Moscovia*, and are divided into Tribes; those to the East and North-east are called *Churchers* and *Tarentines*, and *Monhegans*. To the South are the *Pequets* and *Narragansets*. Westward *Connecticuts* and *Mowhacks*. To the Northward *Aberginians* which consist of *Mattachusets*, *Wippanaps* and *Tarrentines*. The *Pocanakets* live to the Westward of *Plimouth*. Not long before the *English* came into the Countrey, happened a great mortality amongst them, expecially where the *English* afterwards planted, the East and Northern parts were sore smitten with the Contagion; first by the plague, afterwards when the *English* came by the small pox, the three Kingdoms or *Sagamorships* of the *Mattachusets* were very populous, having under them seven Dukedoms or petti-*Sagamorships*, but by the plague were brought from 30000 to 300. There are not many now to the Eastward, the *Pequots* were destroyed by the *English*: the *Mowhacks* are about five hundred: Their speech a dialect of the *Tartars*, (as also is the *Turkish* tongue).

BY *John Josselyn Gent.*

CONTAGION



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

John Winthrop would write “For the natives, they are neere all dead of small Poxe, so as the Lord hathe cleared our title to what we possess.”



JOHN WINTHROP JOURNAL

Now, three centuries later, we can watch the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* as it authoritatively kicks these victims: “On account of their habits during sickness, the American Indians were severely stricken, and students have assigned smallpox as one of the chief reasons for the conquest of the land by the white men.”⁷

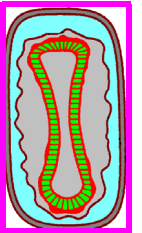
7. Gosh not, folks, although we were genocidal racists, the simple fact is that they just died off by themselves, out of being too weak and to foolish to maintain their own lives. They didn't give us a **chance** to kill them off, honest. Just study the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, man, it'll tell you how things went down. Why, in South Africa under apartheid, they had an encyclopedia that told the white people of South Africa that before the white people got to South Africa and created the place, there weren't nobody there at all.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1649

June 24, Sunday (Old Style): During this year in England there would occur a grand sum total of 1,190 deaths due to the [small pox](#), but only one would be memorialized in a lengthy poem (unless the poem in question wasn't actually about death due to smallpox, but actually was about regicide and [the severing of the neck by use of the ax and block](#)). [Johannes Dryden, Scholae Westm. Alumnus](#) contributed UPON THE DEATH OF THE LORD HASTINGS to the LACHRYMÆ MUSARUM / THE TEARS OF THE MUSES: EXPREST IN ELEGIES WRITTEN BY DIVERS PERSONS OF NOBILITY AND WORTH UPON THE DEATH OF THE MOST HOPEFULL, HENRY LORD HASTINGS ... ; COLLECTED AND SET FORTH BY R.B. collection of memorials to the 1st son and heir apparent to [Ferdinando Hastings, 6th Earl of Huntingdon](#) with [Lucy Davies Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon](#), who succumbed during the ongoing epidemic on this day at the age of 19, on the eve of his wedding to Elizabeth de Mayerne (the body would be placed on July 7th in a tomb at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire). Dryden had not known Henry Hastings, giving rise to the above surmise that this had amounted to an opportunity for a royalist to lament surreptitiously the recent execution of [King Charles I.](#)



Must noble Hastings immaturely die,
 The honour of his ancient family;
 Beauty and learning thus together meet,
 To bring a winding for a wedding-sheet?
 Must Virtue prove Death's harbinger? must she,
 With him expiring, feel mortality?
 Is death, Sin's wages, Grace's now? shall Art
 Make us more learned, only to depart?
 If merit be disease; if virtue death;
 To be good, not to be; who'd then bequeath
 Himself to discipline? who'd not esteem
 Labour a crime? study, self-murder deem?
 Our noble youth now have pretence to be
 Dunces securely, ignorant healthfully.
 Rare linguist, whose worth speaks itself, whose praise,
 Though not his own, all tongues besides do raise:
 Than whom great Alexander may seem less,
 Who conquer'd men, but not their languages.
 In his mouth nations spake; his tongue might be
 Interpreter to Greece, France, Italy.
 His native soil was the four parts o' the Earth;
 All Europe was too narrow for his birth.
 A young apostle; and, with reverence may
 I speak it, inspired with gift of tongues, as they.
 Nature gave him, a child, what men in vain
 Oft strive, by art though further'd, to obtain.
 His body was an orb, his sublime soul
 Did move on Virtue's and on Learning's pole:
 Whose regular motions better to our view,
 Than Archimedes sphere, the Heavens did show.
 Graces and virtues, languages and arts,
 Beauty and learning, fill'd up all the parts.
 Heaven's gifts, which do like falling stars appear
 Scatter'd in others; all, as in their sphere,
 Were fix'd, conglobate in his soul; and thence
 Shone through his body, with sweet influence;
 Letting their glories so on each limb fall,
 The whole frame render'd was celestial.
 Come, learned Ptolemy and trial make,
 If thou this hero's altitude canst take:
 But that transcends thy skill; thrice happy all,
 Could we but prove thus astronomical.
 Lived Tycho now, struck with this ray which shone
 More bright i' the morn, than others' beam at noon.
 He'd take his astrolabe, and seek out here

THE SMALL POX

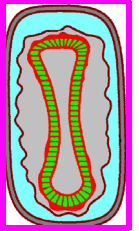
THE SMALL POX

What new star 'twas did gild our hemisphere.
 Replenish'd then with such rare gifts as these,
 Where was room left for such a foul disease?
 The nation's sin hath drawn that veil, which shrouds
 Our day-spring in so sad benighting clouds:
 Heaven would no longer trust its pledge; but thus
 Recall'd it; rapt its Ganymede from us.
 Was there no milder way but the small-pox,
 The very filthiness of Pandora's box?
 So many spots, like næves on Venus' soil,
 One jewel set off with so many a foil;
 Blisters with pride swell'd, which through's flesh did sprout
 Like rose-buds, stuck i' th' lily-skin about.
 Each little pimple had a tear in it,
 To wail the fault its rising did commit:
 Which, rebel-like, with its own lord at strife,
 Thus made an insurrection 'gainst his life.
 Or were these gems sent to adorn his skin,
 The cabinet of a richer soul within?
 No comet need foretell his change drew on,
 Whose corpse might seem a constellation.
 Oh! had he died of old, how great a strife
 Had been, who from his death should draw their life!
 Who should, by one rich draught, become whate'er
 Seneca, Cato, Numa, Cæsar, were,—
 Learn'd, virtuous, pious, great; and have by this
 An universal metempsychosis!
 Must all these aged sires in one funeral
 Expire? all die in one so young, so small?
 Who, had he lived his life out, his great fame
 Had swoln 'bove any Greek or Roman name.
 But hasty Winter, with one blast, hath brought
 The hopes of Autumn, Summer, Spring, to nought.
 Thus fades the oak i' the sprig, i' the blade the corn;
 Thus without young, this Phoenix dies, new born:
 Must then old three-legg'd graybeards, with their gout,
 Catarrhs, rheums, aches, live three long ages out?
 Time's offals, only fit for the hospital!
 Or to hang antiquaries' rooms withal!
 Must drunkards, lechers, spent with sinning, live
 With such helps as broths, possets, physic give?
 None live, but such as should die? shall we meet
 With none but ghostly fathers in the street?
 Grief makes me rail; sorrow will force its way;
 And showers of tears, tempestuous sighs best lay.
 The tongue may fail; but overflowing eyes
 Will weep out lasting streams of elegies.

But thou, O virgin-widow, left alone,
 Now thy beloved, heaven-ravish'd spouse is gone,
 Whose skilful sire in vain strove to apply
 Medicines, when thy balm was no remedy,—
 With greater than Platonic love, O wed
 His soul, though not his body, to thy bed:
 Let that make thee a mother; bring thou forth
 The ideas of his virtue, knowledge, worth;
 Transcribe the original in new copies, give
 Hastings o' the better part: so shall he live
 In's nobler half; and the great grandsire be
 Of an heroic divine progeny:
 An issue, which to eternity shall last,
 Yet but the irradiations which he cast.
 Erect no mausoleums: for his best
 Monument is his spouse's marble breast.

1666

The [small pox](#) returned to [Boston](#) in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In England, it would be epidemic until 1675.



A

Chronological TABLE

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

Anno Dom.

1666. The *Small Pox* at *Boston*. Seven flain by Lightning, and divers Burnt: This Year also *New-England* had cast away, and taken 31 Veffels, and some in 1667.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1675

Thomas Bartholin reported a Danish peasant practice of immunization against the [small pox](#), by exposure of children to a person who was recovering from the disease. This practice, which sometimes was referred to as “buying the pox,” was also noticed in rural France, and in Wales.

Small pox had begun along the Merrimack River in 1631 among the approximately 2,500 survivors of the earlier devastating epidemics, and had spread into a major epidemic in the New England region in 1633-1635. It had returned in 1639, followed by influenza in 1647, small pox again in 1649-1650, and diphtheria in 1659. By this year the Penacook population had fallen to 1,200, and by the end of King Philip’s War two years later, the residual population of the Pennacook would be again halved. Despite these losses, the Pennacook would remain an important member of the Abenaki Confederation and a major component of the New England Algonquin who would merge with the Sokoki to become the St. Francois Indians in [Québec](#). Besides those at St. Francois, other groups of Pennacook would be absorbed by the Abenaki in [Maine](#).



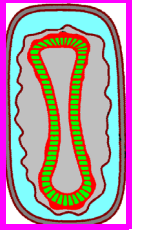
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1677

July 10, Tuesday: "The Vessel arrives at Nantasket which brought that contagious Distemper the Small Pox."

SMALL POX

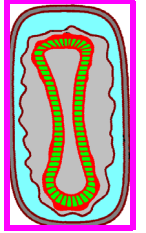




THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1678



May: According to page 61 of David E. Stannard's *THE PURITAN WAY OF DEATH: A STUDY IN RELIGION, CULTURE, AND SOCIAL CHANGE* (NY: Oxford UP, 1977):

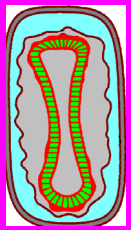
May of 1678 was a month of great apprehension in [Boston](#). [Smallpox](#) had entered the city some months earlier and had begun its relentless slaying of the population. By May hundreds had died and the governments of the colony and the town were hurriedly passing legislation aimed at holding down the spread of the deadly [infection](#) – people were directed not to hang out bedding or clothes in their yards or near roadways, and those who had been touched by the disease and had survived were denied contact with others for specified periods of time. The worst was yet to come. By the time the siege was over it was as though, proportionate to New York City's current population, an epidemic were to kill a million and a half of its people in a period of just eighteen months. In but one day, on September 30, 1677, thirty people had died – the proportionate equivalent of more than **sixty thousand** New Yorkers today. The city girded for what still awaited it.... Death was everywhere in 1678 when, on May 3, Increase Mather addressed his Boston congregation and prayed "for a Spirit of Converting Grace to be poured out upon the Children and *Rising Generation* in *New England*."

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1680

During this decade, [small pox](#) (or maybe some other European disease) was arriving in what eventually would become Kentucky, and would destroy something like three out of every four in these native populations — who had had no contact whatever with domesticated animals, and thus had no acquired resistance to such livestock-derived [infections](#).





THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1682



September: The ship that brought Friend [William Penn](#) to Pennsylvania had unfortunately had the [small pox](#) on board, and during the voyage many of its passengers had died.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1683

The 1st microscope having come along in 1590  and the 1st glimpse of microorganisms having been obtained in 1676,  in this year improvements in precision allowed for the 1st time bacteria to be viewed.

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT

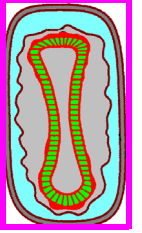




THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1685



March 7, Saturday-14, Saturday (1684, Old Style): The [small pox](#) struck the family of [John Evelyn](#):

March 7: *Newes coming to me that my Daughter Mary was falln ill of the Small Pox, I hastned home full of apprehensions, & indeede found her very ill, still coming-forth in abundance, a wonderfull affliction to me, not only for her beauty, which was very lovely, but for the danger of loosing one of extraordinary parts & virtue. &c: Gods holy will be don.*

March 8, Sunday (1684, Old Style): ... *My Deare Child continuing ill, by reason of the Diseases fixing in the Lungs, it was not in the power of physick without more plentiful expectoration to recover her, insomuch as [9] Dr. Short (the most famous approved & famous Physition of all his Majesties Doctors) gave us his opinion, that she could not escape, upon the Tuesday; so as on Wednesday she desired to have the B[lessed] Sacrament given her (of which she had yet participated the Weeke before) after which disposing her selfe to suffer what God should determine to inflict, she bore the remainder of her sicknesse with extraordinary patience, and piety & with more than ordinary resignation, and marks of a sanctified & blessed frame of mind, rendred [up] her soule to the Lord Jesus on Saturday the 14 of March, exactly at halfe-an houre after Eleaven in the fore noone, to our unspeakable sorrow & Affliction, and this not to ours (her parents) onely, but all who knew her, who were many of the best quality, greatest and most vertuous persons:*

How unexpressable losse I and my Wife sustain'd, the Virtues & perfections she was endow'd with best would shew; of which the justness of her stature, person, comelinesse of her Countenance and gracefullnesse of motion, naturall, & unaffected (though more than ordinarily beautiful), was one of the least, compar'd with the Ornaments of her mind, which was truly extraordinary, especialy the better part: Of early piety, & singularly Religious, so as spending a considerable part of every day in private devotion, Reading and other vertuous exercises, she had collected, & written out abundance of the most usefull and judicious periods of the Books she read, in a kind of Common place; as out of Dr. Hammonds N. Test: and most of the best practical Treatises extant in our tonge:

She had read & digested a considerable deale of History, & of Places, the french Tongue being as familiar to her as English, she understood Italian, and was able to render a laudable Account of what she read & observed, to which assisted a most faithfull memory, & discernement, & she did make very prudent & discrete reflections upon what she had observe'd of the Conversations among which she had at any time ben (which being continually of persons of the best quality), she improved: She had to all this an incomparable sweete Voice, to which she play'd a through-base on the Harpsichord, in both which she ariv'd to that perfection, that of all the Schollars of those Two famous Masters, Signor Pietro and Bartolomeo: she was esteem'd the best; [for] the sweetnesse of her voice, manegement of it, adding such an agreablenesse to her Countenance, without any constraint and concerne, that when she sung, it was as charming to the Eye, as to the Eare; this I rather note, because it was a universal remarke, & for which so many noble & judicious persons in Musique, desir'd to hear her; the last, being at my Lord Arundels of Wardours, where was a solemn Meeting of about twenty persons of quality, some of them greate judges & Masters of Musique; where she sung with the famous Mr. Pordage, Signor Joh[n] Battist touching the Harpsichord &c: with exceeding applause: What shall I say, or rather not say, of the cherefullnesse & agreablenesse of her humor, that she condescending to the meanest servant in the family, or others, she kept still her respect without the least pride: These she would reade to, examine, instruct and often

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pray with, if they were sick; so as she was extreamly beloved of every body: Piety was so prevalent an ingredient in her constitution (as I may say) that even amongst superiors, as equals, she no sooner became intimately acquainted; but she would endeavour to improve them by insinuating something of Religious, & that tended to bring them to a love of Devotion; and she had one or two Confidants, with whom she used to passe whole dayes, in fasting, reading and prayers, especially before the monethly communions, & other solemn occasions: She could not indure that which they call courtship, among the Gallants, abhorred flattery, & tho she had abundance of witt, the raillery was so innocent and ingenuous, as was most agreable; She sometimes would see a play, but since the stage grew licentious, tooke greate scandal at them, & express 'd her being weary of them, & that the time spent at the Theater was an unaccountable vanity, nor did she at any time play at Cards, without extreame importunity & for Company; but this was so very seldome, that I cannot number it among any thing she could name a fault:

No body living read prose, or Verse better & with more judgement, & as she read, so she writ not onely most correct orthography, but with that maturitie of judgement, and exactnesse of the periods, choice expressions, & familiarity of style, as that some letters of hers have astonish'd me, and others to whom she has occasionally written: Among other agreablenesses she had a talent of rehearsing any Comical part or poeme, as was to them she might decently be free with, more pleasing than the Theater; She daunc'd with the most grace that in my whole life I had ever seene, & so would her Master say, who was Monsieur Isaac; but she very seldome shew'd that perfection, save in the gracefullnesse of her Carriage, which was with an aire of spritfull modestie, not easily to be described; Nothing of haughty, nothing affected, but natural and easy, as well in her deportment, as her discourse, which was allways material, not trifling, and to which the extraordinary sweetnesse of her tone, even in familiar speaking, was very charming: Nothing was so pretty, as her descending to play with little Children, whom she would caresse, & humor with greate delight:

But she most of all affected to be [with] grave, and sober men, of whom she might learne something and improve herselfe: I have my selfe ben assisted by her, both reading & praying by me; and was comprehensive of uncommon notions, curious of knowing every thing to some excesse, had I not indeavor'd to repress it sometimes; Nothing was therefore so delightfull to her, as the permission I ever gave her to go into my Study, where she would have willingly spent whole days; for as I sayd, she had read abundance of History, & all the best poets, even to Terence, Plautus, Homer, Vergil [[Virgil](#)], Horace, Ovide, all the best Romances, & modern Poemes, and could compose very happily, & put in her pretty Symbol, as in that of the MUNDUS MULIEBRIS,⁸ wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the Modes and ornaments belonging to the Sex:

But all these are vaine trifles to those interior vertues which adorn'd her Soule, For she was sincerely Religious, most dutifull to her parents, whom she lov'd with an affection temper'd with greate esteeme, so as we were easy & free, & never were so well pleased, as when she was with us, nor needed we other Conversation: She was kind to her Sisters, and was still improving them, by her constant Course of Piety:

Ô deare, sweete and desireable Child, how shall I part with all this goodness, all this Vertue, without the bitterness of sorrow, and reluctancy of a tender Parent! Thy affection, duty & love to me was that of a friend, as well as of a Child: passing even the love of Women, the Affection of a Child: nor lesse dearer to thy Mother, whose example & tender care of Thee was unparalleled; nor was Thy returnes to her lesse conspicuous: Ô how she mourns thy losse! ô how desolate has Thou left us, Sweete, obliging, happy Creature! To the grave shall we both carry thy memory __ God alone (in whose boosome thou art at rest & happy) give us to resigne

8. John Evelyn's daughter Maria Evelyn is credited as the pseudonymous author of the volume *MUNDUS MULIEBRIS: OR, THE LADIES DRESSING ROOM UNLOCK'D AND HER TOILETTE SPREAD. IN BURLESQUE. TOGETHER WITH THE FOP-DICTIONARY, COMPILED FOR THE USE OF THE FAIR SEX*, a satirical guide in verse to Francophile fashion and terminology. However, the volume must have been edited for the press by the father, as by the point of publication in 1690 this daughter would have been dead for five years.

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Thee, & all our Contentments (for thou indeede wert all in this world) to his blessed pleasure: ô let him be glorified by our submission, & give us Grace to blesse him for the Graces he implanted in thee, thy vertuous life, pious & holy death, which is indeede the onely remaining Comfort of our soules, hastning through the infinite love and mercy of the Lord Jesus, to be shortly with Thee deare Child, & with Thee (and those blessed Saints like thee,) glorifie the Redemer of the World to all Eternity. Amen:

It was in the nineteenth yeare of her Age, that this sicknesse happn'd to her; at which period Dr. Harvy somewhere writes, all young people should be let blood; and to this we advised her; whilst to all who beheld her she looked so well, as her extraordinary beauty was taken notice of, the last time she appeared at Church: but she had so greate an aversion to breathing a veine, as we did not so much insist upon it as we should: being in this exceeding height of health, she was the more propence to change, & had ever ben subject to feavors; but there was yet another accident that contributed to the fixing it in this dissease; The apprehension she had of it in particular, & which struck her but two days before she came home, by an imprudent Gentlewomans telling my Lady Faulkland (with whom my daughter went to give a Visite) after she had entertained them a good while in the house, that she had a servant sick of the small pox above, who died the next day; This my poore Child ackknowledged made an impression on her spirits, it being with all [of] a mortal & spreading kind at this time about the towne:

There were now no lesse than foure Gent[lemen] of Quality offering to treat with me about Marriage; & I freely gave her her owne Choice, knowing she was discrete: One (against which I had no exceptions) and who most passionately lov'd her, but was for a certaine natural blemish that rendered him very disagreeable, she would in compliance to me have married, if I did injoyne her; but telling me she should never be happy with him (observing it seemes a neerenesse in his nature, and a little under-breeding) I would not impose it; for which she often expressed her satisfaction, & thanks to me in the most obliging & respectfull manner: The other was one Weston a Stafford shire Gent[leman] of the same family, & I thinke heire (within one) to the Earles of Portland: This was but now just beginning:

But the person who first made love to her, was Mr. Wilbraham a Chesshire Gent[leman] of a noble Family, whose extreamely rich & sordid Fathers demands of a Portion, I could by no meanes reach, without injury to the rest of my daughters, which this pious, & good natured Creature, would never have suffered, and so that match stood in suspense; I say in suspense, for the young Gent[leman] still pursu'd, & would have married her in private, if either my Daughter; or We had don so disingenuously: She & we had principles that would by no meanes suffer us to harken it: At last he's sent for home, continues his Affection, hop[e]s to bring his father to reasonable termes: My Child is taken with his Constancy, his Vertuous breeding, and good nature, & discretion, having beene a fortnight together in my house: This, made us not forward to embrace any other offers, together with the extraordinary indifferency she ever shewed of Marrying at all; for truly says shee to her Mother, (the other day), were I assur'd of your lives & my deare Fathers, never would I part from you, I love you, & this home, where we serve God, above all things in the world, nor ever shall I be so happy: I know, & consider the vicissitudes and changes of the world, I have some experience of its vanities, & but for decency, more than inclination, & that You judge it expedient for me, I would not change my Condition, but rather add the fortune you designe me to my Sisters, & keepe up the reputation of our family: This was so discreetely & sincerely utter'd as, could not proceede but from an extraordinary Child, & one who loved her parents without example: ...

... there was a designe of my Lady Rochester & Clarendon to make her Mayd of [honour] to the Queene, so soone as there was a place empty: but this she did not in the least set her heart upon, nor indeede upon any thing so much as the service of God, [as] a quiet regular life, & how she might improve herselfe in the most necessary accomplishments, & to which she was arived in so greate a measure, as I acknowledge (all partiality of relation layed aside) I never saw, or knew her equal, considering how universal they were; save in one onely Creature of her Sex,

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Mrs. Godolphin, (late the wife of my Lord Godolphin, whose life for the singular piety, Vertue & discretion, (& that she was to me a Friend, in all the peculiar transcendencys of that relation) I have written at large,⁹ and consign'd to my Lady Sylvius (whom she loved above all her Sex) & who requested it of me: And this I mention here, because the Example of that most religious Lady: made I am assured deepe impressions in my deare Child; and that I was told, she caused it to be read to her, at the very beginning of her sicknesse, when She had taken that bed, out of which she never risse, to my insupportable grieffe & sorrow; though never two made more blessed ends: But all this sorrow is selfe-love, whilst to wish them here againe, were to render them miserable who are now in happinesse, and above:

This is the little History, & Imperfect Character of my deare Child, whose Piety, Virtue, & incomparable Endowments, deserve a Monument more durable than brasse & Marble: Precious is the Memorial of the Just - Much I could enlarge on every period of this hasty Account, but thus I ease & discharge my overcoming passion for the present, so many things worthy an excellent Christian & dutifull Child, crowding upon me: Never can I say enough, ô deare, my deare Child whose memory is so precious to me.

This deare child was born at Wotton in Surry, in the same house and roome where I likewise first drew breath, (my wife being retir'd to my bro[ther] there, the greate sicknesse yeare) upon the first of that moneth, & neere the very houre, that I was borne, upon the last: viz: October:

March 16, Monday (1684, Old Style): Was my deare Daughter interr'd in the south east end of the church at Deptford neere her Grand mother & severall of my Younger Children and Relations: my desires were she should have ben carried & layed among my owne Parents & Relations at Wotton, where our Family have a Vault, where she was born, & where I have desire to be interred my selfe, when God shall call me out of this uncertaine transitory life; but some Circumstances did not permit it; & so she was buried here.¹⁰ Our Viccar Dr. Holden preaching her Funerall Sermon on: 1. Phil: 21. For to me to live is Christ, & to die is gaine, upon which he made an apposit discourse (as those who heard it assure me, for grieffe suffer'd me not to be present) concluding with a modest recital of her many vertues, and especialy her signal piety, so as drew both teares, & admiration from the hearers, so universaly was she beloved, & known to deserve all the good that could be sayd of her: & I was not altogether unwilling something of this should be spoken of her, for the edification & encouragement of other young people: There were divers noble persons who honor'd her Obsequies, & funerall, some in person, others in sending their Coaches, of which there were 6 or 7. of six horses viz. Countesse of Sunderland, Earle of Clarendon, Lord Godolphin, Sir St. Fox; Sir William Godolphin, Vis[c]ount Falkland &c [following the hearse of 6 horses &c] there were (besides other decenc[i]es distributed among her friends about 60 rings: Thus lived, died, & was buried the joy of my life & ornament both of her sex & my poore family: God Almighty of his infin[i]te mercy grant me the grace thankfully to resigne my selfe & all I have, or had, to his divine pleasure, & in his good time, restoring health & Comfort to my Family, teach me so to number my days, as I may apply my heart to Wisdome, & be prepared for my dissolution, & that into the hands of my blessed Saviour I may recommend my Spirit. Amen:

Having some days after opened her Trunks, & looked into her Closset, amazed & even astonished we were to find that incredible number of papers and Collections she had made of severall material Authors, both Historians, Poets, Travells &c: but above all the Devotions, Contemplations, & resolutions upon those Contemplations, which we found under her hand in a booke most methodicaly disposed, & much exceeding the talent & usage of [so] young &

9. THE LIFE OF MRS GODOLPHIN, first published in 1847.

10. Still at St. Nicholas, Deptford.



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beautifull women, who consume so much of their time in vaine things: with severall prayers, Meditations, & devotions on divers occasions; with a world of pretty letters to her confidents & others savoring of a greate witt, & breathing of piety & honor: There is one letter to some divine (who is not named) to whom she writes that he would be her Ghostly Father & guide, & that he would not despise her for the many errors & imperfections of her Youth, but beg of God, to give her courage, to acquaint him with all her faults, imploring his assistance, & spiritual direction: & well I remember, that she often desired me to recommend her to such a person, but (though I intended it) I did not think fit to do as it yet, seeing her apt to be scrupulous, & knowing the great innocency & integrity of her life; but this (it seemes) she did of her selfe: ... But as she was a little miracle whilst she lived, so she died with out Example:

March 26, Thursday (Old Style): *I was invited to Cap[tain] Gunmans Funerall, that excellent Pilot, & sea-man, who had behav'd himselfe so valiantly in the Dut[c]h-Warr: taken away by the gangrene which happn'd in his cure, upon his unhappy fall from the peere of Calais: This was the Cap[tain] of the yacht, whom they accused for not giving timely warning, on the Dukes (now the King) going into Scotland, when his ship split upon the Sands, when so many perished: But of which I am most confident, the Cap[tain] was no ways guilty, either through negligence, or designe; as he made appeare not onely at the Examination of the matter of fact; but in the Vindication he shewed me some time since, which must needes give any-man of reason satisfaction: ... He was a sober, frugal, cherefull & temperat man; we have few such sea-men left:*

There [came] to Condole the death of my deare Daughter this Weeke moneday, & friday: The Countesse of Bristoll, Sunderland, La[dy] Sylvius, Mrs. Penelope Godolphin: Sir Stephen Fox & his Lady &c:

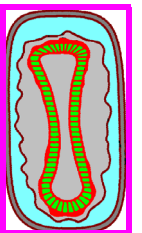
March 29, Sunday (Old Style): *... A servant mayd of my Wifes fell sick of the very same disease, of the same sort of S:pox, & in all appearance in as greate danger, though she never came neere my daughter: we removed her into the Towne with care:*

April 5, Sunday (Old Style): *... Drowsinesse much surpriz'd me: The Lord be gracious to me:*

The mayd, by Gods greate mercy, but with extraordinary difficulty, recovered: Blessed be God:

April 7, Tuesday (Old Style): *Being now somewhat compos'd after my greate affliction, I went to Lond[on] to heare Dr. Tenison (it being [8] a Wednesday in Lent) at Whitehall: who preached on 3. Gen: 3: I returned in the Evening: I observ'd that though the King was not in his seate above in the Chapell, the Doctor made notwithstanding his three congèes, which they were not us'd to do, when the [late] King was absent, making then one bowing onely: I asked the reason: it was sayd, he had special order so to do: The Princesse of Denmarke yet was in the Kings Closset, but sat on the left hand of the Chaire, the clearke of the Closset standing by his Majesties Chaire as if he had ben present: [I met Q[ueen] Dowager going now first from W.hall to dwell at Somerset house.] ...*

July 27, Monday (Old Style): One of [John Evelyn](#)'s daughters eloped with a man, and would soon succumb to the [small pox](#).





THE SMALL POX

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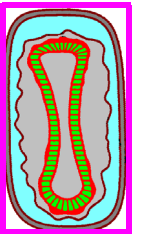
This night when we were all asleepe went my Daughter Eliz: away, to meete a young fellow, nephew to Sir Jo: Tippet (Surveyor of the Navy: & one of the Commissioners) whom she married the next day being Tuesday; without in the least acquainting either her parents, or any soule in the house: I was the more afflicted & [astonish'd] at it, in regard, we had never given this Child the least cause to be thus disobedient, and being now my Eldest, might reasonably have expected a double Blessing: But it afterward appeared, that this Intrigue had ben transacted by letters long before, & [when] she was with my Lady Burton in Licester shire, and by private meetings neere my house: She of all our Children had hitherto given us least cause of suspicion; not onely for that she was yet young, but seemed the most flattering, souple, and observant; of a silent & particular humor; in no sort [betraying] the levity & Inclination which is commonly apparent in Children who fall into these snares; having ben bred-up with the uttmost Circumspection, as to principles of severest honour & Piety: But so far it seemes, had her passion for this Young fellow made her forget her duty, and all that most Indulgent Parents expected from her, as not to consider the Consequence of her folly & disobedience, 'til it was too late: This Affliction went very neere me & my Wife, neither of us yet well compos'd for the untimely losse of that incomparable & excellent Child, which it pleased God to take from us by the small pox a few monethes before: But this farther Chastizement was to be humbly submitted to, as part of the burden God was pleased to lay farther upon us; in this yet the lesse afflictive, That we had not ben wanting in giving her an Education every way becoming us: We were most of all astonish'd at the suddainesse of this action, & the privatenesse of its manegement; the Circumstances also Consider'd & quality, how it was possible she should be flattered so to her disadvantage: He being in no condition sortable to hers, & the Blessing we intended her: The thing has given us much disquiet, I pray God direct us, how to govern our Resentments of her disobedience; and if it be his will, bring good out of all this Ill:

August 16, Sunday (Old Style): [John Evelyn](#) wrote in his diary about the ongoing epidemic of the [small pox](#):

Came newes to us that my undutifull daughter was visited with the small-pox, now universaly very contagious: I was yet willing my Wife should go visite & take care of her:

August 22, Saturday (Old Style): *I went to Lond, to see my unhappy Child, now in greate danger, and carried our Viccar with me, that according to her earnest desire, (being very sensible & penitent for her fault) he might administer to her the H: Sacrament, which he did; & after some time, and her greate submissions & agonies, leaving her to the mercys of God, & her mother with her I returned in the Evening: We had now the newes of the Newhausels being taken by the Christians: There was also this day an universall appearance of the Kings forces at Brainford:*

August 28, Friday (Old Style): *My poore unhappy Daughters sickness increasing, a violent feavor succeeding when her other distemper appeared to be past danger; I went up againe to see, & comfort her, together with our Minister: My disconsolate Wife I left with her, who had ben almost all her sicknesse with her; so I return'd home in greate doubt how God would deale with her, whom the next morning he was pleased to take out of this vale of misery, I humbly trust, to his infinite mercy, though to our unspeakeable affliction, loosing another Child in the flower of her age, who had never 'til now given us cause of any displeasure, but many hopes of Comfort: & thus in lesse than 6 moneths were we depriv'd of two Children for our unworthinesse, & causes best known to God, whom I beseech from the bottome of my heart that he will give us grace to make that right use of all these chastisements that we may become better, and intirely submitt [in] all things to his infinite wise disposal.*





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August 29, Saturday (Old Style): *She departed this life on [Saturday] 29: Aug: at 8 in the Morning: fell sick [& died] on the same day of the weeke, that my other most deare & dutifull daughter did, and as also one of my servants (a very pious youth) had don the yeare before: I beseech God of his mercy Sanctifie this and all my other Afflictions & dispensations to me. His holy will be don Amen.*

August 30, Sunday (Old Style): *This sad accident kept me from the publique service this day being Sondag.*

September 2, Wednesday (Old Style): *My Child was buried by her sister on 2d September in the Church of Deptford:*

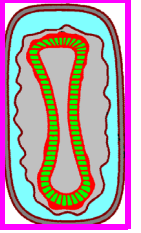


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1690

August 3, Sunday: The 5th major fire in the history of [Boston](#), and the 2d major epidemic of the [small pox](#).



1694

December: [John Evelyn](#)'s diary entries for this month:

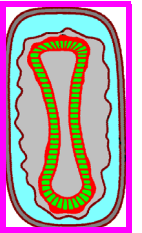
December 9, Sunday (Old Style): ... *My Wife so dangerously ill of a defluction, that I was faine to returne the Coach which my Bro sent to carry us to Wotton: I had newes that my deare & worthy Reverend ffriend Dr. Tenison Bishop of Lincoln, was now made Arch Bishop of Canterbury for which I thank God & rejoyce, he being most worthy of it both for his Learning, Piety & Prudence: I told him the weeke before, that it would be so:*

December 16, Sunday (Old Style): ... *Mr. Wells Curate at Abinger had a letter from me to the A Bishop of Cant to procure him a living in Surrey neere Gildford, in place of one Mr. Gerey, who was unhappily killed, by reaching a Gun to his son in a Tree, watching to shoote some rabbets, the Cock being up as he delivered the but end of the piece to his son it went of & hitting the ffather in the forehead miserably slew him:*

December 22, Saturday (Old Style): *My son & daughter Draper went for Lond[on] to passe the rest of the winter there, having ben kindly with us till now, that my Wife recover'd from her late sicknesse & was able to leave her Chamber:*

December 25, Tuesday (Old Style): *Deptford Our Viccar on 3.Gen:2d. I received the holy Communion: God make me mindfull. Said the Queene ill of the [small pox](#).*

December 29, Saturday (Old Style): *I went together with my Wife to Wotton, for the rest of the Winter; which with long frost & snow was I think the very sharpest I ever past: The [small pox](#) increasing & exceeding[*y*] mortal: Queene Mary died thereoff, full of Spotts: Died the 28: & I think was buried 2 or 3 days after: What this unexpected Accident may produce as to the present Government, many are the discourses, & a little time may shew: The K[ing] seemed mightily afflicted, as indeede it behoved him:*





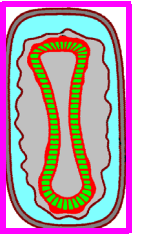
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

18TH CENTURY

1701

The first-mentioned occurrence of the [small pox](#) in the city of Philadelphia: “the smallpox was very mortal and general.”¹¹



11. During this century the [small pox](#) would be killing 400,000 Europeans per year, including a number of the members of the royal families of England, Spain, Russia, and Sweden.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1703

In [Concord](#), Abraham Wood, Joseph French, Stephen Hosmer, John Wheeler, Jonathan Hubbard, and William Wilson were Selectmen.

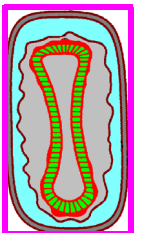
In [Concord](#), Abraham Wood continued as Town Clerk.

In [Concord](#), Jonathan Hubbard continued as Town Treasurer.

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



The older of the two Hunt houses on Monument Street in [Concord](#), pictured below, the unpainted one in the back, was erected in this year by William Hunt and his sons Nehemiah Hunt and Isaac Hunt. The newer part, in front, the part that is painted, would be built around 1800 by a later Nehemiah Hunt. William Henry Hunt (1839-1926), through whose bequest the Hunt Gymnasium would be built, would be the last of the Hunts to live on this site, as he would erect a new house for himself across the road and sell the property on which the old house stood to Russell Robb — who would take it down.



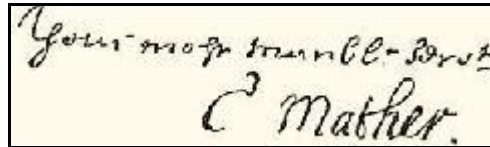
The [small-pox](#) prevailed in the town in 1703; but it does not appear that any died of the disease. In 1792 it was introduced by inoculation. A hospital was fitted up where Mr. Augustus Tuttle now [1835] lives; and 130 persons went there at several times to be inoculated under the care of the three physicians of the town. From some cause the disease spread. It appeared at Amos Wright's (Deacon Jarvis's [Francis Jarvis]), at Cyrus Hosmer's, at Deacon Chandler's, and at Ephraim Potter's. At the last place a new hospital was fitted up where the sick were taken, and near which a small burying-ground and grave-stone now [1835] mark the melancholy ravages of this disease. Ten persons were its victims, - 2 by inoculation and 8 by contagion, - and were buried by themselves; it being considered improper to inter them in the usual ground. Happily for mankind, the terrors which the appearance of this disease once inspired, are much mitigated by kine-pock inoculation.¹²

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1706

The Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) recounted the captivity narrative told to him by [Hannah Emerson Duston](#), in GOOD FETCH'D OUT OF EVIL: A COLLECTION OF MEMORABLES RELATING TO OUR CAPTIVES. (If you remember, Mrs. Duston waited until the children had said their Christian prayers, and had drifted to sleep, before she whacked them on their little heads with a hatchet and recovered their scalps, for the Salem scalp reward, with a knife.) It seems that, on the authority of ancient Jews, if one is armed with sufficient determination one may bring good by doing great harm. Since there is no record that anyone ever has gone broke by underestimating the cupidity of his or her audience, perhaps we will not be surprised to learn that this book sold 1,000 copies in the first week.



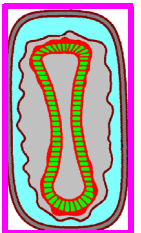
Here then is the manner in which the Reverend's atrocity story is rendered in the 1852 edition of his *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA*; OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND (Volume 2, Article XXV, pages 634-636):

MATHER'S MAGNALIA, I
MATHER'S MAGNALIA, II

[following screens]

The Reverend, also during this year, in his THE NEGRO CHRISTIANIZED, originated the "stewardship" argument which is being recycled today by "religious greens" to justify the pacification of the planet under benevolent human control — that as God's steward each slavemaster had a duty to Christianize his black [slaves](#), to make their souls white as snow.

His congregation made the good Reverend the gift of one black man, who had originated in Burkina Faso and who had as a child there been variolated against the [small pox](#). The Reverend bestowed upon his new slave the name Onesimus, a gift more precious than rubies.



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

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

On March 15, 1697, the salvages made a descent upon the skirts of Haverhill, murdering and captivating about thirty-nine persons, and burning about half a dozen houses. In this broil, one Hannah Dustan, having lain in about a week, attended with her nurse, Mary Neff, a body of terrible Indians drew near unto the house where she lay, with designs to carry on their bloody devastations. Her husband hastened from his employments abroad unto the relief of his distressed family; and first bidding seven of his eight children (which were from two to seventeen years of age) to get away as fast as they could unto some garrison in the town, he went in to inform his wife of the horrible distress come upon them. Ere she could get up, the fierce Indians were got so near, that, utterly despairing to do her any service, he ran out after his children; resolving that on the horse which he had with him, he would ride away with that which he should in this extremity find his affections to pitch most upon, and leave the rest unto the care of the Divine Providence. He overtook his children, about forty rod from his door; but then such was the agony of his parental affections, that he found it impossible for him to distinguish any one of them from the rest; wherefore he took up a courageous resolution to live and die with them all. A party of Indians came up with him; and now, though they fired at him, and he fired at them, yet he manfully kept at the rear of his little army of unarmed children, while they marched off with the pace of a child of five years old; until, by the singular providence of God, he arrived safe with them all unto a place of safety about a mile or two from his house. But his house must in the mean time have more dismal tragedies acted at it. The nurse, trying to escape with the newborn infant, fell into the hands of the formidable salvages; and those furious tawnies coming into the house, bid poor Dustan to rise immediately. Full of astonishment, she did so; and sitting down in the chimney with an heart full of most fearful expectation, she saw the raging dragons rifle all that they could carry away, and set the house on fire. About nineteen or twenty Indians now led these away, with about half a score other English captives; but ere they had gone many steps, they dash'd out the brains of the infant against a tree; and several of the other captives, as they began to tire in the sad journey, were soon sent unto their long home; the salvages would presently bury their hatchets in their brains, and leave their carcasses on the ground for birds and beasts to feed upon. However, Dustan (with her nurse) notwithstanding her present condition, travelled that night about a dozen miles, and then kept up with their new masters in a long travel of an hundred and fifty miles, more or less, within a few days ensuing, without any sensible damage in their health, from the hardships of their travel, their lodging, their diet, and their many other difficulties.

Magnalia Christi Americana :
 OR, THE
Ecclesiastical History
 OF
NEVV-ENGLAND,
 FROM
 Its First Planting in the Year 1620. unto the Year
 of our LORD, 1698.

In Seven BOOKS.

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

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

L O N D O N :
 Printed for *Thomas Parkhurst*, at the *Bible and Three Crowns* in *Cheapside*. MDCCII.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

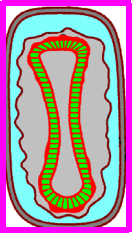
These two poor women were now in the hands of those whose "tender mercies are cruelties;" but the good God, who hath all "hearts in his own hands," heard the sighs of these prisoners, and gave them to find unexpected favour from the master who hath laid claim unto them. That Indian family consisted of twelve persons; two stout men, three women, and seven children; and for the shame of many an English family, that has the character of prayerless upon it, I must now publish what these poor women assure me. 'Tis this: in obedience to the instructions which the French have given them, they would have prayers in their family no less than thrice every day; in the morning, at noon, and in the evening; nor would they ordinarily let their children eat or sleep, without first saying their prayers. Indeed, these idolaters were, like the rest of their whiter brethren, persecutors, and would not endure that these poor women should retire to their English prayers, if they could hinder them. Nevertheless, the poor women had nothing but fervent prayers to make their lives comfortable or tolerable; and by being daily sent out upon business, they had opportunities, together and asunder, to do like another Hannah, in "pouring out their souls before the Lord." Nor did their praying friends among our selves forbear to "pour out" supplications for them. Now, they could not observe it without some wonder, that their Indian master sometimes when he saw them dejected, would say unto them, "What need you trouble your self? If your God will have you delivered, you shall be so!" And it seems our God would have it so to be. This Indian family was now travelling with these two captive women, (and an English youth taken from Worcester, a year and a half before,) unto a rendezvous of salvages, which they call a town, some where beyond Penacook; and they still told these poor women that when they came to this town, they must be stript, and scourg'd, and run the gantlet through the whole army of Indians. They said this was the fashion when the captives first came to a town; and they derided some of the faint-hearted English, which, they said, fainted and swooned away under the torments of this discipline. But on April 30, while they were yet, it may be, about an hundred and fifty miles from the Indian town, a little before break of day, when the whole crew was in a dead sleep, (reader, see if it prove not so!) one of these women took up a resolution to imitate the action of Gael upon Siberia; and being where she had not her own life secured by any law unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by any law to take away the life of the murderers by whom her child had been butchered. She heartened the nurse and the youth to assist her in this enterprize; and all furnishing themselves with hatchets for the purpose, they struck such home blows upon the heads of their sleeping oppressors, that ere they could any of them struggle into any effectual resistance, "at the feet of these poor prisoners, they bow'd, they fell, they lay down; at their feet they bow'd, they fell; where they bow'd, there they fell down dead." Only one squaw escaped, sorely wounded, from them in the dark; and one boy, whom they reserved asleep, intending to bring him away with them, suddenly waked, and scuttled away from this desolation. But cutting off the scalps of the ten wretches, they came off, and received fifty pounds from the General Assembly of the province, as a recompence of their action; besides which, they received many "presents of congratulation" from their more private friends: but none gave 'em a greater taste of bounty than Colonel Nicholson, The Governour of Maryland, who, hearing of their action, sent 'em a very generous token of his favour.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1713

Emanuel Timoni described a method of variolation used in the Near East, that is, the inoculation of at-risk individuals with a weakened strain of the [small pox](#) to make it less likely that they would suffer the full-blown disease which frequently produced disfigurement and blindness.



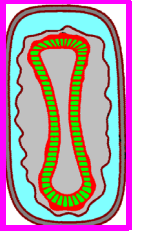


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1715

Lady Mary Pierrepont's great beauty was destroyed by the [small pox](#) (and this would seem to leave her with an abiding interest in the matter).

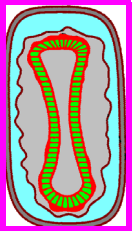


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1716

James Pylarini described a method of variolation used in Smyrna. Lady Mary Pierrepont (as the wife of the then English ambassador to Turkey: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu), in Constantinople, had her small son inoculated with the [small pox](#), and was happy with the outcome. As she would report in a letter dated April 1, 1718,



The small pox, so fatal and so general among us, is here rendered entirely harmless by the invention of grafting, which is the term they give it. There is a set of old women who make it their business to perform the operation... The old woman comes with a nutshell full of the matter of the best sort of smallpox, and asks what veins you please to have opened. She immediately rips open that which you offer to her, with a large needle (which gives you no more pain than a common scratch) and puts into the vein, as much venom as can lie upon the head of her needle, and after that, binds up the wound... The children or young patients ... are in perfect health to the eighth day. Then the fever begins to seize them and they keep to their beds two days, very seldom three ... and in eight days time they are as well as before their illness... Ever year thousands undergo this operation.

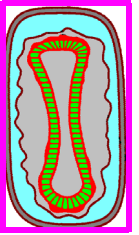


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

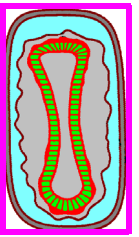
1717

Just west of Long Island and southeast of Castle Island, Spectacle Island had been given its name because its two drumlins, East and West Spectacle, connected by a sandbar at low tide. Up to this point the 97-acre island in Boston Harbor had been privately owned, and had been in use for agriculture since the 1660s, and at this point was entirely owned by a butcher named Samuel Bill — but the city of Boston rented land to make it the site of a quarantine facility or “Pest House” for victims of infectious disease. (Boston would soon opt to put another such Pest House on Deer Island.)



VARIOLA

June: When the [small pox](#) broke out on [St. Helena](#) among [slaves](#) brought from Madagascar, they were quarantined in Lemon Valley.



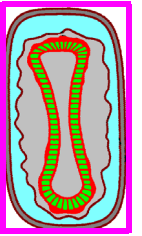


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1720

A more virulent than usual strain of the [small pox](#) appeared, on Foula Island north of Scotland. The people of the island, isolated as they had been for a number of generations from other human populations, had lost all acquired immunity, and nine out of ten immediately died. It seems that this bacillus could decimate, therefore, not merely native American populations, but any human populations that had not maintained resistance through persistent exposure and selection.¹³



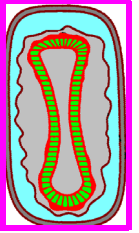
13. In our present era without smallpox the threat that terrorists somewhere (terrorists unconnected with government, or terrorists inside governments) may have maintained supplies of this bacillus, for threat deployment after our acquired immunities have disappeared worldwide, is a terrible threat indeed.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1721

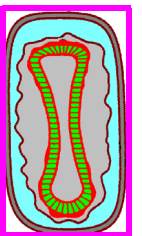
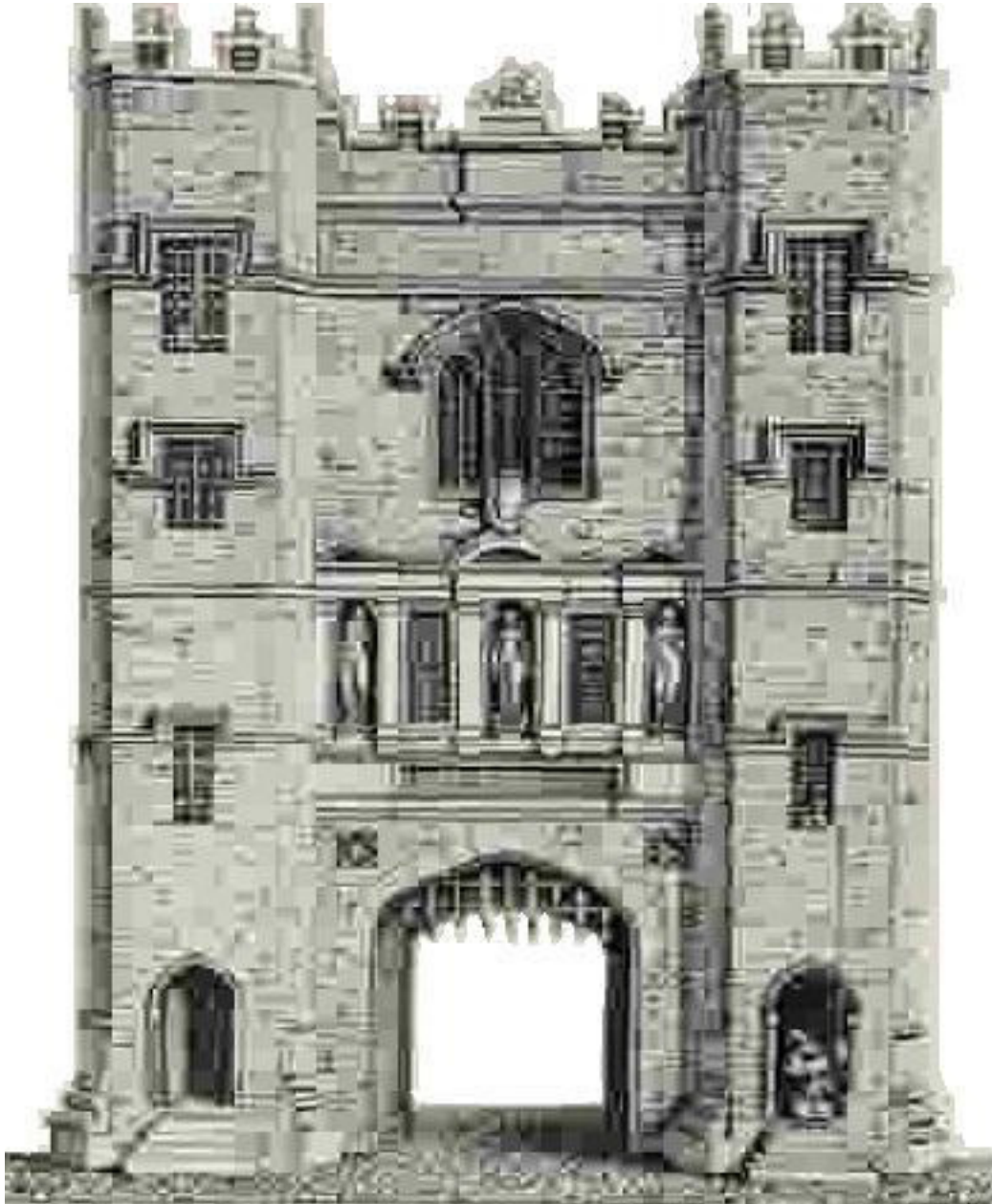
Six prisoners about to be [hanged](#) at Newgate were offered a reprieve if they would risk variolation using live culture of the [small pox](#) (a needed experiment). They did so and, guess what, they survived.



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THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX



August 7, Monday (Old Style): Grandfather [John Comer \(1\)](#) died in [Boston](#), so [John Comer \(3\)](#) went to attend school across Back Bay in Cambridge under Samuel Danforth. However, when the [small pox](#) arrived in Cambridge, the college would close and Comer return to Boston. He had intended to have himself inoculated despite the current controversy over that procedure but, before he could do so, fell ill with the full-blown disease.

John Comer

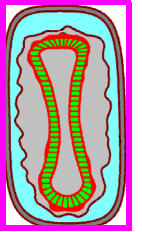


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

April: In an epidemic of the [small pox](#), 844 [Bostonians](#) died.¹⁴

Boston's selectmen enacted an ordinance for the limiting of the public noise of all these funerals. When a white person died of the small pox, according to this ordinance only one bell could be rung, and it could be rung only for a period of six minutes. A when a person died of the small pox, who was not white: "for Indians and Mulattoes, but once for each." —One death one ding.



14. In England during this month, however, having learned of this precautionary procedure from Turkish women in Constantinople, Lady M.W. Montague was being variolated with the [small pox](#). During this year 6 condemned persons in Newgate Prison would be selected, as an experiment, to be variolated and then exposed to the small pox. Those who survived were, in reward, to be released rather than executed. This experiment would be followed by other, larger-scale experiments, and the death rate due to the variolation procedure would be determined to be hovering around roughly 1 in 50.

HDT

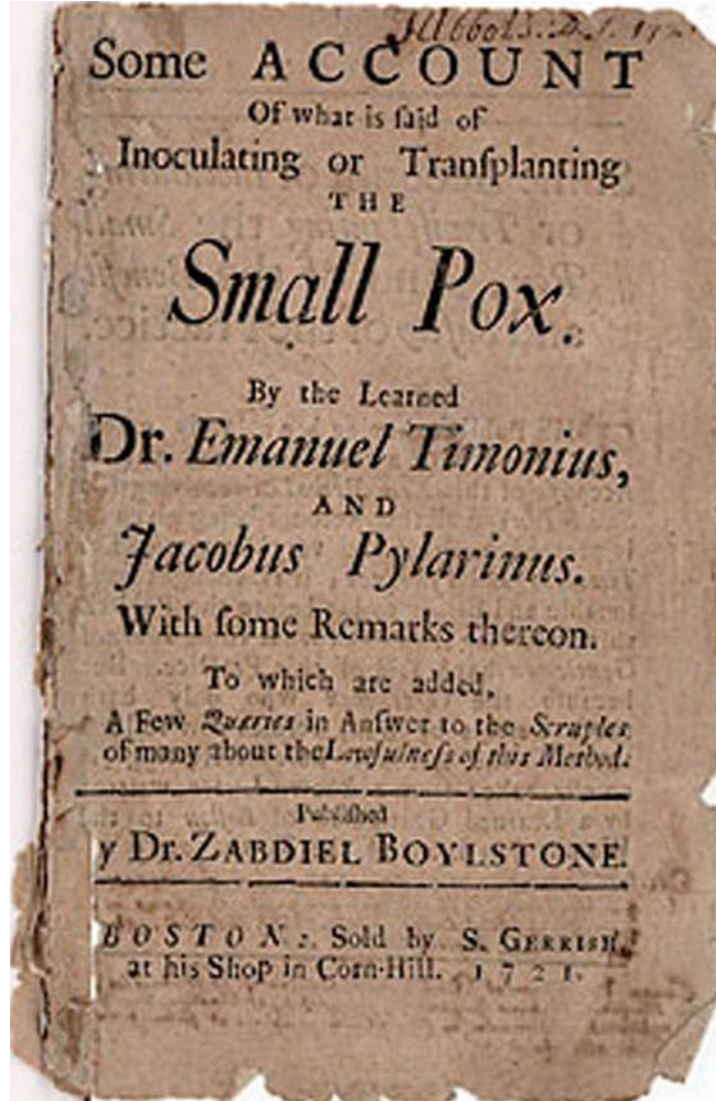
WHAT?

INDEX

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

June 26, Monday (Old Style): Inoculation was being introduced to [Boston](#) by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston.



His home besieged by a Boston mob, he would spend the following two weeks hiding in a secret compartment in the structure.¹⁵



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

The Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) had heard of inoculation from his slave Onesimus or Onesimes, who had been procured for his use by parishioners. Onesimus or Onesimes had been inoculated while still in Africa. The Reverend Mather inoculated two of his other black slaves, as well as his young son Thomas. Although the Reverend Mather had written to Dr. William Douglass, a Scottish physician practicing in Boston who had studied in Edinburgh, Leyden, and Paris, in advance, Dr. Douglass protested in the Franklin paper, the [New England Courant](#), that Dr. Boylston had no physician's license but was merely "a certain cutter for the stone," and that in order to prevent qualified physicians from being able effectively to register their objections, this procedure had been undertaken in haste without allowing them an opportunity to consult.¹⁶ The Reverend Mather spoke out from the pulpit in favor of such experimentation, referring to this inoculation procedure as "transplantation." A "grenado" was then pitched into the Reverend Mather's parsonage with a note tied to it which read:

COTTON MATHER, YOU DOG. DAM YOU! I'LL INOCULATE YOU WITH THIS, WITH A POX TO YOU.

The bomb was a dud and the General Court would offer a reward of £50 for information leading to the conviction of the person who had heaved it.

Judge [Samuel Sewall](#) would be inoculated, and with him his family, whereupon the selectmen, fearing



[infection](#), would require them to relocate to Spectacle Island in Boston Harbor, where there was being maintained in those times a quarantine station referred to as "Province Hospital."

VARIOLA

DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

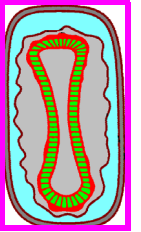
15. We may note that his home was firebombed by white people not because he was advocating that native Americans be inoculated against the [small pox](#), but because he was advocating that white people be inoculated. (Refer to letter by Jeffrey Amherst in 1732, recommending that native Americans be deliberately inoculated with the small pox. Dr. Douglass also suggested this.) Also, I don't know whether either the Reverend's firebombed home, or the home of Dr. Boylston, was on the street that would eventually be named in the doctor's honor, Boylston Street.

16. Inoculation was being determinedly opposed by [Benjamin Franklin](#) and his elder half-brother [James Franklin](#).

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

August 7-14: The first printed proposal that we have currently been able to locate, for deliberately spreading the [small pox](#) among the Indians, was written by Dr. William Douglass, a Scottish physician practicing in Boston who had studied in Edinburgh, Leyden, and Paris, and printed in the [New England Courant](#), for which [Benjamin Franklin](#) worked, in its 2d issue. This was a tongue-in-cheek piece in which Douglass alleged that he had gone to bed the night before with two unrelated items from the journal on his mind –one about the war with the Eastern Indians, the other about the inoculation controversy– and in his sleep they had combined themselves into a new proposal for dealing with the Indian problem. He outlined a dream plan for sending biological warriors among the Indians, paying bounties, etc.



Physician, heal thyself!

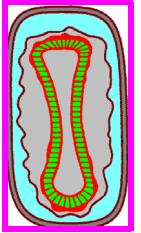
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1722

Recovering from the [small pox](#), [John Comer \(3\)](#) returned to college in Cambridge (the epidemic would continue in [Boston](#)).

John Comer

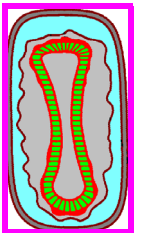


This was the year in which the Massachusetts Bay Colony issued the first fractional currency.

January 1, Monday (1721, Old Style): The Philadelphia [Weekly Mercury](#) reported a London sermon by the Reverend Mr. Edmund Massey against the inoculation of the [Small Pox](#), which he described as “an unjustifiable art, an infliction of an evil, and a distrust of God’s over-ruling care to procure us a possible future good!”

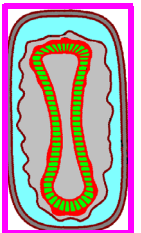
It seems the Reverend was against inoculation — because God makes us ill in order to punish us for our sins:

The fear of disease is a happy restraint to men.... Let the Atheist and the Scoffer inoculate. Their hope is in and for only this life. The rest of us bless God for the Afflictions He sends among us, and grant us patience under them.



March 30, Friday (Old Style): A report from [Newport, Rhode Island](#):

There has been lately a surprizing Appearance been seen at Narraganset, which is the Occasion of much Discourse here, and is variously represented; but for the Substance of it, it is a matter of Fact beyond Dispute, it having been seen by Abundance of People, and one Night about 20 Persons at the same time, who came together for that Purpose. The Truth as near as we can gather from the Relations of several Persons, is as follows: This last Winter there was a Woman died at Narraganset of the [Small Pox](#), and since she was buried there has happened upon her Grave chiefly, in various other Places, a bright Light as the appearance of Fire. This Appearance commonly begins about 9 or 10 of the Clock at Night, and sometimes as soon as it is dark. It Appears variously as to Time, Place, Shape and Magnitude but commonly on or above the Grave, and sometimes about and upon the Barn and Trees adjacent; sometimes in several Parts, but





THE SMALL POX

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commonly in one entire Body. The first Appearance is commonly small, but increases to a great Bigness and Brightness so that in a dark Night They can see the Grass and Barque of the trees very plainly; and when it is at its Heighth they can see Sparks fly from the Appearance like Sparks of Fire, and the likeness of a Person in the midst wrapt in a Sheet with its Arms folded. This Appearance moves with incredible Swiftness sometimes the Distance of Half a Mile from one Place to another in the Twinkling of an eye. It commonly appears every Night, and continues till Break of Day. A Woman in the Neighbourhood says she has seen it every Night for these six Weeks past.

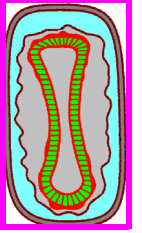


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1726

A ship from Bristol in England disembarked its passengers with the [small pox](#) at the Swedes' church below Philadelphia. These persons were then conducted through the woods to Blue-House Tavern, out South street, so they would be able to recuperate without alarming the city's inhabitants.



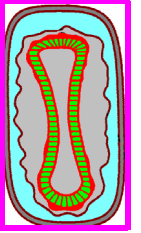


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1729

Many ships entering Boston Harbor were required to lay over at the Pest Houses on Spectacle Island and Deer Island, including Irish ships with [small pox](#) victims.

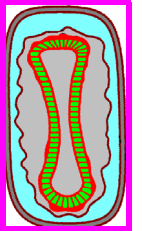


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1730

In Philadelphia this would be known as the year of the “great mortality from the [small pox](#).” George Claypole, who had married Cromwell’s daughter Deborah, died of it. (Deborah Cromwell Claypole herself would live to be upwards of 90 years of age.) On borrowed money [Benjamin Franklin](#) bought out the other participants in his enterprise, to become sole proprietor.

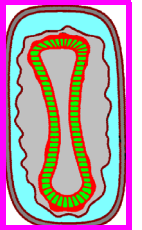


In the [Cherokee](#) Nation one person out of every four died during this outbreak of the [small pox](#). Nancy Ward was born.

At [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was seen an [Aurora Borealis](#).

ASTRONOMY

After a death due to the [small pox](#), citizens exhibiting symptoms were quarantined on an island in Coasters Harbor.



A mob attempted to tear apart the local jail.

On Long Island the Reverend Henry Loveall, also known as “Desolate Baker,” was exposed and disgraced.

THE SMALL POX

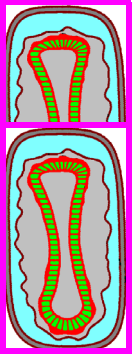
THE SMALL POX

1731

In New-York, a small pox epidemic killed 478 whites and 71 blacks.

March: The Philadelphia Gazette reported the success of an experiment: “The practice of inoculation for the smallpox begins to grow among us. J. Growden, Esq., the first patient of note that led the way, is now upon the recovery.”

VARIOLA





THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1736

In this year or the following one [Broteer Furro \(Venture Smith\)](#), who had been returned to his father's tribe, would after six months back at home be taken by a tribe originating about 150-200 miles to the east around the region called Anamaboo on the coast of present-day Ghana, about 6,000 strong, "instigated by some white nation." He and others were force-marched some 400-500 miles to the west. He and others of his tribe were marched as captives to one or another of the slave castles that lined this coast. Broteer Furro was rowed out to a [Rhode Island](#) vessel officered by Captain Collingwood¹⁷ and Mate Thomas Mumford. Once on board, he was purchased by the vessel's steward, Robert Mumford, as a private investment, for four gallons of rum and a piece of calico. This [slavetrader](#) would give the name "Venture" to Broteer Furro as an indication of his new status as Robert Mumford's private investment. The vessel would be carrying a total of 260 in its cargo for the [Middle Passage](#), of whom at least 60 would die in transit of the [small pox](#).

My father discovered the [invaders] and immediately began to discharge arrows at them. This alarmed both me and the women, who, being unable to make any resistance, betook ourselves to the tall, thick reeds not far off, and left the old king to fight alone. For some time I beheld him defending himself with great courage and firmness, till at last he was obliged to surrender. My father was closely interrogated respecting his money. But as he gave them no account of it, he was instantly cut and pounded on his body. All this availed not in the least to make him give up his money, but the continued torment obliged him to sink and expire. He thus died without informing his enemies where his money lay. The shocking scene is to this day fresh in my memory. After destroying the old prince, [the enemy] decamped and marched towards the sea lying to the west, taking with them myself and the women prisoners.

All the march I had very hard tasks imposed on me. I was obliged to carry on my head a large flat stone used for grinding our corn, weighing as much as 25 pounds; besides victuals, mat, and cooking utensils. Though I was pretty large and stout [for] my age, yet these burdens were very grievous to me, being only six years and a half old.

We were then come to a place called in Africa, Anamaboo. The enemies' provisions were then almost spent, as well as their strength. [Knowing this,] the inhabitants attacked them, and took [their] prisoner, flocks, and all their effects.

I was then taken a second time. I and other prisoners were put on board a canoe and rowed away to a vessel belonging to Rhode Island. I was bought on board by one Robert Mumford, a steward of said vessel, for four gallons of rum and a piece of calico, and called Venture on account of his having purchased me with his own private venture.

After an ordinary passage, except great mortality by the small pox, which broke out on board, we arrived at the island of Barbados, but when we reached it, there were found, out of the 260 that sailed from Africa, not more than 200 alive.

17. This Captain may well have been the James Collingwood who in 1740 commanded the *Charming Betty* as a privateer vessel out of [Rhode Island](#), and the slaver vessel in question may well have been the *Charming Betty* in a previous existence, since in 1733 it had been used to transport German immigrants from the Palatinate to Philadelphia, and since late in 1740 it would arrive in the port of Philadelphia with a shipment of fine cloth and spices which included not only English goods but also goods from the Caribbean.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

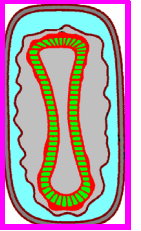
Fall: [John Bartram](#) traveled toward the headwaters of the Schuylkill River in the Pennsylvania mountains.

BOTANIZING

Over this period until the following spring in Philadelphia, of the 129 persons who had been inoculated against [small pox](#) only one, a child, would die.

This situation did not, however, obtain among Philadelphians who had elected not to seek inoculation:

- un-inoculated whites under 12 years of age 63 deaths
- un-inoculated adult white men and women 33 deaths
- un-inoculated negroes young and old 28 deaths
- un-inoculated mulattoes 4 deaths



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

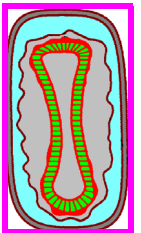
1737

During this year or the following one [Venture Smith](#) was taken on the [Middle Passage](#) from the coast of Africa to Barbados, where 196 of the perhaps 200 [slaves](#) who had survived the [small pox](#) would be sold and four, including him, would be taken on to New England. He had “completed his eighth year” by the time he arrived at Robert Mumford’s home on Fishers Island, which although it was just off the coast of [Connecticut](#) and [Rhode Island](#) was considered part of the [New York](#) colony.

The first of the time of living at my master’s place, I was pretty much employed at the house, carding wool and other household business. In this situation I continued for some years, after which my master put me to work out of doors. My behavior had as yet been submissive and obedient. I then began to have hard tasks imposed on me. Some of these were to pound four bushels of ears of corn every night for the poultry, or be rigorously punished. At other seasons of the year, I had to card wool until a very late hour. These tasks I had to perform when only about nine years old.

[Boston](#)’s facility to quarantine persons with the [small pox](#) and other infectious diseases was moved from Spectacle Island to Rainsford Island in Quincy Bay, where the remains of hundreds of victims are now supposed to be lying in an island cemetery. One of the inscriptions on a grave on Rainsford reads:

**NEARBY THESE GREY ROCKS
ENCLOSED IN A BOX
LIES HATTER COX
WHO DIED OF SMALLPOX**



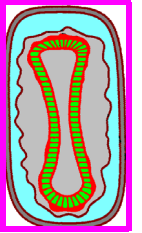


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1738

English trader James Adair would assert that in this year “the [Cherokee](#) received a most depopulating shock by the [small pox](#), which reduced them almost one-half, in about a year’s time: it was conveyed into Charles-town by the Guinea-men, and soon after among them, by the infected goods.” He might have been referring to slaves from the Guinea coast but most likely was referring to the slavers. In April 1738 a negrero, the *London Frigate*, had offloaded its human cargo on the barrier island north of Charleston without the usual quarantine procedures. Disease had exploded through the countryside infecting both the settler and native population. In Charleston it affected people “s. extensively that there were not a sufficient number of persons i. health to attend the sick, and many persons perished from neglect and want.” The [South Carolina Gazette](#) indicated that 647 whites and 1028 blacks contracted the disease, of whom 157 whites and 138 blacks died in Charleston. Local physicians resorted to the controversial practice of inoculation and only 16 of the 683 who received inoculation died. The anxiety of the authorities at the loss of revenues from the Indian trade because of the decimation in the population was such that Dr. Thomas Dale, a physician, judge, and member of the government inner circle, was dispatched to inoculate various of the tribes (this apparently raised some suspiciousness). Trade with the Cherokee was halted for about 18 months and when it resumed the remaining Cherokee underwent another major mortality event — a spasm of suicide as survivors viewed their scarred faces in the mirrors sent as trade goods.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1740

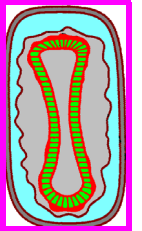
January 29, Tuesday (1739, Old Style): According to the [Concord](#) Town Record, “Jonas Wheeler ye son of Benjamin Wheeler and Rebekah his Wife died January.29:1739/40”

In [The Pennsylvania Gazette](#) we find an advertisement that indicates that black slaves who had survived the smallpox were worth more money on the open market than those who had not yet had this often-fatal disease:

TO BE SOLD, A Likely young **Negro** Fellow, by Trade a Bricklayer and Plaisterer, has had the [Small Pox](#). Enquire of the **Printer** hereof.

SLAVERY

FRANKLIN



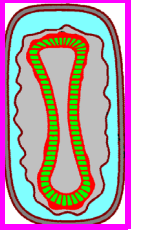


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1746

Religious scruples against [small pox](#) inoculation had not yet subsided in Philadelphia, as witness this journal entry: “Two or three persons (in one month) have the smallpox, having got it at New York. Inoculation he dislikes, because it seems clear to him that we, who are only tenants, have no right to pull down the house that belongs only to the landlord who built it!”





THE SMALL POX

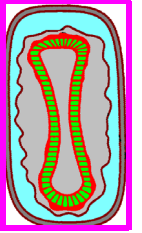
THE SMALL POX

1747

[Gilbert White](#) was ordained and received his first temporary curacy. In October he was a victim of the [small pox](#).

The language of birds is very ancient, and, like other ancient modes of speech, very elliptical: little is said, but much is meant and understood.

– [Gilbert White](#)'s THE NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF SELBORNE, as quoted on page 417 of William Least Heat-Moon's PrairyErth (a deep map) [Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1991].



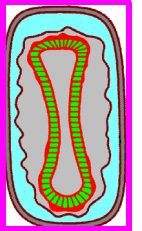


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1752

January-August: The longest epidemic of the [small pox](#) in the history of the town of [Boston](#). There were 5,544 persons affected, 514 of whom died. It was quickly noted that among those who had deliberately induced the disease according to prevailing British custom in such a manner as hopefully to mute its severest effects, 1 in 7 had died, while of the 2,109 persons who had followed the precise advice of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston and of the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#)'s slave in having themselves previously variolated in the African manner, only 31 had died, or 1 in 68.



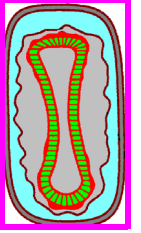


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1755

The 1st outbreak of [small pox](#) in Cape Town, South Africa, brought by sailors, spread rapidly inland killing uncounted Khoisan hunters and herders.

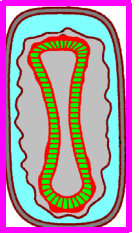


THE SMALL POX

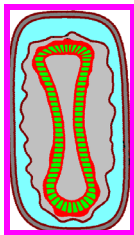
THE SMALL POX

1757

Spring: The [Reverend Gideon Hawley](#) made a 2d attempt to return to his mission among the Six Nations at the town of Oquaga on the Susquehanna River near what is now Windsor, New York, but this was made impossible by an outbreak of [small pox](#) among the natives.



August 18, Thursday: In [The Pennsylvania Gazette](#) we find an advertisement that indicates that black slaves who had survived the smallpox were worth more money on the open market than those who had not yet had this often-fatal disease:



To be SOLD, A Likely **Negro** Girl, fourteen Years old, has had the [Smallpox](#), and is fit for Town or Country Service. Enquire of the **Printer**.

SLAVERY

FRANKLIN





THE SMALL POX

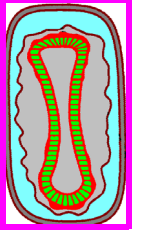
THE SMALL POX

1758

March 22, Wednesday: [Jonathan Edwards](#) died after receiving a [small pox](#) inoculation.

[AN EARLY BIOGRAPHY](#)

[ANOTHER BIOGRAPHY](#)



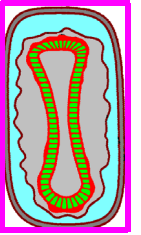


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1760

At about this teenage point in his life, [Thomas Jefferson](#) was visiting the vicinity of Philadelphia, staying in a cottage near the Schuylkill River away from the city itself in order to have himself inoculated against the [small pox](#).



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.

THE SMALL POX

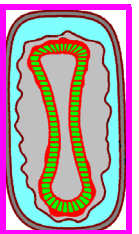
THE SMALL POX

1763

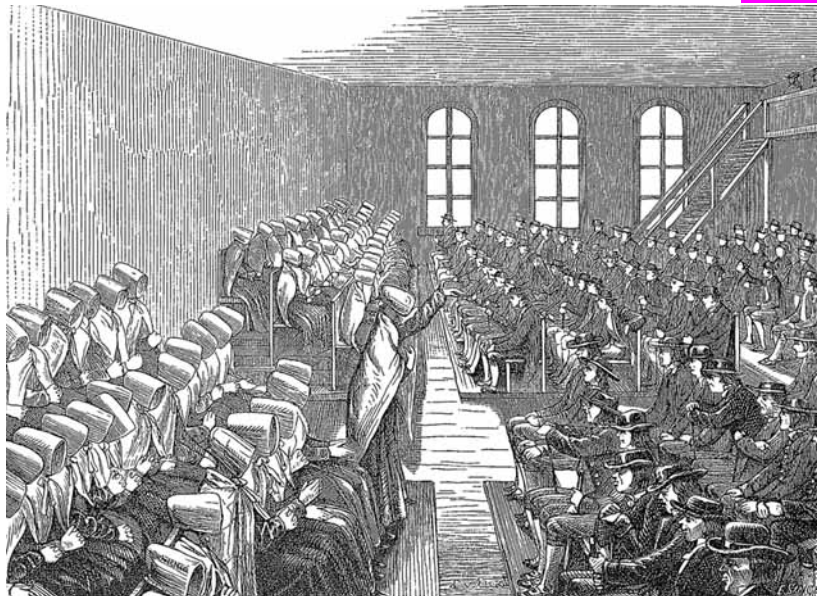
In this year Friend [John Woolman](#) wrote A PLEA FOR THE POOR, and warned the [Quakers](#) of [Nantucket Island](#) to beware of [small pox](#) inoculation and other such worldly practices that might display a suspicious lack of faith in God’s providence.



Those who inoculated their children against the disease, he recommended, should be disowned and driven from the faith community.¹⁸ (Ironically, in 1772, while attending a Quaker meeting in England, Friend John would die of the small pox.)



QUAKER DISOWNMENT



Here is an attitude Friend John expressed toward the frivolous arts: “There came a man to Mount Holly who had previously published a printed advertisement that at a certain public-house he would show many wonderful operations, which were therein enumerated. At the appointed time he did, by sleight of hand, perform sundry things which appeared strange to the spectators. Understanding that the show was to be

18. JOURNAL, Chapter IX 1763-1769 “Account of John Smith’s Advice and of the Proceeding of a Committee at the Yearly Meeting in 1764. Contemplations on the Nature of True Wisdom. Visit to the Families of Friends at Mount Holly, Mansfield, and Burlington, and to the Meetings on the Sea-Coast from Cape May towards Squan. Some Account of Joseph Nichols and his Followers. On the different State of the first Settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own Labour, compared with those of the Southern Provinces who kept Negroes. Visit to the Northern Parts of New Jersey and the Western Parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania, also to the Families of Friends at Mount Holly and several Parts of Maryland. Further Considerations on Keeping Slaves, and his Concern for having been a Party to the Sale of One. Thoughts on Friends exercising Offices in Civil Government.”

THE SMALL POX

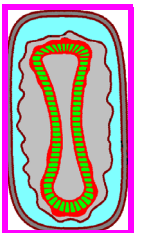
THE SMALL POX

repeated the next night, and that the people were to meet about sunset, I felt an exercise on that account. So I went to the public-house in the evening, and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then, sitting down by the door, I spoke to the people in the fear of the Lord, as they came together, concerning this show, and laboured to convince them that their thus assembling to see these sleight-of-hand tricks, and bestowing their money to support men who, in that capacity, were of no use to the world, was contrary to the nature of the Christian religion. One of the company endeavoured to show by arguments the reasonableness of their proceedings herein; but after considering some texts of Scripture and calmly debating the matter he gave up the point. After spending about an hour among them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.”¹⁹



June 23, Thursday: [Joséphine de Beauharnais](#) was born in Martinique.

Colonel Henry Bouquet wrote to General Sir Jeffery Amherst, indicating that he would be leading fresh troops to Fort Pitt because Captain Ecuyer there had reported an outbreak of the [small pox](#) among the soldiers stationed there.



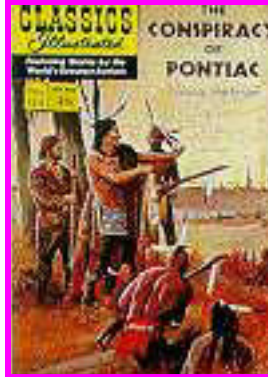
NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JUNE 23D, 1763 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

19. “Religious Conversation with a Company met to see the Tricks of a Juggler” in JOURNAL, ed. Rufus Jones. Available online. A slightly different version is found in THE JOURNAL AND MAJOR ESSAYS OF JOHN WOOLMAN, ed. Phillips P. Moulton (Richmond IN: Friends United Press, 1989) 138f.

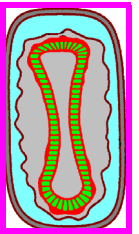
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

June 25, Saturday: Under the leadership of the Ottawa *sachem* Pontiac, the warriors of various tribes had allied with the French (who were always outnumbered by the English by at least 15 to 1 and who were relying upon their superior ability to gain the confidence of, and form military alliances with, the native American tribes) were operating according to guerrilla tactics. On this day Colonel Henry Bouquet wrote to General Sir Jeffery Amherst expressing the sentiment with regard to “those disaffected tribes of Indians,” that they were “Vermine,” and that they had “forfeited all claim to the rights of humanity.” He continued that “I would rather chuse the liberty to kill any Savage.”



The response of Colonel Bouquet, one of General Amherst’s primary field officers, would be the same as the response which would be made by the New England colonials during their genocide of 1675-1676, and the same as the response which would be made by General Andrew Jackson during his enslavement-raids in Florida among the Black Seminole bands, and the same as the response to guerrilla warfare which would be made by the US Cavalry under General George Armstrong Custer in 1868-1876, and the same as the response which would be made by [Adolf Hitler](#)’s *Wehrmacht* during its march across Poland in 1941.



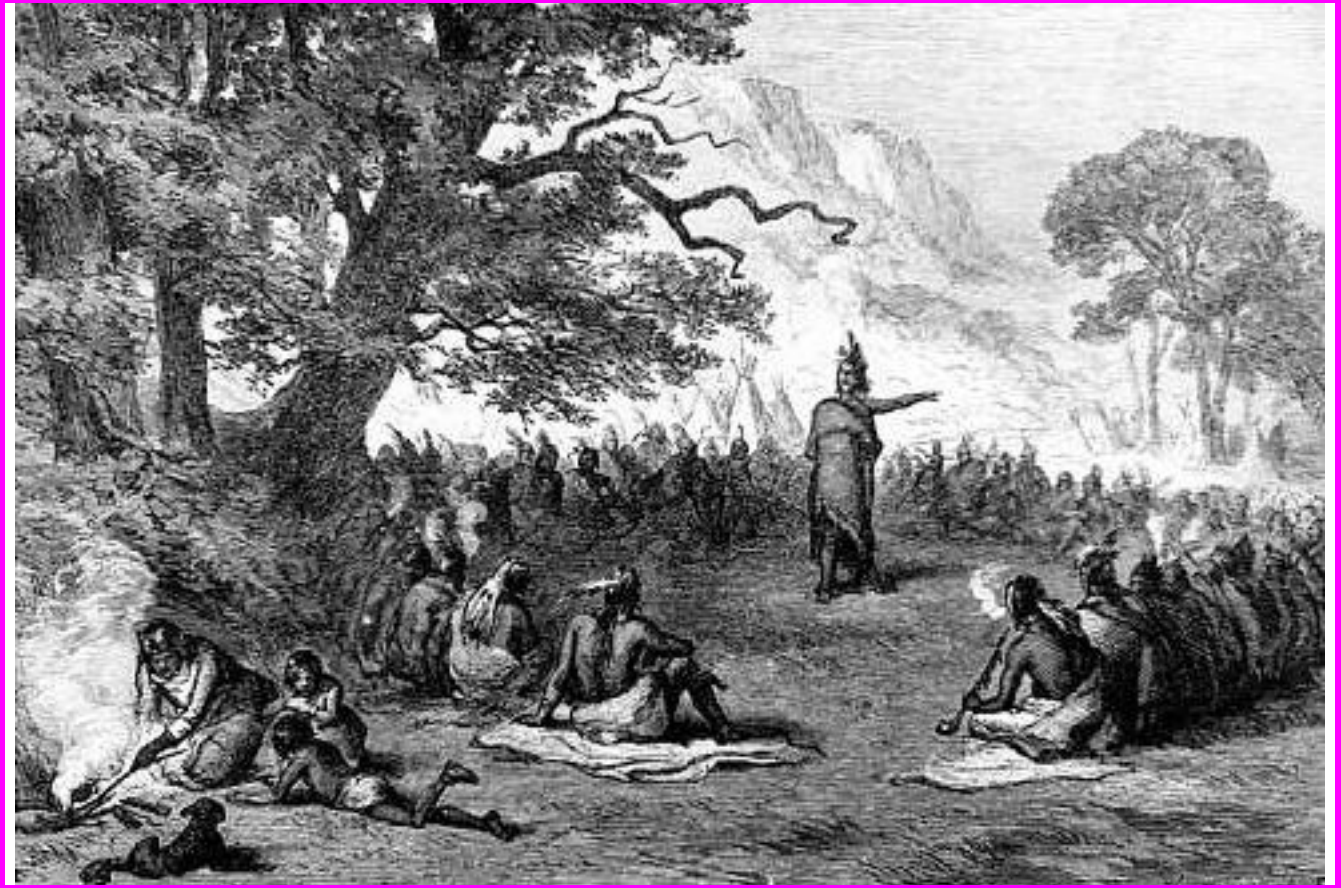
VARIOLA

Which is to say, villages, crops, and orchards would be searched out and torched, and all nonwhite women and

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children who could be trapped in the process would immediately be executed.



Sir Jeffery also at this point took action to implement his [germ warfare](#) recommendation of 1732, by soliciting from his subordinate:



Could it not be contrived to Send the Small Pox among those Disaffected Tribes of Indians? We must on this occassion use every stratagem in our power to reduce them.

VARIOLA

In an article in the New York [Times](#) for April 11, 1998, OP-ED page A25, column 2, titled “Biological Warfare, Circa 1750,” Elizabeth A. Penn, a doctoral candidate in history at Yale, has alleged without citation that:



In fact, Amherst was wasting his ink, for the soldiers at Fort Pitt were well ahead of him. Without their commander’s prompting, they had given local Shawnee and Delaware Indians two infected blankets and a handkerchief on June 24.

The subordinate Bouquet did respond obediently that he would make the attempt with infected blankets, but feared he might infect his own men. The subordinate then proposed using “the Spanish method,” which was a combination of light horsemen and forest rangers with hunting dogs, to “effectually extirpate or remove that

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vermin” at smaller risk. General Amherst allowed his Colonel to proceed, although he did not himself consider the hunting dog angle to be practical. George Parkman stated in *THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC* (Volume 2, pages 39-40 in the new Bison edition) that although an epidemic raged among the Ohio Indians “a few months after” the exchange of correspondence, he knew of no evidence that Colonel Bouquet actually had obeyed that [small pox](#) order.



“The man’s [Sir Jeffery Amherst] documentary record speaks loudly enough regarding his character, if not regarding his ultimate culpability for the [small pox](#) that struck Indians near Fort Pitt in 1763 and 1764.”

— Elizabeth A. Fenn,
“Biological Warfare in 18th-Century North America”



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.



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THE SMALL POX

THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.

July 7, Thursday: In a memorandum that seems to be a postscript to a letter of this date from General Sir Jeffery Amherst to Colonel Henry Bouquet, the following was proposed: “Could it not be contrived to Send the Small Pox among those Disaffected Tribes of Indians? We must, on this occasion, Use Every Stratagem in our power to Reduce them.”



VARIOLA

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.

phthisis

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

phthisis

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

July 9, Saturday: The Mozart family arrived in Ludwigsburg hoping to play for Karl Eugen, Duke of Württemberg — unfortunately, he was not there.

Olimpiade, an opera seria by Antonio Sacchini to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Nuovo of Padua. This was a glittering success and would lead to more performances throughout [Italy](#).

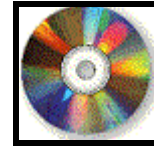
The rebuilt Kärntnertortheater opened in Vienna (the old structure had burned during November 1761).

General Sir Jeffery Amherst wrote to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of the Northern Indian Department, about the “disaffected tribes,” indicating “Measures to be taken as would Bring about the Total Extirpation of those Indian Nations.”

VARIOLA

“The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlers will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians.”

— Lyman Frank Baum, author of the Oz books



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



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

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 MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.

July 13, Wednesday: Colonel Henry Bouquet wrote to General Sir Jeffery Amherst and in a postscript suggested proposing [germ warfare](#) by distribution of [small pox](#) blankets, evidently from the outbreak that had recently occurred among the soldiers at Fort Pitt, to “inoculate the Indians.”

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.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

July 16, Saturday: General Sir Jeffery Amherst wrote to Colonel Henry Bouquet and in a postscript approved his plan for [germ warfare](#) by distribution of [small pox](#) blankets to “inoculate the Indians.” He suggested as well that they ought “to try Every other method that can serve to Extirpate this Execrable Race.”

You will do well to try to inoculate the Indians by means of blankets in which smallpox patients have slept, as well as by every other method that can serve to extirpate this execrable race. I should be very glad if your scheme of hunting them down by dogs could take effect.

Several months earlier Captain Simeon Ecuyer, the besieged commander at Fort Pitt during Pontiac’s War, had already attempted precisely this germ maneuver. William Trent, a local militia leader and fur-trader, described the attempt in his journal: “... we gave them two Blankets and an Handkerchief out of the Small Pox Hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect.” However, Captain Ecuyer’s attempt at red genocide had been utterly ineffective, because, as we now realize, it is rather more difficult to transmit the smallpox bacillus in this manner than they had been contemplating, due to it drying out so quickly and becoming inactive (to achieve ready transmission it needs to remain moist and warm, and thus it is best transmitted by coughing within an enclosed space).²⁰

July 26, Tuesday: Colonel Henry Bouquet wrote to General Sir Jeffery Amherst acknowledging his approval of plans for native American genocide and stating that “all your Directions will be observed.”

VARIOLA

20. Need I point out that General Amherst’s feckless proposal was hardly a **first**? It has been of great interest to me that, in the cross-pollination of the New World and the Old World which occurred in the 16th Century, the normally inflexible statistical laws of epidemiology did not obtain. That is to say, one would have expected in accordance with the well-understood parameters of epidemiology that where the human populations were denser, and subject to greater rates of mixing, that is to say, in the national states of Europe, we should have seen a greater rate of mortality, and where the human populations were unquestionably, considerably less dense, and the barriers to mixing much greater, that is to say, in tribal North and Central America, we should have seen a lesser rate of mortality, while in fact precisely the opposite seems to have obtained. (This, to me, raises the specter that the recorded instance of General Amherst’s proposal for germ warfare against the native populations was not unique, and not a precedent, but is simply one early record of a long-standing tradition of European germ warfare against indigenous populations. And I am reminded here that it was Prime Minister [Winston Churchill](#)’s early experience of warfare against African indigenes which persuaded him as to the merits of germ warfare, upon which during WWII he became so insistent that the USA actually set up a germ bomb factory for him outside Terre Haute, Indiana. Try finding out about this germ bomb factory of WWII vintage by writing off to your government under the Freedom of Information Act, if you have no better way to waste your time — that manufacturing plant was managed for the US government by the local chapter of the Indiana Ku Klux Klan and some of my Long uncles and great-uncles worked in it. My point here is that we are commonly able to grasp that “instances of record” is merely a subset of “instances,” except that in the case of outrageous accusations such as the accusation that white people commit genocide against non-white people there is considered to be no plausibility to the suspicion that there are likely to have been instances which were not placed upon the record.)

GERM WARFARE



HDT

WHAT?

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THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

August 7, Sunday: General Sir Jeffery Amherst wrote to George Croghan, Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, expressing an attitude toward native Americans in general that “their Total Extirpation is scarce sufficient Attonement.”

VARIOLA



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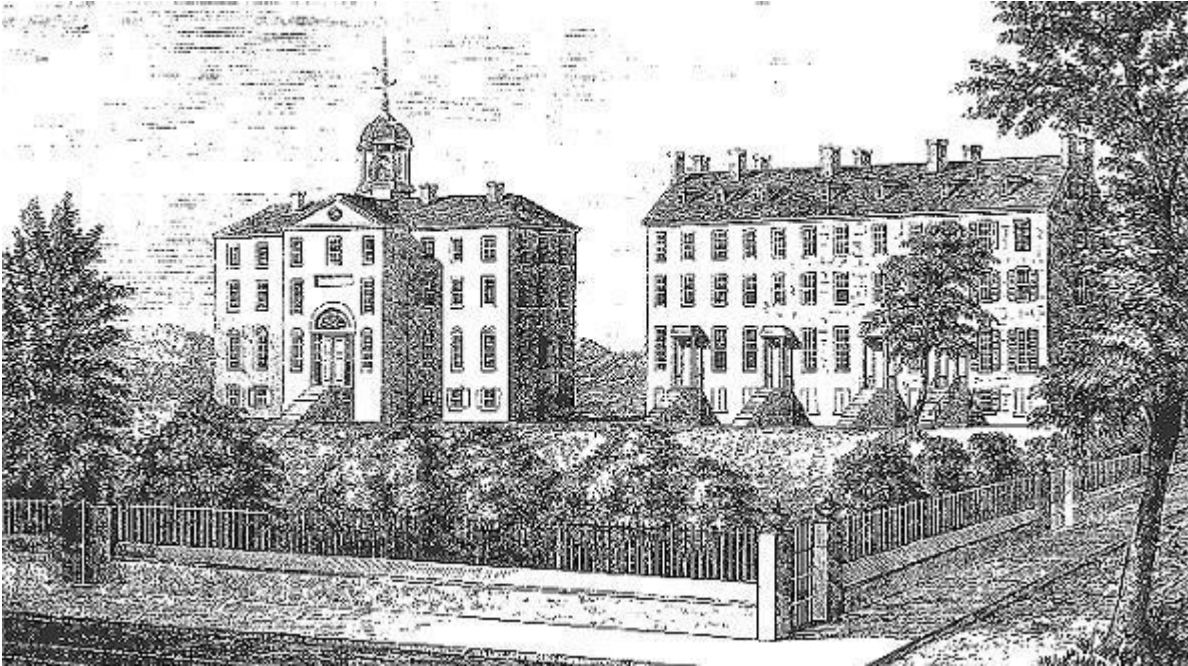
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

August 27, Saturday: General Sir Jeffery Amherst wrote to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of the Northern Indian Department, expressing that his intention with regard to native Americans in general was to “put a most Effectual Stop to their very Being.”

VARIOLA

General Amherst had at this point risen to be Commander-in-Chief of all British forces in North America.



Amherst College

CONTINGENCY

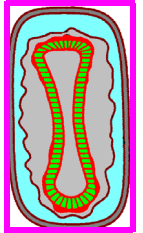
ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1764



January-April: In [Boston](#), an epidemic of the [small pox](#). One of our problems with the virus, it would appear, is that being quite a bit larger than most, it is also quite a bit hardier. The virus which causes AIDS, for instance, given a few minutes exposure to ordinary air and ordinary temperatures and ordinary humidities and ordinary daylight, is a goner — shriveled up and quite defunct. By way of contrast, *variola* can be dormant in a human corpse in a grave for a number of years, and upon the slightest contact produce fresh and virulent cases of the small pox.

In this timeframe [Concord](#) was scheming to make itself the “shire town” of a new county, Middlesex, that would encompass the towns of Sudbury, Framingham, Marlborough, Groton, Chelmsford, Billerica, Stow, Littleton, Bedford, Dunstable, Westford, Dracut, and North Town [?].

In 1814 efforts to establish [Concord](#) as the principal shire town, where the county records should be kept, were made for the last time. And it may not be amiss in this place to give a brief history of these efforts.²¹

The County of Worcester was incorporated April 2, 1731; and in the following winter a convention of delegates from several towns in Middlesex was held in Concord; and, by adjournment, May 26, 1732, when it was agreed to petition the General Court to have the towns of Concord, Sudbury, Framingham, Marlborough, Groton, Chelmsford, Billerica, Stow, Littleton, Bedford, Dunstable, Westford, Dracut, and North Town [?], incorporated into a separate county, of which Concord was to be the shire town. Messrs. Benjamin Whittemore and John Fox were chosen, by Concord to aid the object. It does not appear, however, that any definite measures were taken.

In 1763, petitions were again presented from several towns and the agents had a hearing in January, 1764. Captain Abel Lawrence and others of Groton and the adjacent towns, renewed the petition, at the following June session, to have the western part of Middletown and the northern part of Worcester erected into a separate county. These petitions were continued under agitation till 1766. Remonstrances were sent in by the town of [Concord](#), and others more easterly; and also petitions for

21. During the colony charter, the county records were held alternately at Cambridge and [Charlestown](#). After the second charter, a new organization of the courts took place. In 1692 the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, were established, and ordered to sit at Cambridge on the 2d Tuesday of September, at [Charlestown](#), on the 2d Tuesday of December and March; and at [Concord](#), last Tuesday of August. In 1751 the session at Concord was altered to the 1st Tuesday of September. In 1765 at [Charlestown](#) on the 1st Tuesday of March and last Tuesday of November; at Cambridge, 3d Tuesday of May and at Concord, 2d Tuesday of September. In 1770, at Cambridge, 3d Tuesday of May; at [Charlestown](#) 2d Tuesday of March and last Tuesday of November; and at Concord, 1st Tuesday of September. November 9, 1775, both the sessions before held at [Charlestown](#), were ordered to be held at Concord at the same time. In 1778, a session was ordered at Groton, 3d Tuesday of May and at Cambridge last Tuesday of September, and at Cambridge last Tuesday of November. In 1795, an additional session at Concord, 3d Tuesday of May. In 1796 all the sessions were altered from Tuesday to Monday. In 1797, at Cambridge, the Monday next preceding the last Tuesday of November, and at concord the Monday next preceding the 3d Tuesday of March, 1st Monday of June, and 2nd Tuesday of September, and at Cambridge 3d Tuesday of December. In 1812, and since at Concord, 2d Monday of March, 2d of June and 2d of September, and at Cambridge, 2d of December. The Supreme Court was first held in Concord on the 2d Tuesday of April, 1776, having been annually held in [Charlestown](#) at the same time. In 1783 at Concord, 2d Tuesday of April and at Cambridge last Tuesday of October. In 1800, at Cambridge 4th Tuesday of October and in 1805, 1st Tuesday of November. In 1816, at Concord, 1st Tuesday of April. In 1820, the 2nd after the 4th Tuesday of September at Cambridge and at Concord the 4th Monday of March. In 1826, on the 2d Tuesday of April and at Cambridge, on the 3d after the 4th Tuesday in October.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

Concord to become the only shire town in the county. Several towns were very anxious that the last project should be carried into effect. The whole subject, however, was finally abandoned after several orders of notice had been issued, and several different committees of the General Court had had it under consideration.

In May, 1791, Duncan Ingraham of Concord, Aaron Brown of Groton, Zaccheus Wright of Westford, Charles Whitman of Stow, Jonas Brooks of Acton, and John Minott of Chelmsford, the Representatives from those towns, petitioned the legislature to have Concord made the only shire town in the county; and that accommodations for the safe keeping of the public records be made in the new court-house proposed to be erected there by the county. An order of notice passed on this petition, May 9, 1792, but here ended the proceedings on this subject.²²

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



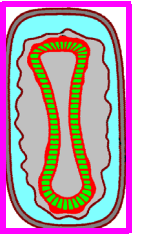
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1767

[Jean François Marmontel](#) published a romance, *BÉLISAIRE*.

When the [small pox](#) struck the royal family in Vienna, [Maria Antonia Josepha Johanna](#) had already had this disease at an earlier age. Her brother Charles Joseph and her sister Maria Johanna had contracted small pox and died during previous years. Her sister Maria Josepha contracted the infection this time and died, and her mother Maria Theresa contracted the infection would suffer its effect for the remainder of her life. The small pox would leave 12-year-old Maria Antonia Josepha Johanna as the only available family match for 14-year-old Louis Auguste, who was a 2d cousin once removed. Her teeth were unacceptably crooked and therefore she needed a series of painful oral surgeries, performed over a period of three months, of course without anesthesia, before a marriage contract could be arranged and a dowry of 200,000 crowns set.



CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



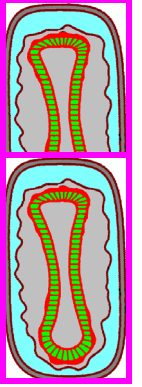
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1768

January 10, Sunday: The Mozart family returned to Vienna after the end of the [small pox](#) epidemic.

October 23, Sunday: Empress Ekaterina II of Russia was inoculated against [small pox](#) by British physician Dr. Thomas Dinsdale (she would have her son also inoculated, on November 13th — the dates of their recovery would become national holidays and the young donor of the inoculant ennobled).



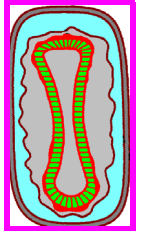


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1769

The monsoon failed. Over this year and the next, a quarter to a third of the population of Bengal, [India](#) would starve to death, some 10,000,000 souls. The ecological crisis would be exacerbated by the monopoly which the British held over the existing rice stores, by their determination to maintain their “reasonable profit” for the benefit of stockholders even if this meant increasing the demands it was making upon the surviving population, and by an epidemic of the [small pox](#).



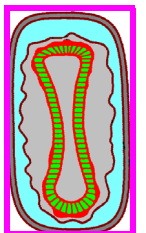
This was to become the worst [famine](#) thus far recorded in human history.

On the site of the old county house that had been destroyed by fire in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), toward the base of Meeting Street, a brick schoolhouse was erected. The lower floor of this structure would be used as a grammar school, while the upper floor would be leased to the [College of Rhode Island](#) pending the availability of its University Hall at the top of the hill.

In this year the colony enacted a rather indefinite law granting tax exemption to property devoted to religious, charitable, and educational purposes. (This law would be made more specific in 1829 by limiting the tax exemption for religious and educational property to the buildings devoted to such purposes and the land on which they stood. Then, in 1850, largely in response to the presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics in the state, this tax exemption would be further limited, to three acres of land, so far as such land was used exclusively for religious and educational purposes, but this new stipulation would immediately become a political issue and would be repealed, with all such land “not leased or rented” being again free from taxation, and then in 1852 even this restriction would be removed and all property, whether real or personal, that was used in connection with religion and education, or the income of which was devoted to religion or education, would be made totally exempt from taxation. In 1870 the political winds would blow in the opposite direction and the exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies would be again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than \$20,000 became taxable. In 1872 the anti-Catholic prejudice would again surface, and the tax exemption would be restricted again to only “buildings for free public schools or for religious worship” and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educational institutions, became taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church became again free from taxation, and added to that were the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The [Providence](#) Town Meeting voted to set aside a place at which inoculations against the [small pox](#) could be carried out. (By some reports, it would be [Moses Brown](#) who would introduce smallpox vaccination to [Rhode Island](#), but as yet I have been unable to substantiate such an assertion — or even to verify whether the reference it makes is to the process of variolation or the process of vaccination.)



It should be mentioned that Moses was no dummy. He understood, for instance, that when stem rust damaged his grain crops, the infection was spreading from nearby [barberry](#) bushes. (The growing of barberry bushes had for this reason been forbidden in Middletown, Rhode Island since 1766, and in 1772 the General Assembly would extend this ban to all of Rhode Island.)



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

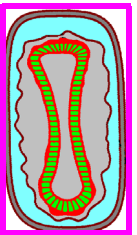
Upon application of any freeholder, the person upon whose grounds they grew was required to cut them up within one month, or, in case of his neglect to do so, they might be destroyed by warrant from a justice, at the expense of the complainant.

THE SMALL POX

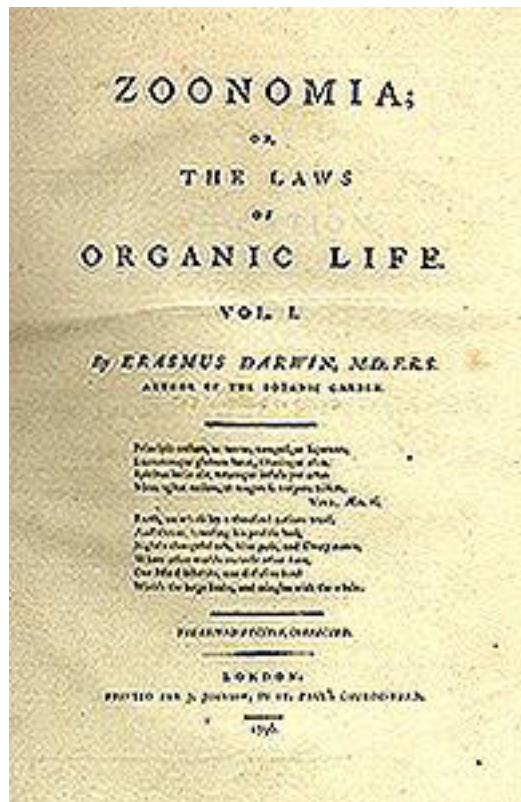
THE SMALL POX

1770

Dr. Erasmus Darwin had his portrait done, by Joseph Wright, and began the writing of ZONOMIA.²³



His deep [small pox](#) pits were of course omitted from the painting.



THE SCIENCE OF 1770

His wife Mary (Polly) Howard Darwin died “after a long and suffering illness.” The grandson [Charles Robert](#) would report that “judging from all that I have heard of her, [she] must have been a superior and charming woman.” “They seem to have lived together most happily during the thirteen years of their married life, and she was tenderly nursed by her husband during her last illness.”

23. Although [Dr. Darwin](#)’s grandson [Charles Robert](#) would read ZONOMIA at the age of 16 or 17, he would report later in life that the poem had been without effect on his mind. He hadn’t even retained a memory of what his family’s motto *E conchis omnia* was, or what it signified.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

In this year he had the new motto *E conchis omnia*, “Everything from shells,” added to the painting on his coach door of the Darwin family’s coat of arms (which had pictured three scallop shells). The image below is not what was painted on his coach door, but what he would have engraved for a bookplate in the following year:



Unfortunately, the Canon of Lichfield Cathedral, the Reverend Thomas Seward (father of the poet Anna Seward who would fall in love with Dr. Darwin, would be rejected for another, and, after her love’s death, would author a scathing and demonstrably false biography), would spot the reference, and –in satirical verse– would accuse his neighbor of renouncing his creator, and would exhort him to change that “foolish motto.”

Great wizard he! by magic spells
Can all things raise from cockle shells

Dr. Darwin would need to have his coach repainted to remove this offensive material.²⁴

PALEONTOLOGY

The biographer Desmond King-Hele acknowledges that it is [Charles Darwin](#), not his grandfather [Erasmus](#), who created the theory of evolution, but seems not to comprehend why this is so:

Charles Darwin read ZONOMIA when he was sixteen or seventeen, and also listened to a panegyric in praise of evolution from his friend Dr Robert Grant at Edinburgh University. “At this time I greatly admired the ZONOMIA,” he says. But neither Grant nor ZONOMIA had “any effect on my mind.” This is true: otherwise he would have become an evolutionist before going on the voyage of the *Beagle*, rather than after.

24. Imagine parking in the parking lot of your local fundie church, nowadays, with one of those “Darwin” fish-with-legs logos on the trunk lid of your car! Why was such a motto so offensive? –Because the official story then, which would be the official story during [Charles Darwin](#)’s life as well, and would be the official story during [Henry Thoreau](#)’s life, and would be the official story at the Scopes monkey trial in [Tennessee](#), and is still the official story, as for instance the official belief system of the Wubya administration of born-again Christians — is that our lives, to be of significance to us, to be meaningful to us, must have a divine purpose and legitimation. (That’s why we attacked Iraq — Wubya’s God told him he needed to “take Saddam out.” Wubya’s administration wasn’t mainly about stealing from the poor and giving to the rich. Wubya’s life, in fact, post-salvation, has divine purpose and legitimation. It is now a life as full of meaning, as once it was full of drunken revels.)

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

Therefore, perhaps, I should here explicate why it was that creating the theory of evolution was left for Charles, and why it was that the early reading of ZOOLOGIA, with its recognition of evolution, did nothing in this regard: it is one thing to regard evolution as a fact, and another thing entirely to create a theory which accounts for it by hypothesizing a plausible mechanism and demonstrating the inevitability of this mechanism. Lots of people regarded evolution as a fact, before Charles created his theory. Almost as many people were perfectly well aware of evolution as a fact in 1770, as had been perfectly well aware in 1491 that the earth was a globe — before Columbus obtained funding to sail west from Spain!

During the 1770s, [Erasmus](#) would be helping to found The Birmingham Lunar Society, a social club for the great scientists and industrialists of the day. The society would hold its monthly meetings at the Soho House on the Monday night nearest the full moon, and this supposedly was so that the attenders would afterwards be



able to find their way home. This society has been characterized as the think tank of the industrial revolution. Members of the society included the [Reverend Joseph Priestley](#), discoverer of oxygen, Friend Samuel Galton, a wealthy Quaker industrialist who eventually would be disowned due to his manufacture of firearms, William Small, the eccentrics Thomas Day and Richard Edgeworth, the [Matthew Boulton](#) who was known as “the creator of Birmingham,” [James Watt](#), William Withering, James Keir, and [Josiah Wedgwood](#).



Other personages linked to this society include [Thomas Jefferson](#), [Benjamin Franklin](#), Rudolph Erich Raspe, and [William Murdock](#), developer of a self-propelled vehicle and the inventor of gas lighting. (Murdock would end his days living at the court of the Shah of Persia, where he would be credited with being an incarnation of Marduk, ancient god of light.)

THE LUNAR SOCIETY OF BIRMINGHAM

ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

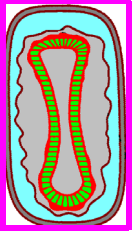
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1771

When Dr. Edward Jenner attempted to present info about [small pox](#) vaccination to the Royal Society, he was refused permission to present such a “wild idea” which was clearly “at variance with established knowledge.” He was cautioned to fear for his professional reputation.



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THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

[Erasmus Darwin](#) added his new motto *E conchis omnia*, “Everything from shells,” to his bookplate.

THE SCIENCE OF 1771



He began his long-term sexual liaison with 18-year-old Mary Parker.



(One may wonder how this event is reported in the biography of Erasmus by his grandson Charles. On page 26 he mentions his grandfather’s marriage in 1757 to “Miss Mary Howard, aged 17-18 years, who, judging from all that I have heard of her, must have been a superior and charming woman,” and mentions that in 1770 she “died after a long and suffering illness.” “They seem to have lived together most happily during the thirteen years of their married life, and she was tenderly nursed by her husband during her last illness.” Then on pages 30/31, with nothing of significance intervening, he mentions that in 1781, “eleven years after the death of his first wife, Dr. Darwin married the widow of Colonel ... Pole of Redburn Hall. He had become acquainted with her in the spring of 1778, when she had come to Lichfield in order that he might attend her children professionally.” One would expect, therefore, in a Victorian family biography of this sort, there to be no mention at all by the grandson of his grandfather’s long-term mistress Mary Parker, or of his own two Parker



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great-aunts who were the products of that union. Such an expectation is confounded, however, for Charles writes very plainly on page 64: “In the interval between his first and second marriages, Dr. Darwin became the father of two illegitimate daughters. To his credit be it said that he gave them an excellent education, and from all that I have heard they grew up to be admirable ladies, living on intimate terms with his widow and the children by the second marriage.”)

He would keep the bookplates, after having his carriage door painted over when he was warned by a high church official that this motto amounted to a declaration of irreligion, and was dangerous to him.

The book his grandson [Charles Robert](#) later wrote about his life now makes fascinating reading.

It has been the fate of many celebrated men with strongly-marked characters to have been grossly calumniated; and few have suffered more in this respect than Erasmus Darwin.

This helps us understand what Erasmus was up against, what Charles was up against, what Henry Thoreau was up against, and what we are right now up against. Here we have a physician who was for awhile recognized as the most prominent poet in England, on the basis of his long poems about the history of life on earth — and then the establishment would step in and attempted to destroy his reputation because of the evolutionary ideas he was expressing in this poetry.²⁵

Before he had begun to write this biography of Erasmus, Charles actually had known very little about him and had not valued his achievements. This was the case, the biographer Desmond King-Hele asserts, for socioeconomic reasons: Erasmus had had to work for his living, but his grandchildren were, by virtue of their inheritances of the earned wealth of their progenitors, gentlemen all, who never needed to work for a living.

So the Victorian Wedgewoods and Darwins lived affluently and conformed to a well-known syndrome: they preferred to forget the hard work of their grandfathers that made possible their privileged status.

By this year the Prince Nursery on Long Island offered 42 varieties of pear.

PLANTS

25. Imagine parking in the parking lot of your local fundamentalist church, nowadays, with one of those “Darwin” fish-with-legs logos on the trunk lid of your car! Why was such a motto so offensive? –Because the official story then, which would be the official story during [Charles Darwin](#)’s life as well, and would be the official story during [Henry Thoreau](#)’s life, and would be the official story at the Scopes monkey trial in [Tennessee](#), and is still the official story right now, as for instance the official belief system of the Wubya administration of born-again Christians — is that our lives, to be of significance to us, to be meaningful to us, must have a divine purpose and legitimation. (That’s why we’re attacking Iraq — Wubya’s God told him he needs to “take Saddam out.” Wubya’s administration isn’t just about stealing from the poor and giving to the rich. Wubya’s life, in fact, has divine purpose and legitimation. It is now a life as full of meaning, as it once was full of drunken parties.)

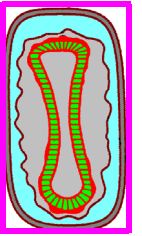


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1772

October 7, Wednesday: [Friend John Woolman](#), who had been warning his coreligionists to display their trust in the providence of God by declining to inoculate their children against the small pox, while attending a Quaker meeting in York, England, died of the [small pox](#) (we see that he had just made an entry in his journal about the recent death of his kinsman of [North Carolina](#), William Hunt, of the [small pox](#), while on a similar missionary visit with the Friends of Newcastle):



Embarks at Chester, with Samuel Emlen, in a Ship bound for London — Exercise of Mind respecting the Hardships of the Sailors — Considerations on the Dangers of training Youth to a Seafaring Life — Thoughts during a Storm at Sea — Arrival in London.

HAVING been some time under a religious concern to prepare for crossing the seas, in order to visit Friends in the northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkshire, after consideration I thought it expedient to inform Friends of it at our Monthly Meeting at Burlington, who, having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate. I afterwards communicated the same to our Quarterly Meeting, and they likewise certified their concurrence. Some time after, at the General Spring Meeting of ministers and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them with the religious exercise which attended my mind; and they likewise signified their unity therewith by a certificate, dated the 24th of Third Month, 1772, directed to Friends in Great Britain.

In the Fourth Month following, I thought the time was come for me to make some inquiry for a suitable conveyance; and as my concern was principally towards the northern parts of England, it seemed most proper to go in a vessel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven. While I was at Philadelphia deliberating on this subject I was informed that my beloved friend Samuel Emlen, junior, intended to go to London, and had taken a passage for himself in the cabin of the ship called the Mary and Elizabeth, of which James Sparks was master, and John Head, of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners; and feeling a draught in my mind towards the steerage of the same ship, I went first and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I spake to him, and appeared glad that I had thoughts of going in the vessel with him, though my prospect was toward the steerage: and he offering to go with me, we went on board, first into the cabin — a commodious room — and then into the steerage, where we sat down on a chest, the sailors being busy about us. The owner of the ship also came and sat down with us. My mind was turned towards Christ, the heavenly Counsellor, and feeling at this time my own will subjected, my heart was contrite before Him. A motion was made by the owner to go and sit in the cabin, as a place more retired; but I felt easy to leave the ship, and, making no agreement as to a passage in her, told the owner if I took a passage in the ship I believed it would be in the steerage; but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings, and the case was a little known in



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

town, a Friend laid before me the great inconvenience attending a passage in the steerage, which for a time appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord, whose helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and His love strengthened my heart. In the morning I went with two Friends on board the vessel again, and after a short time spent therein, I went with Samuel Emlen to the house of the owner, to whom, in the hearing of Samuel only, I opened my exercise in relation to a scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the cabin, in substance as follows: -

"That on the outside of that part of the ship where the cabin was, I observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery; that in the cabin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts; and that according to the ways of men's reckoning, the sum of money to be paid for a passage in that apartment has some relation to the expense of furnishing it to please the minds of such as give way to a conformity to this world; and that in this, as in other cases, the moneys received from the passengers are calculated to defray the cost of these superfluties, as well as the other expenses of their passage. I therefore felt a scruple with regard to paying my money to be applied to such purposes."

As my mind was now opened, I told the owner that I had, at several times, in my travels, seen great oppressions on this continent, at which my heart had been much affected and brought into a feeling of the state of the sufferers; and having many times been engaged in the fear and love of God, to labour with those under whom the oppressed have been borne down and afflicted, I have often perceived that with a view to get riches and to provide estates for children, that they may live conformably to the customs and honours of this world, many are entangled in the spirit of oppression, and the exercise of my soul has been such, that I could not find peace in joining in anything which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this I agreed for a passage in the steerage; and hearing that Joseph White had desired to see me, I went to his house, and the next day home, where I tarried two nights. Early the next morning, I parted with my family under a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me, and, going to Philadelphia, had an opportunity with several of my beloved friends, who appeared to be concerned for me on account of the unpleasant situation of that part of the vessel in which I was likely to lodge. In these opportunities my mind, through the mercies of the Lord, was kept low in an inward waiting for His help; and Friends having expressed their desire that I might have a more convenient place than the steerage, did not urge it, but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having stayed two nights at Philadelphia, I went the next day to Derby Monthly Meeting, where through the strength of divine love my heart was enlarged towards the youth there present, under which I was helped to labour in some tenderness of spirit. I lodged at William Horn's and afterwards went to Chester, where



THE SMALL POX

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I met with Samuel Emlen, and we went on board 1st of Fifth Month, 1772. As I sat alone on the deck, I felt a satisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the cross of Christ.

Seventh of Fifth Month. – We have had rough weather mostly since I came on board, and the passengers, James Reynolds, John Till Adams, Sarah Logan with her hired maid, and John Bispham, all sea-sick at times; from which sickness, through the tender mercies of my Heavenly Father, I have been preserved, my afflictions now being of another kind. There appeared an openness in the minds of the master of the ship and in the cabin passengers towards me. We are often together on the deck, and sometimes in the cabin. My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, hath been preserved in a good degree watchful and quiet, for which I have great cause to be thankful.

As my lodging in the steerage, now near a week, hath afforded me sundry opportunities of seeing, hearing, and feeling with respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors, an exercise of soul hath attended me in regard to placing our children and youth where they may be likely to be exemplified and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord.

Being much among the seamen I have, from a motion of love, taken sundry opportunities with one of them at a time, and have in free conversation laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord. This day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrite under a feeling of divine love.

I believe a communication with different parts of the world by sea is at times consistent with the will of our Heavenly Father, and to educate some youth in the practice of sailing, I believe, may be right; but how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! How impure are the channels through which trade is conducted! How great is the danger to which poor lads are exposed when placed on shipboard to learn the art of sailing! Five lads training up for the seas were on board this ship. Two of them were brought up in our Society, and the other, by name James Naylor, is a member, to whose father James Naylor, mentioned in Sewel's history, appears to have been uncle. I often feel a tenderness of heart towards these poor lads, and at times look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh. Oh that all may take heed and beware of covetousness! Oh that all may learn of Christ, who was meek and lowly of heart. Then, in faithfully following Him, He will teach us to be content with food and raiment without respect to the customs or honours of this world. Men thus redeemed will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a desire that those in the lowest stations may be assisted and encouraged, and where owners of ships attain to the perfect law of liberty and are doers of the Word, these will be blessed in their deeds.

A ship at sea commonly sails all night, and the seamen take their watches four hours at a time. Rising to work in the night, it is not commonly pleasant in any case, but in dark rainy nights it is very disagreeable, even though each man were furnished with all conveniences. If, after having been on deck several hours in the night, they come down into the steerage soaking wet, and are so closely stowed that proper convenience for



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change of garments is not easily come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments are thrown in heaps, and sometimes, through much crowding, are trodden under foot in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and it is difficult at times for each to find his own. Here are trials for the poor sailors. Now, as I have been with them in my lodge, my heart hath often yearned for them, and tender desires have been raised in me that all owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the love of God and therein act uprightly, and by seeking less for gain and looking carefully to their ways they may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from the poor seamen, so that they may neither fret nor use excess of strong drink; for, indeed, the poor creatures, in the wet and cold, seem to apply at times to strong drink to supply the want of other convenience. Great reformation is wanting in the world, and the necessity of it among those who do business on great waters hath at this time been abundantly opened before me.

Eighth of Fifth Month. — This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew strong from the south-east, and before noon so increased that sailing appeared dangerous. The seamen then bound up some of their sails and took down others, and the storm increasing, they put the dead-lights, so called, into the cabin windows and lighted a lamp as at night. The wind now blew vehemently, and the sea wrought to that degree that an awful seriousness prevailed in the cabin, in which I spent, I believe, about seventeen hours, for the cabin passengers had given me frequent invitations, and I thought the poor wet toiling seamen had need of all the room in the crowded steerage. They now ceased from sailing and put the vessel in the posture called "lying to." My mind during this tempest, through the gracious assistance of the Lord, was preserved in a good degree of resignation; and at times I expressed a few words in His love to my shipmates in regard to the all-sufficiency of Him who formed the great deep, and whose care is so extensive that a sparrow falls not without His notice; and thus in a tender frame of mind I spoke to them of the necessity of our yielding in true obedience to the instructions of our Heavenly Father, who sometimes through adversities intendeth our refinement.

About eleven at night I went out on the deck. The sea wrought exceedingly, and the high, foaming waves round about had in some sort the appearance of fire, but did not give much if any light. The sailor at the helm said he lately saw a corposant at the head of the mast. I observed that the master of the ship ordered the carpenter to keep on the deck; and, though he said little, I apprehended his care was that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness in case of any emergency. Soon after this the vehemency of the wind abated, and before morning they again put the ship under sail.

Tenth of Fifth Month. — It being the first day of the week and fine weather, we had a meeting in the cabin, at which most of the seamen were present; this meeting was to me a strengthening time. 13th. — As I continue to lodge in the steerage I feel an openness this morning to express something further of the state of my mind in respect to poor lads bound apprentice to learn the art of sailing. As I believe sailing is of use in the world, a



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labour of soul attends me that the pure counsel of truth may be humbly waited for in this case by all concerned in the business of the seas. A pious father whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his child, may not with a peaceable mind place him out to an employment among a people whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt and profane. Great is the present defect among seafaring men in regard to virtue and piety; and, by reason of an abundant traffic, and many ships being used for war, so many people are employed on the sea, that the subject of placing lads to this employment appears very weighty. When I remember the saying of the Most High through His prophet, "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth My praise," and think of placing children among such to learn the practice of sailing, the consistency of it with a pious education seems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, "There is no answer from God."

Profane examples are very corrupting and very forcible. And as my mind day after day and night after night hath been affected with a sympathizing tenderness towards poor children who are put to the employment of sailors, I have sometimes had weighty conversation with the sailors in the steerage, who were mostly respectful to me, and became more so the longer I was with them. They mostly appeared to take kindly what I said to them; but their minds were so deeply impressed with the almost universal depravity among sailors, that the poor creatures in their answers to me have revived in my remembrance that of the degenerate Jews a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Now under this exercise a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing among us felt grievous; and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ was raised in me that all may take heed lest, through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty with respect to a faithful labour for reformation.

To silence every motion proceeding from the love of money, and humbly to wait upon God to know His will concerning us have appeared necessary. He alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation, and so to direct us in our outward employment that pure universal love may shine forth in our proceedings. Desires arising from the spirit of truth are pure desires; and when a mind divinely opened towards a young generation is made sensible of corrupting examples powerfully working and extensively spreading among them, how moving is the prospect! In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a desolate, thorny wilderness, how precious, how comfortable, how safe, are the leadings of Christ the good Shepherd, who said, "I know my sheep, and am known of mine!"

Sixteenth of Fifth Month. — Wind for several days past often high, what the sailors call squally, with a rough sea and frequent rains. This last night has been a very trying one to the poor seamen, the water the most part of the night running over the main-deck, and sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter-deck. The latter part of the night, as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of divine love; and



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resignedness to the great Creator of the earth and the seas was renewedly wrought in me, and His fatherly care over His children felt precious to my soul. I was now desirous to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardships and difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labour in His love for the spreading of pure righteousness on the earth. Opportunities were frequent of hearing conversation among the sailors respecting the voyages to Africa, and the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our islands. They are frequently brought on board the vessels in chains and fetters, with hearts loaded with grief under the apprehension of miserable slavery; so that my mind was frequently engaged to meditate on these things.

Seventeenth of Fifth Month and first of the week. — We had a meeting in the cabin, to which the seamen generally came. My spirit was contrite before the Lord, whose love at this time affected my heart. In the afternoon I felt a tender sympathy of soul with my poor wife and family left behind, in which state my heart was enlarged in desires that they may walk in that humble obedience wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and support through all their difficulties in this world; and a sense of that gracious assistance, through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them to travel in the love of truth, hath begotten thankfulness in my heart to our great Helper.

Twenty-fourth of Fifth Month. — A clear, pleasant morning. As I sat on deck I felt a reviving in my nature, which had been weakened through much rainy weather and high winds and being shut up in a close, unhealthy air. Several nights of late I have felt my breathing difficult; and a little after the rising of the second watch, which is about midnight, I have got up and stood near an hour with my face near the hatchway, to get the fresh air at the small vacancy under the hatch door, which is commonly shut down, partly to keep out rain and sometimes to keep the breaking waves from dashing into the steerage. I may with thankfulness to the Father of Mercies acknowledge that in my present weak state, my mind hath been supported to bear this affliction with patience; and I have looked at the present dispensation as a kindness from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my floating pilgrimage, is in some degree bringing me to feel what many thousands of my fellow-creatures often suffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the trial hath been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God, the Fountain of comfort, whose inward help hath supplied at times the want of outward convenience; and strong desires have attended me that His family, who are acquainted with the movings of His Holy Spirit, may be so redeemed from the love of money and from that spirit in which men seek honour one of another, that in all business, by sea or land, they may constantly keep in view the coming of His kingdom on earth as it is in Heaven, and, by faithfully following this safe guide, may show forth examples tending to lead out of that under which the creation groans. This day we had a meeting in the cabin, in which I was favoured in some degree to experience the fulfilling of that saying of



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the prophet, "The Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress"; for which my heart is bowed in thankfulness before Him.

Twenty-eighth of Fifth Month. - Wet weather of late, and small winds, inclining to calms. Our seamen cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathoms, and found no bottom. Foggy weather this morning. Through the kindness of the great Preserver of men my mind remains quiet; and a degree of exercise from day to day attends me, that the pure peaceable government of Christ may spread and prevail among mankind.

The leading of a young generation in that pure way in which the wisdom of this world hath no place, where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly Counsellor, may example them in the truth as it is in Jesus, hath for several days been the exercise of my mind. Oh, how safe, how quiet, is that state where the soul stands in pure obedience to the voice of Christ, and a watchful care is maintained not to follow the voice of the stranger! Here Christ is felt to be our Shepherd, and under His leading people are brought to a stability; and where He doth not lead forward, we are bound in the bonds of pure love to stand still and wait upon Him.

In the love of money and in the wisdom of this world, business is proposed, then the urgency of affairs pushes forward, and the mind cannot in this state discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us. The love of God is manifested in graciously calling us to come out of that which stands in confusion; but if we bow not in the name of Jesus, if we give not up those prospects of gain which in the wisdom of this world are open before us, but say in our hearts, "I must needs go on; and in going on I hope to keep as near the purity of truth as the business before me will admit of," the mind remains entangled and the shining of the light of life into the soul is obstructed. Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in His fear we may be instructed and led safely through the great difficulties and perplexities in this present age. In an entire subjection of our wills, the Lord graciously opens a way for His people, where all their wants are bounded by His wisdom; and here we experience the substance of what Moses the prophet figured out in the water of separation as a purification from sin.

Esau is mentioned as a child red all over like a hairy garment. In Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of separation a red heifer without blemish, on which there had been no yoke, was to be slain and her blood sprinkled by the priest seven times towards the tabernacle of the congregation; then her skin, her flesh, and all pertaining to her, was to be burnt without the camp, and of her ashes the water was prepared. Thus, the crucifying of the old man, or natural will, is represented; and hence comes a separation from that carnal mind which is death. "He who toucheth the dead body of a man and purifieth not himself with the water of separation, defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; he is unclean" (NUMBERS 19:13).

If any, who through the love of gain engage in business wherein they dwell as among the tombs and touch the bodies of those who are dead, should through the infinite love of God feel the power



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of the cross of Christ to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the divine Leader, here is the judgment of this world, here the prince of this world is cast out. The water of separation is felt; and though we have been among the slain, and through the desire of gain have touched the dead body of a man, yet in the purifying love of Christ we are washed in the water of separation; we are brought off from that business, from that gain, and from that fellowship which is not agreeable to His holy will. I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in His infinite love, is calling to His visited children so to give up all outward possessions and means of getting treasures, that His Holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts and direct them in all their proceedings. To feel the substance pointed at in this figure, man must know death as to his own will.

"No man can see God and live." This was spoken by the Almighty to Moses the prophet and opened by our blessed Redeemer. As death comes on our own wills, and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified and prepared to understand clearly, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." In purity of heart the mind is divinely opened to behold the nature of universal righteousness, or the righteousness of the kingdom of God. "No man hath seen the Father save he that is of God, he hath seen the Father."

The natural mind is active about the things of this life, and in this natural activity business is proposed and a will is formed in us to go forward in it. And so long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there remains an obstruction to the clearness of divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart and with all our strength, in this love we love our neighbour as ourselves; and a tenderness of heart is felt towards all people for whom Christ died, even those who, as to outward circumstances, may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. "Who is my neighbour?" See this question answered by our Saviour, Luke x. 30. In this love we can say that Jesus is the Lord; and in this reformation in our souls, manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God (2 CORINTHIANS 5:18), the desire of gain is subjected.

When employment is honestly followed in the light of truth, and people become diligent in business, "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord" (ROMANS 12:11), the meaning of the name is opened to us: "This is the name by which He shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS" (JEREMIAH 23:6). Oh, how precious is the name! it is like ointment poured out. The chaste virgins are in love with the Redeemer; and for promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world are content to endure hardness like good soldiers; and are so separated in spirit from the desire of riches, that in their employments they become extensively careful to give no offence, either to Jew or Heathen or to the Church of Christ.

Thirty-first of Fifth Month and first of the week. — We had a meeting in the cabin, with nearly all the ship's company, the whole being near thirty. In this meeting the Lord in mercy favoured us with the extending of His love.

Second of Sixth Month. — Last evening the seamen found bottom



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at about seventy fathoms. This morning, a fair wind and pleasant. I sat on deck; my heart was overcome with the love of Christ, and melted into contrition before Him. In this state the prospect of that work to which I found my mind drawn when in my native land being, in some degree, opened before me, I felt like a little child; and my cries were put up to my Heavenly Father for preservation, that in an humble dependence on Him my soul might be strengthened in His love and kept inwardly waiting for His counsel. This afternoon we saw that part of England called the Lizard.

Some fowls yet remained of those the passengers took for their sea-store. I believe about fourteen perished in the storms at sea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck, and a considerable number with sickness at different times. I observed the cocks crew as we came down the Delaware, and while we were near the land, but afterwards I think I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the English coast, when they again crowed a few times. In observing their dull appearance at sea, and the pining sickness of some of them, I often remembered the Fountain of goodness, who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends to caring for the sparrows. I believe where the love of God is verily perfected, and the true spirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderness towards all creatures made subject to us will be experienced, and a care felt in us that we do not lessen that sweetness of life in the animal creation which the great Creator intends for them under our government. Fourth of Sixth Month. — Wet weather, high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of the danger of missing the channel, which I understood was narrow. In a while it grew lighter, and they saw the land and knew where we were. Thus the Father of Mercies was pleased to try us with the sight of dangers, and then graciously, from time to time, deliver us from them; thus sparing our lives, that in humility and reverence we might walk before Him and put our trust in Him. About noon a pilot came off from Dover, where my beloved friend Samuel Emlen went on shore and thence to London, about seventy-two miles by land; but I felt easy in staying in the ship.

Seventh of Sixth Month and first of the week. — A clear morning: we lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the ship's company, in which my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them, that they may come to experience salvation through Christ. Had a head-wind up the Thames; lay sometimes at anchor; saw many ships passing, and some at anchor near; and I had large opportunity of feeling the spirit in which the poor bewildered sailors too generally live. That lamentable degeneracy which so much prevails in the people employed on the sea, so affected my heart that I cannot easily convey the feeling I had to another.

The present state of the seafaring life in general appears so opposite to that of a pious education, so full of corruption and extreme alienation from God, so full of the most dangerous examples to young people, that in looking towards a young generation I feel a care for them, that they may have an education different from the present one of lads at sea, and

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that all of us who are acquainted with the pure gospel spirit may lay this case to heart, may remember the lamentable corruptions which attend the conveyance of merchandise across the seas, and so abide in the love of Christ that, being delivered from the entangling expenses of a curious, delicate, and luxurious life, we may learn contentment with a little, and promote the seafaring life no further than that spirit which leads into all truth attends us in our proceedings.



1772

Attends the Yearly Meeting in London — Then proceeds towards Yorkshire — Visits Quarterly and other Meetings in the Counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Westmoreland — Returns to Yorkshire — Instructive Observations and Letters — Hears of the Decease of William Hunt — Some Account of him — The Author's Last Illness and Death at York.

ON the 8th of Sixth Month, 1772, we landed at London, and I went straightway to the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, which had been gathered, I suppose, about half an hour.²⁶

In this meeting my mind was humbly contrite. In the afternoon the meeting for business was opened, which by adjournments held near a week. In these meetings I often felt a living concern for the establishment of Friends in the pure life of truth. My heart was enlarged in the meetings of ministers, that for business, and in several meetings for public worship, and I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers now gathered at this Yearly Meeting. On the 15th I went to a Quarterly Meeting at Hertford.

First of Seventh Month. — I have been at Quarterly Meetings at Sherrington, Northampton, Banbury, and Shipton, and have had sundry meetings between. My mind hath been bowed under a sense of divine goodness manifested among us; my heart hath been often enlarged in true love, both among ministers and elders and in public meetings, and through the Lord's goodness I believe it hath been a fresh visitation to many, in particular to the youth. Seventeenth. — I was this day at Birmingham: I have been at

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meetings at Coventry, Warwick, in Oxfordshire, and sundry other places, and have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me; but through His tender mercies I find peace in the labours I have gone through.

Twenty-sixth. — I have continued travelling northward, visiting meetings. Was this day at Nottingham; the forenoon meeting was especially, through divine love, a heart-tendering season. Next day I had a meeting in a Friend's family, which, through the strengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

Second of Eighth Month and first of the week. — I was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town. I was at sundry meetings last week, and feel inward thankfulness for that divine support which hath been graciously extended to me. On the 9th I was at Rushworth. I have lately passed through some painful labour, but have been comforted under a sense of that divine visitation which I feel extended towards many young people.

Sixteenth of Eighth Month and the first of the week, I was at Settle. It hath of late been a time of inward poverty, under which my mind hath been preserved in a watchful, tender state, feeling for the mind of the Holy Leader, and I find peace in the labours I have passed through.

On inquiry in many places I find the price of rye about five shillings; wheat, eight shillings per bushel; oatmeal, twelve shillings for a hundred and twenty pounds; mutton from threepence to fivepence per pound; bacon from sevenpence to ninepence; cheese from fourpence to sixpence; butter from eightpence to tenpence; house-rent for a poor man from twenty-five shillings to forty shillings per year, to be paid weekly; wood for fire very scarce and dear; coal in some places two shillings and sixpence per hundredweight; but near the pits not a quarter so much. Oh, may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in several counties toward London at tenpence per day in common business, the employer finds small beer and the labourer finds his own food; but in harvest and hay time wages are about one shilling per day, and the labourer hath

26. Note by Whittier: There is a story told of his first appearance in England which is well authenticated. The vessel reached London on the morning of the second day of the week, and [John Woolman](#), knowing that the meeting was then in session, lost no time in reaching it. Coming in late and unannounced, his peculiar dress and manner excited attention and apprehension that he was an itinerant enthusiast. He presented his certificate from Friends in America, but the dissatisfaction still remained, and some one remarked that perhaps the stranger Friend might feel that his dedication of himself to this apprehended service was accepted, without further labour, and that he might now feel free to return to his home. John Woolman sat silent for a space, seeking the unerring counsel of divine wisdom. He was profoundly affected by the unfavourable reception he met with, and his tears flowed freely. In the love of Christ and his fellow-men he had, at a painful sacrifice, taken his life in his hands, and left behind the peace and endearments of home. That love still flowed out toward the people of England; must it henceforth be pent up in his own heart? He rose at last, and stated that he could not feel himself released from his prospect of labour in England. Yet he could not travel in the ministry without the unity of Friends; and while that was withheld he could not feel easy to be of any cost to them. He could not go back as had been suggested; but he was acquainted with a mechanical trade, and while the impediment to his services continued, he hoped Friends would be kindly willing to employ him in such business as he was capable of, that he might not be chargeable to any. A deep silence prevailed over the assembly, many of whom were touched by the wise simplicity of the stranger's words and manner. After a season of waiting, John Woolman felt that words were given him to utter as a minister of Christ. The spirit of his Master bore witness to them in the hearts of his hearers. When he closed, the Friend who had advised against his further services rose up and humbly confessed his error, and avowed his full unity with the stranger. All doubt was removed; there was a general expression of unity and sympathy, and John Woolman, owned by his brethren, passed on to his work.

There is no portrait of John Woolman; and had photography been known in his day it is not at all probable that the sun-artist would have been permitted to delineate his features. That, while eschewing all superfluity and expensive luxury, he was scrupulously neat in his dress and person may be inferred from his general character, and from the fact that one of his serious objections to dyed clothing was that it served to conceal uncleanness, and was, therefore, detrimental to real purity. It is, however, quite probable that his outer man, on the occasion referred to, was suggestive of a hasty toilet in the crowded steerage.



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all his diet. In some parts of the north of England, poor labouring men have their food where they work, and appear in common to do rather better than nearer London. Industrious women who spin in the factories get some fourpence, some fivepence, and so on to six, seven, eight, nine, or tenpence per day, and find their own house-room and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly on bread and water in the southern parts of England, as well as in the northern parts; and there are many poor children not even taught to read. May those who have abundance lay these things to heart!

Stage-coaches frequently go upwards of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and I have heard Friends say in several places that it is common for horses to be killed with hard driving, and that many others are driven till they grow blind. Post-boys pursue their business, each one to his stage, all night through the winter. Some boys who ride long stages suffer greatly in winter nights, and at several places I have heard of their being frozen to death. So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world, that in aiming to do business quickly and to gain wealth, the creation at this day doth loudly groan.

As my journey hath been without a horse, I have had several offers of being assisted on my way in these stage-coaches, but have not been in them; nor have I had freedom to send letters by these posts in the present way of riding, the stages being so fixed, and one boy dependent on another as to time, and going at great speed, that in long cold winter nights the poor boys suffer much. I heard in America of the way of these posts, and cautioned Friends in the General Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, and in the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in London, not to send letters to me on any common occasion by post. And though on this account I may be likely not to hear so often from my family left behind, yet for righteousness' sake I am, through divine favour, made content.

I have felt great distress of mind since I came on this island, on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various sorts of traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves; and for the loading of these ships a great number of people are employed in their factories, among whom are many of our Society. Friends in early times refused on a religious principle to make or trade in superfluities, of which we have many testimonies on record; but for want of faithfulness, some, whose examples were of note in our Society, gave way, from which others took more liberty. Members of our Society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold them, and thus dimness of sight came over many; at length Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress and in the furniture of their houses, which hath spread from less to more, till superfluity of some kinds is common among us.

In this declining state many look at the example of others and too much neglect the pure feeling of truth. Of late years a deep exercise hath attended my mind, that Friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter and get down to the rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound; and I have felt in that which doth not receive, that, if Friends who have known the



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truth, keep in that tenderness of heart where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only in the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and others who have plenty of the treasures of this world will be examples of a plain frugal life, and pay wages to such as they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.

Twenty-third of Eighth Month. — I was this day at Preston Patrick, and had a comfortable meeting. I have several times been entertained at the houses of Friends who had sundry things about them that had the appearance of outward greatness, and as I have kept inward, way hath opened for conversation with such in private, in which divine goodness hath favoured us together with heart-tendering times.

Twenty-sixth of Eighth Month. — Being now at George Crosfield's, in the county of Westmoreland, I feel a concern to commit to writing the following uncommon circumstance: —

In a time of sickness, a little more than two years and a half ago, I was brought so near the gates of death that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy colour between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be and live, and that I was mixed with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard with my ears before; I believed it was the voice of an angel who spake to the other angels; the words were, "John Woolman is dead." I soon remembered that I was once John Woolman, and being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean. I believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy angel, but as yet it was a mystery to me.

I was then carried in spirit to the mines where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians, and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved, for His name to me was precious. I was then informed that these heathens were told that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ, and they said among themselves, "If Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant."

All this time the song of the angel remained a mystery; and in the morning, my dear wife and some others coming to my bedside, I asked them if they knew who I was, and they telling me I was John Woolman, thought I was light-headed, for I told them not what the angel said, nor was I disposed to talk much to any one, but was very desirous to get so deep that I might understand this mystery.

My tongue was often so dry that I could not speak till I had moved it about and gathered some moisture, and as I lay still for a time I at length felt a divine power



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prepare my mouth that I could speak, and I then said, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. And the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me." Then the mystery was opened and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented, and that the language "John Woolman is dead," meant no more than the death of my own will.

My natural understanding now returned as before, and I saw that people setting off their tables with silver vessels at entertainments was often stained with worldly glory, and that in the present state of things I should take heed how I fed myself out of such vessels. Going to our Monthly Meeting soon after my recovery, I dined at a Friend's house where drink was brought in silver vessels, and not in any other. Wanting something to drink, I told him my case with weeping, and he ordered some drink for me in another vessel. I afterwards went through the same exercise in several Friends' houses in America, as well as in England, and I have cause to acknowledge with humble reverence the loving-kindness of my Heavenly Father, who hath preserved me in such a tender frame of mind, that none, I believe, have ever been offended at what I have said on that subject.

After this sickness I spake not in public meetings for worship for nearly one year, but my mind was very often in company with the oppressed slaves as I sat in meetings; and though under his dispensation I was shut up from speaking, yet the spring of the gospel ministry was many times livingly opened in me, and the divine gift operated by abundance of weeping, in feeling the oppression of this people. It being so long since I passed through this dispensation, and the matter remaining fresh and lively in my mind, I believe it safest for me to commit it to writing.

Thirtieth of Eighth Month. — This morning I wrote a letter in substance as follows: —

BELOVED FRIEND, — My mind is often affected as I pass along under a sense of the state of many poor people who sit under that sort of ministry which requires much outward labour to support it; and the loving-kindness of our Heavenly Father in opening a pure gospel ministry in this nation hath often raised thankfulness in my heart to Him. I often remember the conflicts of the faithful under persecution, and now look at the free exercise of the pure gift uninterrupted by outward laws as a trust committed to us, which requires our deepest gratitude and most careful attention. I feel a tender concern that the work of reformation so prosperously carried on in this land within a few ages past may go forward and spread among the nations, and may not go backward through dust gathering on our garments, who



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have been called to a work so great and so precious. Last evening during thy absence I had a little opportunity with some of thy family, in which I rejoiced, and feeling a sweetness on my mind towards thee, I now endeavour to open a little of the feeling I had there.

I have heard that you in these parts have at certain seasons Meetings of Conference in relation to Friends living up to our principles, in which several meetings unite in one. With this I feel unity, having in some measure felt truth lead that way among Friends in America, and I have found, my dear friend, that in these labours all superfluities in our own living are against us. I feel that pure love towards thee in which there is freedom.

I look at that precious gift bestowed on thee with awfulness before Him who gave it, and feel a desire that we may be so separated to the gospel of Christ, that those things which proceed from the spirit of this world may have no place among us.

Thy friend, JOHN WOOLMAN.

I rested a few days in body and mind with our friend, Jane Crosfield, who was once in America. On the sixth day of the week I was at Kendal, in Westmoreland, and at Greyrig Meeting the 30th day of the month, and first of the week. I have known poverty of late, and have been graciously supported to keep in the patience, and am thankful under a sense of the goodness of the Lord towards those who are of a contrite spirit.

Sixth of Ninth Month and first of the week. — I was this day at Counterside, a large meeting-house, and very full. Through the opening of pure love, it was a strengthening time to me, and I believe to many more.

Thirteenth of Ninth Month. — This day I was at Leyburn, a small meeting; but, the towns-people coming in, the house was crowded. It was a time of heavy labour, and I believe was a profitable meeting. At this place I heard that my kinsman, William Hunt, from [North Carolina](#), who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the ninth of this month, of the [smallpox](#), at Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry when a youth, and his labours therein were of good savour. He travelled much in that work in America. I once heard him say in public testimony, that his concern in that visit was to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself, which words, joined with his example, was a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.

Having of late often travelled in wet weather through narrow streets in towns and villages, where dirtiness under foot and the scent arising from that filth which more or less infects the air of all thickly-settled towns were disagreeable; and, being but weakly, I have felt distress both in body and mind with that which is impure. In these journeys I have been where much cloth hath been dyed, and have, at sundry times, walked over ground where much of their dye-stuffs has drained away. This hath produced a longing in my mind that people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, and cleanness about



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their houses and garments.

Some of the great carry delicacy to a great height themselves, and yet real cleanliness is not generally promoted. Dyes being invented partly to please the eye and partly to hide dirt, I have felt in this weak state, when travelling in dirtiness, and affected with unwholesome scents, a strong desire that the nature of dyeing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully considered. Washing our garments to keep them sweet is cleanly, but it is the opposite to real cleanliness to hide dirt in them. Through giving way to hiding dirt in our garments a spirit which would conceal that which is disagreeable is strengthened. Real cleanliness becometh a holy people; but hiding that which is not clean by colouring our garments seems contrary to the sweetness of sincerity. Through some sorts of dyes cloth is rendered less useful. And if the value of dye-stuffs, and expense of dyeing, and the damage done to cloth, were all added together, and that cost applied to keeping all sweet and clean, how much more would real cleanliness prevail.

On this visit to England I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing for the use of such as are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of Peace, and we being no more than ministers, it is necessary for us not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof in the appointment of meetings. I felt a concern in America to prepare for this voyage, and being through the mercy of God brought safe hither, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent. For several weeks after my arrival, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it was like the raising of a gate in a water-course when a weight of water lay upon it. In these labours there was a fresh visitation to many, especially to the youth; but sometimes I felt poor and empty, and yet there appeared a necessity to appoint meetings. In this I was exercised to abide in the pure life of truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently found a necessity to stand up when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours. As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the divine Leader, under these dispensations, enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of truth hath risen higher in some meetings than I ever knew it before through me. Thus I have been more and more instructed as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America to come on a visit to England, but upon the daily instructions of Christ, the Prince of Peace.

Of late I have sometimes felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly but in part: and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quickly, one after another, as I have done heretofore. The work of the ministry being a work of divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for in all our appointments. Oh, how deep is divine wisdom! Christ puts forth His ministers and goeth before them; and oh, how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth



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safely! Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in the pure feeling of the gospel ministry their states are opened to His servants. Christ knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themselves have need of purging. Oh that these lessons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings may proceed in the pure feeling of duty!

I have sometimes felt a necessity to stand up, but that spirit which is of the world hath so much prevailed in many, and the pure life of truth hath been so pressed down, that I have gone forward, not as one travelling in a road cast up and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place in which are stones here and there safe to step on, but so situated that, one step being taken, time is necessary to see where to step next. Now I find that in a state of pure obedience the mind learns contentment in appearing weak and foolish to that wisdom which is of the world; and in these lowly labours, they who stand in a low place and are rightly exercised under the cross will find nourishment. The gift is pure; and while the eye is single in attending thereto the understanding is preserved clear; self is kept out. We rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ for His body's sake, which is the Church. The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations, and if there be not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once laboured in the pure gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering, and ashamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks, and walk in the light, not of Christ, who is under suffering, but of that fire which they in departing from the gift have kindled, in order that those hearers who have left the meek, suffering state for worldly wisdom may be warmed with this fire and speak highly of their labours. That which is of God gathers to God, and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind, that the ministers among us may be preserved in the meek, feeling life of truth, where we may have no desire but to follow Christ and to be with Him, that when He is under suffering, we may suffer with Him, and never desire to rise up in dominion, but as He, by the virtue of His own spirit, may raise us.

A few days after writing these considerations, our dear friend in the course of his religious visits came to the city of York,²⁷

27. Note by Whittier: During the four months of his labours in England he visited the Quarterly and subordinate meetings of Friends in seven counties, and found time to write essays upon "Loving our Neighbours," "A Sailor's Life," and "Silent Worship." His mind seems to have been greatly exercised by a sense of the intimate connection of luxury and oppression; the burden of the labouring poor rested heavily upon him. In his lonely wanderings on foot through the rural districts (for he did not feel free to use the post on account of the hard treatment of the horses), or in his temporary sojourn in crowded manufacturing towns, the eager competitions and earnest pursuit of gain of one class, and the poverty and physical and moral degradation of another, so oppressed him that his health suffered and his strength failed. It is observable that, in his frequent mention throughout his journal of inward trials and afflictions, he nowhere betrays any personal solicitude, and merely selfish anxiety, for his own soul. His singular conscientious scruples, his close self-questionings, are prompted by a tender concern for universal well-being; an earnest desire that no act or omission of his own should add to the evil and misery under which the creation groans. He offered no prayers for special personal favours. He was, to use his own words, mixed with his fellow-creatures in their misery, and could not consider himself a distinct and separate being. He left all that concerns self to the will of his Father in Heaven, trusting to find a place among the "many mansions," but never asking to see the title-deeds of his inheritance. His last public labour was a testimony in the York Meeting in behalf of the poor and enslaved. [John Woolman](#)'s last prayer on his deathbed was a commendation of his "fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony" to the Omnipotent Power whom he had learned to call his Father.



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and attended most of the sittings of the Quarterly Meeting there, but before it was over he was taken ill of the smallpox. Our friend Thomas Priestman, and others who attended him, preserved the following minutes of his expressions in the time of his sickness:-

First day the 27th of the Ninth Month, 1772. - His disorder appeared to be the smallpox. Being asked to have a doctor's advice, he signified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind so to do, standing wholly resigned to His will who gave him life, and whose power he had witnessed to raise and heal him in sickness before, when he seemed nigh unto death; and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die, and did not choose any should be sent for to him; but a young man, an apothecary, coming of his own accord the next day and desiring to do something for him, he said he found a freedom to confer with him and the other Friends about him, and if anything should be proposed as to medicine that did not come through defiled channels or oppressive hands, he should be willing to consider and take it, so far as he found freedom.

Second day. - He said he felt the disorder to affect his head, so that he could think little and but as a child, and desired, if his understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about him knew he had a testimony against. Third day. - He uttered the following prayer: - "'O Lord, my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me, and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth; I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it; I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed. In the depth of misery, O Lord! I remembered that Thou art omnipotent; that I had called Thee Father; and I felt that I loved Thee, and I was made quiet in my will, and I waited for deliverance from Thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of Thy Son, and Thou taught me to follow Him, and I said, 'Thy will, O Father, be done.'"

Fourth day morning. - Being asked how he felt himself he meekly answered, "I don't know that I have slept this night; I feel the disorder making its progress, but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace." Some time after, he said he was sensible that the pains of death must be hard to bear, and if he escaped them now, he must sometime pass through them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind, had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return, leaving them to the divine protection, adding, "Though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I have freely given them up, having a hope that they will be provided for." And a little after said, "This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder; but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm."

In the night, a young woman having given him something to drink,



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he said, "My child, thou seemest very kind to me, a poor creature; the Lord will reward thee for it." Awhile after he cried out with great earnestness of spirit, "O my Father! my Father! how comfortable art Thou to my soul in this trying season!" Being asked if he could take a little nourishment, after some pause he replied, "My child, I cannot tell what to say to it; I seem nearly arrived where my soul shall have rest from all its troubles." After giving in something to be inserted in his journal, he said, "I believe the Lord will now excuse me from exercises of this kind; and I see no work but one, which is to be the last wrought by me in this world; the messenger will come that will release me from all these troubles, but it must be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for." He said he had laboured to do whatever was required according to the ability received, in the remembrance of which he had peace; and though the disorder was strong at times, and would like a whirlwind come over his mind, yet it had hitherto been kept steady and centred in everlasting love; adding, "And if that be mercifully continued, I ask and desire no more." Another time he said he had long had a view of visiting this nation, and some time before he came, had a dream, in which he saw himself in the northern parts of it, and that the spring of the Gospel was opened in Him much as it was in the beginning of Friends, such as George Fox and William Dewsbury, and he saw the different states of the people as clear as he had ever seen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was suddenly stopped, though he could not see for what end; but, looking toward home, fell into a flood of tears, which waked him.

At another time he said, "My draught seemed strongest towards the north, and I mentioned in my own Monthly Meeting, that attending the Quarterly Meeting at York, and being there, looked like home to me."

Fifth day night. - Having repeated consented to take medicine, but without effect, the Friend then waiting on him said through distress, "What shall I do now?" He answered with great composure, "Rejoice evermore, and in everything give thanks"; but added a little after, "This is something hard to come at." On sixth day morning he broke forth early in supplication on this wise: "O Lord, it was Thy power that enabled me to forsake sin in my youth, and I have felt Thy bruises for disobedience, but as I bowed under them Thou healedst me, continuing a father and a friend; I feel Thy power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment Thou wilt keep my heart steadfast unto Thee." On his giving directions to a Friend concerning some little things, she said, "I will take care, but hope thou wilt live to order them thyself." He replied, "My hope is in Christ, and though I may seem a little better, a change in the disorder may soon happen, and my little strength be dissolved, and if it so happen I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time, he said, "All good cometh from the Lord, whose power is the same, and He can work as He sees best." The same day he had directions given about wrapping his corpse; perceiving a Friend to weep, he said, "I would rather thou wouldst guard against weeping for me, my

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sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful conflicts, but now they seem over, and matters well settled; and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer, for sweet is His voice, and His countenance is comely."

First day, 4th of Tenth Month. — Being very weak and in general difficult to be understood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodness, and added, "How tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction, in which I may say in Job's words, tedious days and 'wearisome nights are appointed to me'; and how many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessaries of life, who might be relieved by them, and their distress at such a time as this in some degree softened by the administering of suitable things."

Second day morning. — The apothecary, who appeared very anxious to help him, being present, he queried about the probability of such a load of matter being thrown off his weak body; and the apothecary making some remarks implying he thought it might, he spoke with an audible voice on this wise: "My dependence is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for; and if it be His will to raise up this body again, I am content; and if to die, I am resigned; but if thou canst not be easy without trying to assist nature, I submit." After this, his throat was so much affected that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, and he frequently wrote when he wanted anything. About the second hour on fourth day morning he asked for pen and ink, and at several times, with much difficulty, wrote thus: "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ; I know not as to life or death."

About a quarter before six the same morning he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an hour, when, seeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without sigh, groan, or struggle.





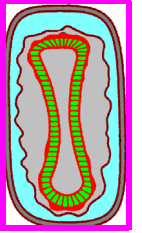
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1773

While the [small-pox](#) struck in the town of Warrington, [John Aikin](#) was keeping careful count of those who died, and their ages.

The 1st meeting of the Medical Society of London, held in this year, caused the creation of a commemorative painting — and in this commemorative painting one can see, with others, John Aikin and Edward Jenner.

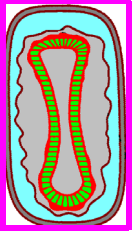


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1774

May 10, Tuesday: King Louis XV of [France](#) died of the [small pox](#) so Louis le Dauphine became King Louis XVI and [Marie Antoinette](#) became Queen of France and Navarre.

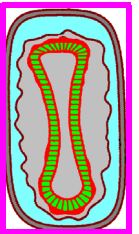


NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



December: The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal that “*Doctr. Lathome came to Town to inoculate for y^e small pox in [Salem Hospital](#).*”

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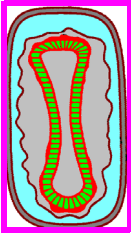


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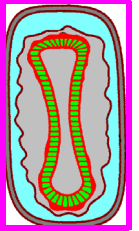
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1775

January 3, Tuesday: The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal: “Jan. 3d, 1774, Began to take Phisic [sic] preparatory to y^e small pox.”



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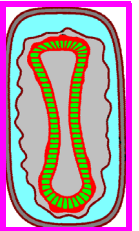
January 7: The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal: “Went to y^e Hospital & was inoculated for y^e small pox.”

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January 15, Sunday: After receiving the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church and a special papal blessing with plenary indulgence, Giovanni Battista Sammartini died in Milan, at an approximate age of 74 years.

The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal: “Symptoms at their hight. [sic] wrote a sermon.”

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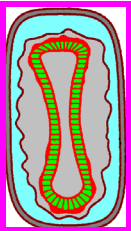
January 16, Monday: The expedition of [Captain James Cook](#) aboard *Resolution* discovered and named Willis Island and Bird Island, and rediscovered and renamed South Georgia. South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands were claimed for Great Britain.

The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal: “Preached at y^e Hospital upon chearfulness [sic].”

That evening, the remains of Giovanni Battista Sammartini were placed in the Church of San Alessandro, Milan.

January 23, Monday: The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal: “Broke out at y^e fullest.”

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January 30, Monday: The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal: “*Very much unstrung with taking phisic* [sic].”

[Walter Savage Landor](#) was born at Eastgate House at almost the top of Smith Street, next to the eastward town gate of Warwick, England as the eldest son of a physician, Dr Walter Landor, with his 2d wife, Elizabeth Savage Landor (his birth home is now The King’s High School For Girls).



His father inherited estates at Rugeley in Staffordshire and his mother estates at Ipsley Court and Tachbrook in Warwickshire. The family tradition was Whig, in reaction to King George III and Prime Minister William Pitt. After attending a school at Knowle [Walter](#) would be sent to Rugby School,



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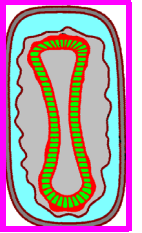
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but there he would take offence at Dr. James's review of his work and be removed at this headmaster's request (in later life the two would reconcile). [Walter](#)'s temperament and violent opinions would create such embarrassment that when guests were expected the family would usually ask him to make himself scarce. Finally he would study privately with the Reverend William Langlely, vicar of Fenny Bentley and headmaster of Ashbourne Grammar School. In his youth there would be an incident in which a local farmer objected to his trespass — for this he caught the farmer in a net and threw him into the river. He was such a man as to create trouble wherever he went, throughout his life — and yet he would become dear to a great many people.

January 31, Tuesday: Fabrizio Giustiniani Banca replaced Alessandro Piero Francesco Grimaldi as Doge of [Genoa](#).

The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal: “Left y^e Hospital this morning.”

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November 7, Tuesday: [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) arrived in Weimar, where, encouraged by Duke Carl August, he would reside for the remainder of his life. His early works of the *Sturm und Drang* period there would include the play “*Gotz von Berlichingen*.”

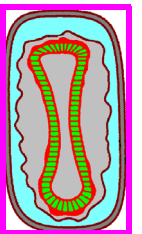


The Royal Governor of [Virginia](#), John Murray, Lord Dunmore, from the safe haven of a British ship off Norfolk, declared martial law in his province and promised freedom for every local [slave](#) who would join in his cause.

Governor Winton was formally deposed by act of the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly.

The Rev. John Swift of [Acton](#) of the [small-pox](#). During this year his son Dr. Swift of this town also died of this disease.

The Rev. John Swift was born in Framingham, and graduated at [Harvard College](#) in 1733. During the prevalence of the [small-pox](#) in [Acton](#), in 1775, he was severely attacked, and never able to preach afterwards. He died 7th November 1775, in the 62d year of his age, and the 37th of his ministry. He was a gentleman of talents, learning, and piety, though occasionally facetious, witty, and eccentric. His only printed publication which I [Dr.





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Lemuel Shattuck] have seen is a sermon preached at the ordination of Rev. Joseph Lee at Royalston. Mr. Swift married Abigail Adams of Medway, and had one child, who graduated at [Harvard College](#).²⁸

John Swift, only child of the Rev. John Swift, born 18th of November, 1741, graduated [at [Harvard College](#), like his father, in] 1762, and settled as a physician in [Acton](#), where he died of the [small-pox](#) about 1775.²⁹

Winter: Two British army deserters were brought before [General George Washington](#) at his headquarters and asserted that General William Howe was sending infected people out of the city “with design of spreading the [Smallpox](#).” A few days later, when the [small pox](#) broke out among civilian Americans fleeing the city in apparent confirmation of this tale, the CinC decided that he “must now give some Credit” to the hypothesis that the British, in order to reduce their disaffected American cousins again to subjugation, were prepared to resort even to [germ warfare](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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

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1776

A town was formed in central Massachusetts and took the name Amherst in honor of Lord Jeffery Amherst, the racist proponent of germ warfare and general of the British colonial forces in America who had just been elevated, back in the home country, to the standing of baron. What a great guy!

VARIOLA



"The man's [Sir Jeffery Amherst] documentary record speaks loudly enough regarding his character, if not regarding his ultimate culpability for the [small pox](#) that struck Indians near Fort Pitt in 1763 and 1764."

— Elizabeth A. Fenn,
"Biological Warfare in 18th-Century North America"



March 14, Thursday: The Continental Congress voted to disarm Tories — Americans opposed to the revolution.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

March 17, Sunday: Empress Ekaterina II granted a monopoly to Prince Urusov to operate a theater in Moscow. This was the beginning of the Bolshoi Theater.

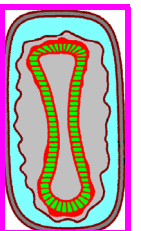
A rondo, duet and aria buffa by Luigi Cherubini were performed for the 1st time, at the Accademia degli Ingegneri, Florence.

Colonial naval forces ended their occupation of the Bahamas. The munitions of Fort Montagne loaded aboard his ships, Commander in Chief of the Fleet of the United Colonies [Esek Hopkins](#) headed back toward New England.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



During an outbreak of the [small pox](#), the regular army under General Howe (6,000 British troops) suddenly evacuated [Boston](#). When the revolutionary troops would march in, they would find only 2,719 Bostonians still there. The remainder had either previously fled to them on the mainland during the town's occupation by the





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regular army — or had fled (1,000 loyalists) with the army.



For instance, the [Concord](#) antislavery Tory, Daniel Bliss, who had under threat removed his family from Concord to Boston, on this day evacuated with General Thomas Gage's army to Halifax.



Distinguish between the Reverend Daniel Bliss (1714-1764) of [Concord](#), the father, and his son Daniel Bliss, Junior (1739-1805) the lawyer of [Concord](#) and then of Frederickton, New Brunswick.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

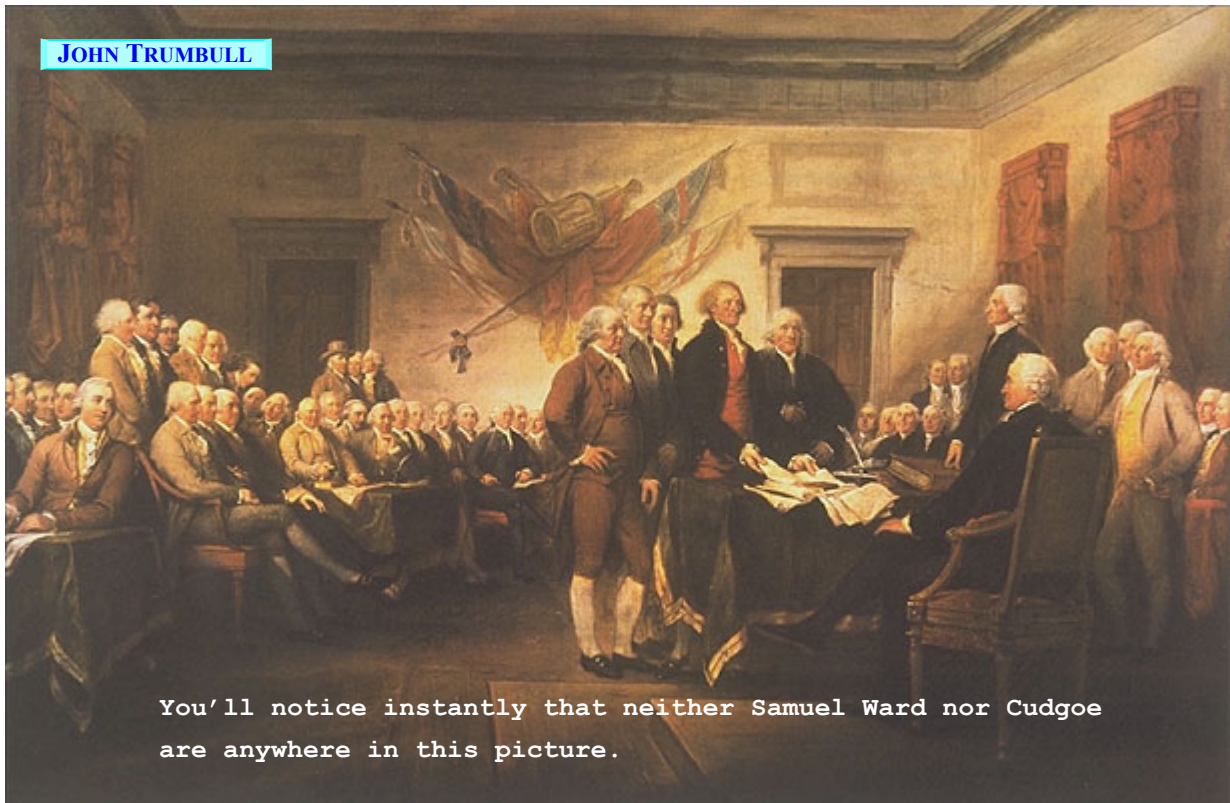
March 25, Monday: Rebel militia attacked a community of escaped slaves on Tybee Island at the mouth of the Savannah River, Georgia, killing as many as they can find. The whites feared that the British would use the former slaves against them, as they had pledged to do.

New reached Philadelphia of the British evacuation of Boston.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Governor Samuel Ward of [Rhode Island](#) had died of the [small pox](#) in Philadelphia just three months prior to the [Declaration of Independence](#), which would have included his signature. Attending him at his deathbed was his [slave Cudgoe](#), whom he had purchased in 1768. His place at the Continental Congress had been taken on March 17th by the newly elected attorney [William Ellery](#) of [Newport](#). His remains would be interred in the graveyard of the 1st Baptist Church in Philadelphia (in 1860 they would patriotically be relocated to the Common Burial Ground in Newport).

JOHN TRUMBULL



You'll notice instantly that neither Samuel Ward nor Cudgoe are anywhere in this picture.

In regard both to the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) and to the poet [Ellery Channing](#) of Thoreau's time period in Concord, bear in mind, as everyone else did during this period, that this name was a most famous name, for regardless of whoever gets credit for creating the [Declaration of Independence](#), a [William Ellery](#) (1727-1820) later cosigned it on behalf of [Rhode Island](#):

New Hampshire: *Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton*

Massachusetts: *John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry*

Rhode Island: *Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery*

Connecticut: *Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams,*



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Oliver Wolcott

New York: *William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris*

New Jersey: *Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark*

Pennsylvania: *Robert Morris, Dr. Benjamin Rush, [Benjamin Franklin](#), John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross*

Delaware: *Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean*

Maryland: *Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton*

Virginia: *George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton*

North Carolina: *William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn*

South Carolina: *Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton*

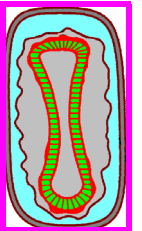
Georgia: *Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton*

June 10, Monday: The Declaration of [Ipswich](#), in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

On the recommendation of the Congress, a census of [Rhode Island](#) was initiated (the population would turn out to number 55,011).

Hospitals for inoculation for the [small pox](#) were ordered to be established in each county of [Rhode Island](#).

There was continued debate in the 2d Continental Congress at Philadelphia and a “committee of five” was appointed to draft a subdued declaration of war, to wit, a “statement of independence” for the colonies. Since there were a couple of northerners –John Adams of Massachusetts and Roger Sherman of Connecticut– plus a couple of men from the Middle Colonies –[Benjamin Franklin](#) of Philadelphia and Robert R. Livingston of New York (refer to the guy in the middle, on the back of the \$2 bill)– for political correctness they would need to incorporate one or another southerner — and so they picked out a junior delegate, redheaded [Thomas Jefferson](#) of Virginia.



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

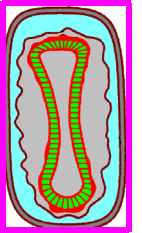
THE AGE OF REASON WAS A PIPE DREAM, OR AT BEST A PROJECT. ACTUALLY, HUMANS HAVE ALMOST NO CLUE WHAT THEY ARE DOING, WHILE CREDITING THEIR OWN LIES ABOUT WHY THEY ARE DOING IT.

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September: [George Washington](#)'s Council of War began to recommend evacuation of New-York. Congress authorized him to abandon the metropolis if necessary.

The 1st Boston epidemic of the [small pox](#) to be effectively muted by prior inoculation.



Unfortunately, there would be no inoculation against the contagion of fire. As General Washington and his advisers discussed the possibility of torching New-York to deny accommodation to the British, a fire that had started in one of that city's many taverns was spreading — and before burning itself out would destroy fully a quarter of the city's buildings.



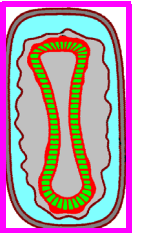
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1777

Major Robert Donkin prepared a book *MILITARY COLLECTIONS AND REMARKS*, in which he commented in a footnote that British soldiers ought to “dip arrows in matter of small pox, and twang them at the American rebels, in order to inoculate them; this would sooner disband those stubborn, ignorant, enthusiastic savages, than any other compulsive measures. Such is their dread and fear of that disorder!” This passage would be physically removed, cut out of the page, of almost every copy of the major’s edition — and we don’t now know how that suppression of the remark had been effected, or at whose instigation.

In this same year, because of fear that his British opponents were about to attempt to spread the [small pox](#) among American fighters, [General George Washington](#) ordered that his entire Continental Army be immediately variolated.³⁰



30. [General Washington](#) had reported to John Hancock during the Siege of Boston in Winter 1775-1776 that two British deserters had arrived at his headquarters with a story that General William Howe was sending infected people out of the city “with design of spreading the Smallpox,” and that a few days later, apparently confirming this story, the small pox had broken out among civilian Americans fleeing the city. He had commented in that letter: “I must now give some Credit to it.”



THE SMALL POX

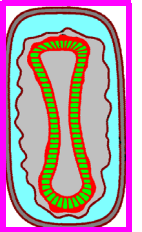
THE SMALL POX

1779

March 15, Monday: The soprano Luigia Polzelli and her husband the violinist Antonio Polzelli were hired by Prince Nicholas Esterházy. Soon she would become the mistress of Franz Joseph Haydn, a position she would maintain until her departure in 1790.

In the outbreak of the [small pox](#) that had begun in the previous year, a total of 8 persons died including on this day [Madam Mary Moody Emerson](#), 77-year-old wife of the Malden minister.

[Dr. Samuel Johnson](#)'s THE LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT ENGLISH POETS; WITH CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THEIR WORKS. Henry Thoreau would access, in this, Dr. Johnson's comments about [John Milton](#).



EMINENT ENGLISH POETS



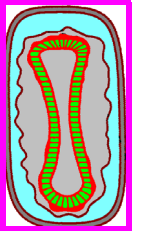
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1780

A [small pox](#) epidemic spread throughout the Great Plains region, killing of large numbers of Chippewa, Shoshoni, Sisika, Kainai, Peigan, Cree, Assiniboin, and Gros Ventre.

In [London](#), [Charles Lamb](#), age 5, contracted the [small pox](#).

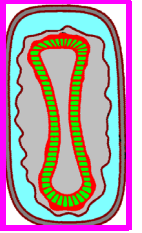


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1781

A [small pox](#) epidemic moved east and north, from the valley of the Missouri River out through Wisconsin and Minnesota, the Dakotas, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, reaching all the way up to a settlement near the Arctic Circle, at Lake Athabasca.



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.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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 Mexico. 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

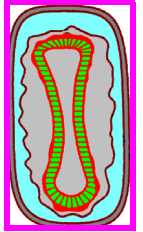
THE SMALL POX

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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 Scammel'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
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;

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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,
 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 Speilberg'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?

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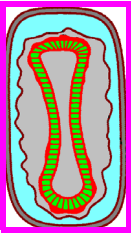
THE SMALL POX

1787

[Jean François Marmontel](#)'s *ELÉMENTS DE LITTÉRATURE* (made up of articles that had appeared in *L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE*). Also, during this year, the 1st edition of his *OEUVRES COMPLÈTES*.

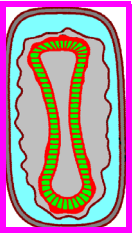
For his contribution to calculations needed in the field of marine insurance, [Sylvestre François Lacroix](#) was the co-winner of the year's Grand Prix of the French Académie des Sciences (he would, however, never receive this prize). When the Lycée failed for financial reasons, he again needed to move to the provinces. At the École d'Artillerie in Besançon he would be offering courses in mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

[Thaddeus Mason Harris](#) graduated from [Harvard College](#). Although through the influence of friends he was invited to become private secretary to General [George Washington](#), an attack of the [small pox](#) would get in the way of his filling this position. For about a year he would make a study of theology while in charge of a classical school in [Worcester](#). For a number of years he would be supplying articles for [The Massachusetts magazine, or, Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment](#) (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews).



NEW "HARVARD MEN"

Six-year-old [Ebenezer Elliott](#) came down with the [small pox](#). For six weeks he would be blind. When he would recover, his features would be disfigured as you can see below. He would be in ill health for most of his life.



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1788

July 3, Thursday: [Dr. John Cuming](#) of [Concord](#) died at the age of 60 after being bled over his objections by the physician of neighboring Chelmsford, and was buried in the Old Hill Burying Ground beneath a headstone carved by Thomas Park (this isn't it).



Dr. Cuming left some clothing and some military equipment to [Waldo Emerson](#)'s father, the Reverend [William Emerson](#) of [Boston](#). He left £300 pounds sterling to [Harvard College](#), the income from which was to endow a chair of physics (medicine), that would be useful as seed money for the establishment of Harvard Medical School with Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse and Surgeon John Warren as its 1st professors. In addition, he left £150 sterling to benefit the [Town School](#) in [Concord](#), and £150 sterling to be distributed among the poor. He also left behind a small sum to ease the anxieties of the Selectmen, with which they could care for Bristo and Jem,



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his two former slaves, should they ever become a burden upon the town.

BRISTER FREEMAN

His benevolent and liberal disposition was manifest in the judicious disposition of his estate. Beside many other legacies, he bequeathed "for the use of the town of Concord three hundred pounds sterling, one moiety thereof to be equally distributed for the benefit of the private schools in the town of Concord, and to be especially under the direction of the Selectmen for the time being; the other moiety thereof to be annually disposed of among the poor of said town, at the discretion of the minister and Selectmen of the town of Concord for the time being – the use of the above sum of money to be for the above purposes and for no other under any pretence whatever." He also made it the residuary legatee of one quarter of his real estate undisposed of at the death of his wife. The whole amounted to £500 lawful money or \$1,666.66. He gave "to the church of Concord, fifty pounds sterling, to be laid out in silver vessels to furnish the communion table" and also twenty five pound sterling to be forever kept as a fund to be disposed of by the minister and deacons for the benefit "of the poor communicants"; and also £20 to the Rev. Dr. Ripley.

He bequeathed "to the University in Cambridge three hundred pounds sterling, the income of the same to be appropriated for a professor of physic" and also made it a residuary legatee in the same manner as he did the town of Concord.³¹

Another class of donations has been made to the town for the relief of the *silent* poor, – those individuals who are needy, but do not wish to throw themselves on the town for support. They are as follows; from

Peter Wright ³²	\$277.42	Abel Barrett ³³	
	\$500.00		
John Cuming	833.33	Jonathan Wheeler ³⁴	500.00

The town of Concord has also a fund of \$833.33 given by John Cuming, Esq., for the benefit of the "private schools," in the language of his Will, which has been distributed in all the districts but the centre one. Another donation now amounting to \$744.92 was given by John Beaton, Esq.,³⁵ for the support of

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

32. PETER WRIGHT was a weaver, son of Captain Edward Wright, and died January 15, 1718, aged 53. He bequeathed all his real estate, after the death of his wife and Cousin Elizabeth Hartwell, to the poor of Concord, to be under the direction of the selectmen, and of the minister, who is "to have a double vote to any of the selectmen." What belonged to the town was sold, in 1731, for £500 currency.

33. ABEL BARRETT was brother to Humphrey Barrett just mentioned. He commenced the mercantile business in Concord, but afterwards removed to Boston. He died in Liverpool, England, January 12, 1803.

34. JONATHAN WHEELER was the son of Ephraim Wheeler, and was successively a merchant in Concord, Boston, Baltimore, and England. He died, September 4, 1811, in the city of New York, ten days after his arrival from Europe.

35. JOHN BEATON, Esq. was a native of Scotland, and emigrated to this town, where he acquired a respectable estate as a merchant. He was remarkable for his honesty, integrity, and Christian virtues, and had the unlimited confidence of his fellow citizens. "As honest as John Beaton," was long a current saying, expressive of the character of a strictly honest man. He was Town Treasurer 17 years from 1754, and appointed justice of the peace by the crown, June 6, 1765. He died without issue, June 9, 1776, aged 47.



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schools and the poor.³⁶

WALDEN: Down the road, on the right hand, on Brister's Hill, lived Brister Freeman, "a handy Negro," slave of Squire Cummings once, -there where grow still the apple-trees which Brister planted and tended; large old trees now, but their fruit still wild and ciderish to my taste. Not long since I read his epitaph in the old Lincoln burying-ground, a little on one side, near the unmarked graves of some British grenadiers who fell in the retreat from Concord, -where he is styled "Sippio Brister,"- Scipio Africanus he had some title to be called, -"a man of color," as if he were discolored. It also told me, with startling emphasis, when he died; which was but an indirect way of informing me that he ever lived. With him dwelt Fenda, his hospitable wife, who told fortunes, yet pleasantly, -large, round, and black, blacker than any of the children of night, such a dusky orb as never rose on Concord before or since.

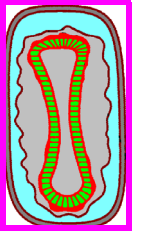
PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

BRISTO FREEMAN
BRISTER FREEMAN

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(Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, a [Quaker](#), would later be dismissed as a Professor at the Harvard Medical School on account of his principled opposition to war ([the Quaker Peace Testimony](#)) and because he persisted in administering inoculations against the [small pox](#).)



However, below, in a depiction dating to 1783, is the righteous surviving professor, Surgeon John Warren, no deluded Quaker, who righteously **did** believe in war and righteously **did not** believe in vaccination — and was therefore entitled to teach Harvard men to become physicians.)



“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



THE SMALL POX

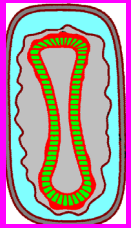
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1789

The [small pox](#) arrived in [Australia](#) and began to decimate the aboriginals.



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THE SMALL POX

1790

July 14, Wednesday: In France this was, of course, the 1st anniversary of Bastille Day. [Alexander von Humboldt](#) and Georg Forster were in Paris for the celebration. Humboldt would return to his studies. Forster would join the revolution and, four years later, die in disgrace and misery.



At some point during this year a federal grand jury, in its first session, returned an indictment of murder against [James DeWolf](#) (1764-1837) of [Bristol](#), son of Captain Mark Anthony DeWolf (1726-1792), for having thrown



The Family Crest

a woman overboard when she exhibited symptoms of the [small pox](#). The indictment read “James DeWolf, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil ... did feloniously, willfully and of his malice aforethought, with his hands clinch and seize in and upon the body of said Negro woman ... and did push, cast and throw her from out of said vessel into the Sea and waters of the

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Ocean, whereupon she then and there instantly sank, drowned and died.”

(The murderous James DeWolf, protected of course by his influential uncle Simeon Potter and other family members, would never be required to answer to this indictment.)



TRIANGULAR TRADER

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), per Volume 22, page 290 of the town records, John T. Clark on behalf of the firm of Clark & Nightingale, distillers engaged in the Triangular Trade, [manumitted](#) “Quam a Negro Man late a Servant to us for life”:

Know all Men to who these Presents shall come that We Clarke & Nightingale of Providence in the County of Providence Merchants, for & in Consideration of the Sum of Fifty Spanish Milled Dollars to us in Hand paid by Quam a Negro Man late a Servant to us for life & for divers other good Considerations us thereunto moving, have manumitted & set free, the said Negro Man named Quam hereby for us & our Heirs, Relinquishing all Claim or Title to the said Negro Man his services or Labour forever hereafter. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names as the Firm of our House this fourteenth Day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred & Ninety—

Clark & Nightingale

Witness Sam Arnold

SLAVERY

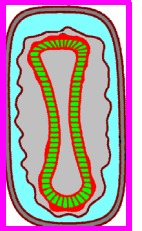
We wonder at the magnificent gentility of these white folks engaged in the Triangular Trade, in setting free this man of color who was their servant for life, and we also wonder — **how old** might Quam have been at the point at which he was thus made free?

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1791

Daniel Thompson, after trekking across the Ojibway country of to the west of Lake Superior, reported that “This great extent of country was formerly [before the [small pox](#) came in 1781] very populous, but the aggregate of its inhabitants does not exceed three hundred warriors; and among the few whom I saw it appeared to me that the widows were more numerous than the men.”





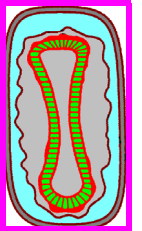
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THE SMALL POX

1792

Faced with an epidemic of the [small pox](#), the entire town of [Boston](#) was inoculated with the kine-pock within three days. Similar inoculations took place in [Concord](#).

The [small-pox](#) prevailed in the town in 1703; but it does not appear that any died of the disease. In 1792 it was introduced by inoculation. A hospital was fitted up where Mr. Augustus Tuttle now [1835] lives; and 130 persons went there at several times to be inoculated under the care of the three physicians of the town. From some cause the disease spread. It appeared at Amos Wright's (Deacon Jarvis's [Francis Jarvis]), at Cyrus Hosmer's, at Deacon Chandler's, and at Ephraim Potter's. At the last place a new hospital was fitted up where the sick were taken, and near which a small burying-ground and grave-stone now [1835] mark the melancholy ravages of this disease. Ten persons were its victims, - 2 by inoculation and 8 by contagion, - and were buried by themselves; it being considered improper to inter them in the usual ground. Happily for mankind, the terrors which the appearance of this disease once inspired, are much mitigated by kine-pock inoculation.³⁷



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



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1793

14th of the 11th month: [Friend Job Scott](#), in Ballitore, [Ireland](#), indicated in a dictated letter that he was in the throes of the [small-pox](#). After providing some advice for his children as to their education, etc., he asked that if he should succumb, he be granted a “plain and simple” interment.

22d of the 11th month: [Job Scott](#) died of the [small-pox](#) at the home of Elizabeth Shackleton in Ballitore, [Ireland](#) in the 43d year of his age. (His children would become Swedenborgians and when one of them would get married with a [Quaker](#), that Quaker would be disowned.)

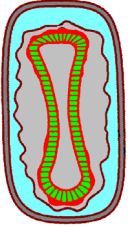


THE SMALL POX

1796

Dr. Edward Jenner vaccinated against the small pox.

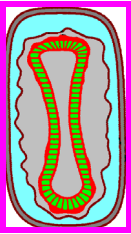
THE SMALL POX



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

May 14, Saturday: Dr. Edward Jenner was made aware that, a few years before, Benjamin Jesty, a farmer in Dorset, had inoculated his family with matter from the udder of a cow having the cow pox, and that the Jesty family was alive and healthy. He therefore took the risk of introducing into a vein of James Phipps, an 8-year-old, some matter from a fresh cowpox lesion on the finger of Sarah Nelmes, a dairymaid.




VARIOLA



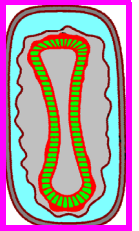
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

July 1, Friday: After four months of imprisonment by an Arab chieftain, Mungo Park escaped with little more than a horse and a compass.

James Phipps, the 8-year-old experimented upon on May 14th  by Dr. Edward Jenner, had developed only a slight fever and only a low-grade **small pox** lesion. At this point the doctor opened the boy's vein again, and introduced this time the full-strength matter of a human small pox lesion.

—And nothing happened: James did not die, did not get sick, did not even get hot.³⁸



38. You understand of course that the only safe place to have any physician, who would feel free to experiment on the lower classes in this manner, is in prison. —In the sort of prison where they make damned sure that the prisoners do not have access to any sharp objects. Do not allow yourself to get carried away by the fact that the 2d part of this experiment happened to be carried out without actual harm to the human patient being thus experimented upon without informed consent.



THE SMALL POX

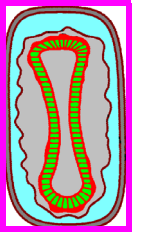
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1798

At this point in the struggle against the [small pox](#) or *variola*, what Dr. Edward Jenner actually had accomplished in his touted generalized “discovery of vaccination” in his *AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE VARIOLAE VACCINAE, A DISEASE ... KNOWN BY THE NAME OF COW POX* was develop a less virulent analogue (from a *vaccinia* virus afflicting cows which was sometimes being transmitted with benevolent results to dairymaids and others who tended these domestic animals) which caused the human body to generate an antibody which would effectively attack and destroy the smallpox virus.



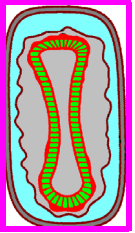
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

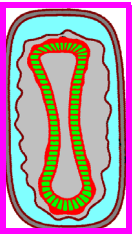
19TH CENTURY

1800

➡ The term “vaccination” was introduced, and at this introductory point it meant precisely what its etymology would indicate: it meant inoculation with the pox matter from an infected cow to prevent the full development of the more dangerous small pox in humans. Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Harvard College’s medical department issued a pamphlet entitled A PROSPECT OF EXTERMINATING SMALL POX which persuaded many American physicians to attempt immunization by vaccination with the cow pox.

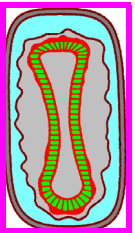


➡ June 9, Monday: The town of Ipswich voted that any persons who, in the opinion of the selectmen, have been exposed to the small pox, were to be inoculated within 24 hours at their own expense by Mr. John Lummus.



➡ October 16, Thursday: Tamerlan, a tragedy by Johann Friedrich Reichardt to words of Mandenville (translated by Schaum), was performed for the initial time in the Konigliches theater, Berlin (this had been intended for production in Paris in 1786 but the composer had been forced to return to Berlin upon the death of King Friedrich II).

The town of Ipswich voted to permit a local physician, Dr. Thomas Manning, as an experiment to inoculate a few persons who have already had the disease, for the small pox. Dr. Manning was to send of to his brother in London, for the matter with which to conduct said experiment.

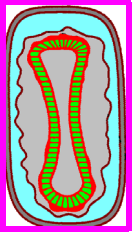


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

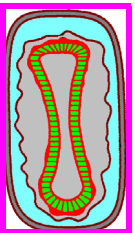
1801

→ May 6, Wednesday: On October 16, 1800 → the town of Ipswich had voted to permit their local physician, Dr. Thomas Manning, as an experiment to inoculate a few persons who had already survived the cow pox, with the small pox. The physician having received the matter for this experiment from his brother in London (the usual way to keep the variola fresh on the voyage across the Atlantic was to infect some orphan child, put the child aboard the vessel to suffer its illness on the voyage, and then collect fresh matter from the child's healing scars upon arrival), and the experiment having been conducted, on this date the good news was released that the town's experiment had been successful: not so much as one of the citizens who had submitted to this variolation had died.



→ September 17, Thursday: Edward William Lane was born in Hereford, England, 3d son of the Reverend Dr.Theophilus Lane.

Thomas Jefferson wrote to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse that he had completed the variolation against the small pox of several hundred people, including the Monticello slaves, his sons-in-law, and some of his neighbors, with the kine pox.




THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT

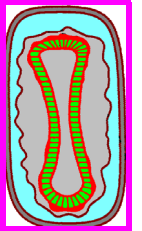


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1803


 The king of Spain organized a technique for transfer of Dr. Edward Jenner's anti-small pox vaccine material across the Atlantic Ocean, for the benefit of his subjects in the Caribbean. The manner in which this transfer was effected was inventive: a consignment of unvaccinated orphans was sent out, and each week the crew vaccinated two more of these orphans with fresh pus from the sores of orphans who had been previously vaccinated, until the vessel reached its destination.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1807

 The Cayuga nation of the Iroquois ceded the last of its land in upstate New York, some three square miles, and moved to Ohio to join their Mingo relatives, the Seneca of Sandusky.³⁹

The headmen of the Five Nations of the Iroquois sent a wampum belt to Dr. Edward Jenner as a token of their appreciation.



On special occasions such as when attending the medical needs of King George IV as his

39. The bulk of the tribe's reservation, nearly 64,000 acres, had already been unlawfully obtained by the state of New York in 1795 in return for the promise of a \$1,800 annual payment in perpetuity. The states were of course prohibited from such activities by the Constitution of the United States of America, but in this case the federal government filed no objection. (On February 17, 2000, a federal jury in Syracuse NY would award the surviving Cayuga the sum of \$36,900,000 as the original value of the land taken in these illegal centuries-old transactions, and then in October 2001 the federal court would mandate a supplementary payment of the accrued interest on this delinquent payment, amounting to an additional \$247,900,000.)

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THE SMALL POX

Physician Extraordinary, Dr. Jenner would wear this belt with pride.

VARIOLA






THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1808

 February 3, Wednesday: Publication of the Twelve Dances for piano op.27 and the Twelve Dances for piano op.28 by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

Friend [Moses Brown](#) had his family inoculated with “kine pox.”

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was agonizing about his upcoming trip to [Providence](#) to attend the [Quaker](#) Quarterly Meeting there — the big city being all of 30 miles distant while he never in his 27 years had been farther from his home than to East [Greenwich](#) and to [Swansea](#), “the distances of which is only computed 25 miles.”

4th day / This morning a little past 10 O'clock went on board the packet in company with J Earle, J Rodman, E Rodman & M Buffum & after a pleasant passage arrived in [Providence](#) about sunset & was very affectionately received by our kind friends O & D[?] Brown. J E, J R & myself lodged there & the young women at Wm Almys. I had the satisfaction of being in company with Richard Jordan, & Rowland Greene, the evening passed pleasantly & instructingly----


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1810

 Saartje Baartman, known to publicity as the “Hottentot Venus,” was brought to Piccadilly Circus by a white man named Hendrik Cezar and placed upon display. He was a Boer with a body type characteristic of that group, she was a Khoikhoi with a body type characteristic of that group. After a successful tour of the provinces, she was brought to Paris to be examined, and painted in the nude, by the Baron [Georges Jean-Léopold-Nicolas-Frédéric Cuvier](#).

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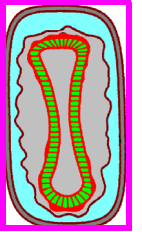


LOVE and BEAUTY -- SARTJEE the HOTTENTOT VENUS.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

The cartoonists of the day paid particular attention to her huge butt, relatively safe to draw pictures of, but the paying spectators were paying attention particularly to her genitals, for the shocking pink lips of her vagina hung down to an extraordinary length. She would die in Europe in 1817 of complications of alcoholism and the [small pox](#), giving the Baron his opportunity to dissect her private parts and write a lengthy report for the *MÉMOIRES DU MUSEUM D'HISTOIRE NATURELLE*.






THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

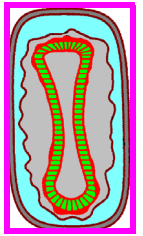
1811

 August: The [St. Helena Register](#) resumed production after a 7-month shutdown. Saul Solomon had printed what Governor Major-General Alexander Beatson had considered “objectionable remarks.” The gazette was re-opened under the supervision of Parson Boys, who was to bring to the Governor’s prior attention any editorial copy that one might consider “doubtful communication.” (A decade later Mr. Boys himself would offer some remarks in the course of a sermon that would put him at odds with the governor.)

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

The [small pox](#) took its toll in Billerica, Massachusetts:



**Erected
in memory of
and to designate the place where
Asa Frost⁴⁰**

40. Asa Frost of Chelmsford MA had been born on March 13, 1767 to Ebenezer Frost and Esther Frost, and had married Rhoda Trull of Billerica, daughter of Samuel Trull, at Billerica on July 25, 1790. Rhoda Trull Frost had been born on May 31, 1759 and survived the smallpox epidemic and died on September 23, 1849.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

**Asa Frost Jr.⁴¹
Levi Frost⁴²
Eleazar Farmer⁴³
Sarah Hodgman
Samuel T. Batcheller⁴⁴
Were buried who died
of the smallpox Aug. 1811
Erected 1835**

41. Asa Frost, Jr. had been born on May 29, 1790 in Chelmsford MA, son of Asa Frost and Rhoda Trull Frost.

42. Levi Frost of Chelmsford MA had been born on September 25, 1772, son of Ebenezer Frost and Esther Frost.

43. Eleazar Farmer of Chelmsford MA, son of Simeon and Mary, had been baptized on February 1, 1767.


44. Samuel T. Batcheller was perhaps a son of Joseph Batcheller and Hannah Trull Batcheller, a sister of Rhoda Trull Frost.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

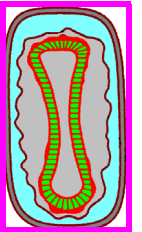
1812

 In roughly this timeframe [John White Webster](#) and [George Parkman](#) studied under Professor John Collins Warren at the old [Harvard Medical College](#) on Mason Street in [Boston](#) (Dr. Webster would murder Dr. Parkman, and be hanged).

[HARVARD COLLEGE](#)

Because he was a [Quaker](#) pacifist who had tried to remain positively oriented during the Revolution, and because he practiced [small pox](#) vaccination, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse was dismissed from this medical faculty.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

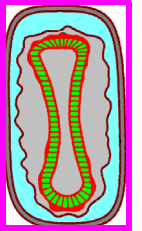


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1813

February 27, Saturday: Early in the 18th Century Europeans had become aware that in Asia and Africa the [small pox](#) had more or less been brought under control by a technique of “variolation.” This had been introduced into the United States by the Reverend Cotton Mather, and the downside had been that the variolated person could become acutely infectious, and sometimes this treatment had killed the patient. Then in 1798 a relatively safe and effective method of cowpox or “kinepox” vaccination against the small pox had been pioneered by Dr. Edward Jenner. This new technique did not carry with it any significant risk of contagion or epidemic. At the urging of [Baltimore, Maryland physician James Smith, the attending physician at the Baltimore Alms House](#), the US federal Congress passed and President James Madison “enthusiastically signed” [An Act to Encourage Vaccination \(2 Stat. 806\)](#). Despite nothing remotely like this being in the federal Constitution, the federal congress had no qualms about mandating that the President appoint Dr. James Smith as the “National Vaccine Agent” to preserve supplies of “genuine vaccine matter” and “furnish the same to any citizen of the United States, whenever it might be applied for” by way of postage-free packets up to half an ounce (postage on a half-ounce package was in that period \$0.24 to \$1.00 depending on distance, and an additional payment to the mail carrier was needed for a city delivery). The key benefit of such legislation, in this capitalist nation, was that it intercepted the profit motive: there had been a danger that local physicians would lock up the supplies of the vaccine and make them available only for patients who could be induced to “pay through the nose” for their protection (in this case the profit motive was antagonistic to the needs of public health for, without such generally available vaccination, there would be an overwhelmingly dangerous prospect of epidemics among the unvaccinated poor; a for-profit vaccine operation, for the maximization of profit, would need to encourage regular outbreaks to ensure the sale of its product). Dr. Smith claimed that his work had epidemiological benefits that were precisely the opposite of this: by tracking the requests for vaccine he was receiving, he could “trace with considerable accuracy the daily progress which the Small Pox made in the United States.” He would come into the habit of pro-actively posting his vaccine to cities that were in the path of a spreading epidemic.



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THE SMALL POX

1815

→ [Joseph Bouchette](#) published A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF LOWER CANADA: WITH REMARKS UPON UPPER [CANADA](#), AND ON THE RELATIVE CONNEXION OF BOTH PROVINCES WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (London: Printed for the author and published by W. Faden in English and in French, 1815).

CARTOGRAPHY



Drawn by G. Bouchette

J. B. Walker engr.

Long's Farm on Lake Temisconate, at the extremity of the Portage.

BOUCHETTE'S CANADA

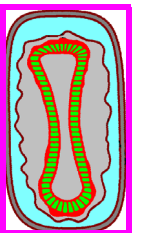


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

"A YANKEE IN CANADA": It is but a few years since Bouchette declared that the country ten leagues north of the British capital of North America was as little known as the middle of Africa.... Humboldt, speaking of the Orinoco, says that this name is unknown in the interior of the country; so likewise the tribes that dwell about the sources of the St. Lawrence have never heard the name which it bears in the lower part of its course. It rises near another father of waters, -the Mississippi,- issuing from a remarkable spring far up in the woods, called Lake Superior, fifteen hundred miles in circumference; and several other springs there are thereabouts which feed it. It makes such a noise in its tumbling down at one place as is heard all round the world. Bouchette, the Surveyor-General of the Canadas, calls it "the most splendid river on the globe"; says that it is two thousand statute miles long (more recent geographers make it four or five hundred miles longer); that at the Rivière du Sud it is eleven miles wide; at the Traverse thirteen; at the Paps of Matane, twenty-five; at the Seven Islands, seventy-three; and at its mouth, from Cape Rosier to the Mingan Settlements in Labrador, near one hundred and five miles wide.... Humboldt says that the river Plate, which has the broadest estuary of the South American rivers, is ninety-two geographical miles wide at its mouth; also he found the Orinoco to be more than three miles wide at five hundred and sixty miles from its mouth, but he does not tell us that ships of six hundred tons can sail up it so far, as they can up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, - an equal distance. If he had described a fleet of such ships at anchor in a city's port so far inland, we should have got a very different idea of the Orinoco.... We have not yet the data for a minute comparison of the St. Lawrence with the South American rivers; but it is obvious that, taking it in connection with its lakes, its estuary, and its falls, it easily bears off the palm from all the rivers on the globe; for though, as Bouchette observes, it may not carry to the ocean a greater volume of water than the Amazon and Mississippi, its surface and cubic mass are far greater than theirs.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT



A police court was established at Halifax, [Nova Scotia](#).

The [small pox](#) prevailed at Halifax.

Coals were first exported from the mines at Pictou.

[John Wedderburn Halkett](#) would for some five years be attempting to lobby the British government on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, in regard to a state of ongoing hostility between that company and the North West Company. The take of the colonial secretary, Lord Bathurst, on the violence that occurred during 1815/1816 at Red River, violence that destroyed the colony, was that this was merely an expectable quarrel between competing groups engaged in the fur trade. He would never display anything warmer than indifference while the curtness of his under-secretary, Henry Goulburn, could easily be considered to have been arrogant.



THE SMALL POX

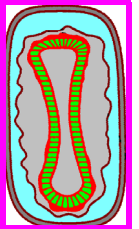
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

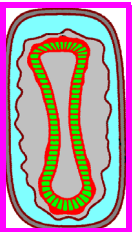
1816

February 1816: A bill was introduced in the federal House of Representatives to fund a significant administrative bureaucracy to distribute [cowpox or "kinepox" vaccine](#) freely throughout the states. The legislation would have provided [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) with \$1,500 for his services. Unfortunately, the bill was presented very late in the session. During initial discussions there would be general support for the measure.



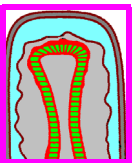
April 19, Friday: The US Congress chartered a national bank. Its capital was \$35,000,000; government to subscribe for \$7,000,000 in 5% bonds, and the rest to be subscribed by the public; \$7,000,000 in specie, and the rest in government stock. The bank was issue no notes under five dollars, and was forbidden to suspend under 12% penalty. Its directors were elected by the stockholders. The bank would be organized on October 28th, fifteen of the directors being Democrats and ten being Federalists. Its charter was to run 21 years, and it was to pay for it \$1,500,000 in three installments, at two, three, and four years. It was to be the depository of the public money, which it should transfer without charge. It was to establish a place of deposit and discount in [Washington DC](#), and a similar one in any state where 2,000 shares were held on application of the Legislature. The shares were \$100.

In the federal House of Representatives, [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#)'s annual income for free distribution of [cowpox or "kinepox" vaccine](#) was set to be \$1,500 (adjusted for inflation, that would today amount to an annual income of approximately \$150,000, which is well within the normal range for general practitioners).

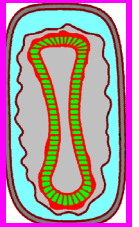


April 27, Saturday: The US federal government imposed a highly restrictive tariff on most goods.

In the federal House of Representatives, a motion was defeated that would have killed the bill to fund a significant administrative bureaucracy to distribute [cowpox or "kinepox" vaccine](#) freely throughout the states, and the bill's duration was extended from 3 years to 7 years.



April 29, Monday: The federal House of Representatives by a vote of 49 over 48 postponed indefinitely the bill to fund a significant administrative bureaucracy to distribute [cowpox or "kinepox" vaccine](#) freely throughout the states. Opposition to the bill had been led by Representative Daniel Webster of New Hampshire and Representative Pickering of Massachusetts, their objection being that there was not enough time left in the session for proper deliberation over such a \$1,500 expenditure. They also argued that there was no Constitutional provision for such a [National Vaccine Agent](#). This now appears disingenuous, but perhaps only because "providing for the general welfare" is an aspect of the federal Constitution that has come over the years to be greatly expanded.



Inno alla primavera, a cantata for four solo voices and orchestra by Luigi Cherubini to words of Vestri, was performed for the initial time, in London. This was the last of Vestri's commissions from the Royal Philharmonic Society and had been intended for the previous year, during which the composer had still been in London.

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



THE SMALL POX

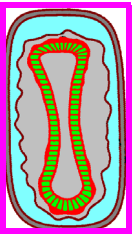
THE SMALL POX

2nd day 29th of 4 M / We are all nearly sick with colds - John was very restless last night, cough & high fever but seems better today tho' evidently under the influence of a very hevy cold. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December: [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) again petitioned the federal Congress, in its new session, to make “some suitable provision ... to enable him to supply [[small pox vaccine](#)] free of any charges” to the citizenry. Representative Condict introduced a bill substantively similar to the bill postponed during the previous sessions. Again there was lengthy debate over the proper amount of compensation for Dr. Smith. Again the House agreed on \$1,500 (adjusted for inflation, that would today amount to an annual income of approximately \$150,000, well within the normal range for general practitioners). The issue of Congressional authority to enact such a bill did not come up. The bill was again defeated, this time by a vote of 87 over 55.





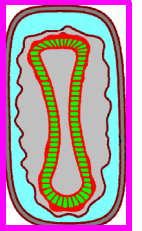
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1817



In the federal House of Representatives, Representative Atherton led the opposition to fund a significant administrative bureaucracy to distribute [cowpox or "kinepox" vaccine](#) freely throughout the states, gesturing toward the conceit that the General Welfare Clause of the federal Constitution did not specifically authorize the expenditure of money on vaccine. The gist of the Representative's lengthy speech was, however, that [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) had been distributing vaccine to laypersons for self-medication. "I can not conceive of a more direct method of endangering the health and life of the patient." Because of this practice of lay vaccination this bill "instead of being a bill for the encouragement of vaccination, ought to be called a bill ... to bring vaccination into disrepute." We do not know whether Atherton actually believed lay vaccination to be dangerous, or whether he was speaking on behalf of physicians whose privileged position in American society was being undermined.



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

In this year the brag was made, that for the first time in the USA a woman’s labor was being assigned a real monetary value — which would be an allusion to the fact that Lowell, Massachusetts was in this year pioneering the “material girl”:

For the first time in this country woman’s labor had a monetary value.... And thus a long upward step in our material civilization was taken.

Of course only **white** girls were being allowed to do this sort of work in the mills of Lowell.

By way of extreme contrast, as of this Year of Our Lord 1817 there still existed real **misogyny**.⁴⁵

FEMINISM

Nature intended women to be our slaves.... They are our property, we are not theirs.... They belong to us, just as a tree which bears fruit belongs to the gardener. What a mad idea to demand equality for women!... Women are nothing but machines for producing children.



In this year in the state of New York, giving suck to her **slave** baby Diana, the baby machine/slave woman Isabella (**Sojourner Truth**) would have been approximately 20 years old. By the end of this year, in exile on **St. Helena**, the famous prisoner and misogynist who made the above comment, **Napoléon Bonaparte**, would be exhibiting symptoms of serious illness.⁴⁶

Misogyny was not, of course, our only problem. There was also, for instance, anti-Semitism. In this year **Uriah Phillips Levy** was commissioned a Lieutenant in the US Navy. As our Navy’s solitary Jewish officer, he would soon be court-martialed three times in quick succession: his commanding officers were doing everything they could think of to “get” him. But Lieutenant Uriah would as we shall see prove to be a persistent sort of person....

45. Speaking of slaves and misogyny, Saartje Baartman, known to publicity as the “Hottentot Venus,” died in this year of complications of alcoholism and the **small pox**, giving to the Baron Georges Jean-Léopold-Nicolas-Frédéric Cuvier his eagerly awaited opportunity to dissect her genitals and write them up in the *Mémoires du museum d’histoire naturelle*. Wasn’t it white of these nice people, to have waited until she died of natural causes rather than merely “sacrifice” her to the cause of inter-racial understanding?

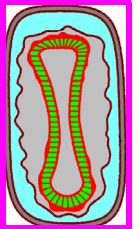


THE SMALL POX

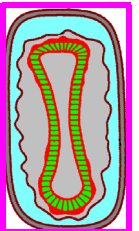
THE SMALL POX

1818

➡ After 9 years of pleading for government funding, [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) began to charge the public \$5 for a shipment of cowpox or “kinepox” vaccine for the prevention of outbreaks of [small pox](#). This would not be well received, as the public had come to expect their federal government to provide such a service for free. Dr. Smith, who often supplied free vaccine materials to the US Army, would greatly resent that he “must always be placed in the estimation of the public on the degrading level with every advertising Quack or Impostor, who expects to enrich himself upon the suffering of his fellow creatures.”



➡ Spring: After 5 years of repeated funding rejections from Congress, [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) began to solicit private charitable funds for his National Vaccine Institution, preparing a “Prospectus of a Permanent National Vaccine Institution.” He offered memberships, or “subscriptions,” of \$10 to physicians. Such memberships would support the continuing operation of the institution and guarantee physicians up to 5 years of unlimited [cowpox or “kinepox” vaccine](#). He estimated that he needed 500 such subscriptions, i.e., \$5,000, to continue in operation. He also solicited “donations” to erect a permanent building for the vaccine institution in Washington DC and establish a permanent endowment for the institute. He posted a \$40,000 bond payable to the President to guarantee that he would abide by his proposal and return all the donations and subscriptions were he unable to implement such a plan. He asked the public to consider his institution “as convenient [as] national Telegraphs stationed at every post office,” since it would deliver vaccine quickly to any post office in the country where an epidemic threatened.



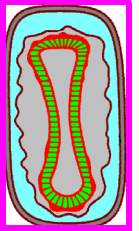
46. While [Napoleon Bonaparte](#) was on [St. Helena](#), it was once suspected, the Brit attendants had been quite systematically poisoned him with arsenic, gradually building up the dosage. These conspiracy theories attributed all signs of old age, such as Bonaparte’s growing stoutness and feebleness, to this poisoning, which had been quite evident in body samples from his corpse. Obviously someone as important as Napoleon would otherwise be above aging the way other ordinary people do! But then someone went and checked the wallpaper in the house he had been living in on St. Helena, the conspiracy theories about a deliberate poisoning quite collapsed. It had been stupid, really, for if one wants to poison someone, the very last thing one would do would be to challenge their system with gradually increasing levels of one’s poison of choice, because that would tend to build up an immunity rather than a susceptibility. –But the flakes that were still falling off the ceiling and walls of Napoleon’s dining area were still quite laden with arsenic even at the late date on which someone thought to make these tests. More recently, the same conspiracy theories sprang up while Clare Booth Luce was our ambassador to Italy during the 1950s. She was discovered to be suffering from arsenic poisoning, and it turned out to be the very old wallpaper in her study in Rome, which was flaking off into her breakfast.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

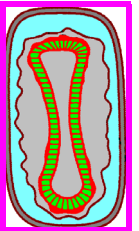
1819

➡ [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) hired a number of agents and sent them into neighboring states to widely disseminate [cowpox or "kinepox" vaccine](#) and collect subscriptions and donations.



➡ April 26, Monday: The Independent Order of Odd Fellows was founded on the North American continent in [Baltimore](#), when Thomas Wildey and four members of the order from England instituted Washington Lodge No. 1. This lodge would receive its charter in the following year from Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows in England (IOOF).

It is no accident that there was an epidemic of the [small pox](#) raging at the moment. One of the chief aims of such tontines as this has always been reduction in the level of general worry, of the person without an extended family: that upon one's death one's body might not be "decently" interred, or might not receive a "proper" funeral:



INSURANCE


"The American has dwindled into an Odd Fellow ... bury him decently."



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1820

 By this year, preventive vaccination with cowpox was common in the North. The small pox was becoming more rare. Did the Thoreau family of [Concord](#), Massachusetts practice this commonplace family health measure? If so, at what age was little David Henry inoculated with the cow pox?


VARIOLA

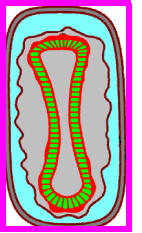


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

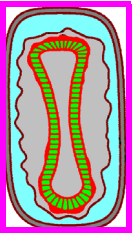
1821

 [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) reported to the federal Congress that he was employing 21 agents, 11 of whom traveled through Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and [North Carolina](#). He related that he was supplying these agents with horses, stationary, and vaccine at his own expense and had directed them to vaccinate “the young and the old, the rich as well as the poor” and distribute vaccine to all who asked free of charge. The agents organized mass meetings of 100 or more citizens at which they praised [cowpox or “kinepox” vaccination](#) and offered it for free. He estimated that his agents had during 1819 and 1820 vaccinated some 100,000 persons. His agents collected funds for his institute, retaining 20% for themselves as the cost of collection. As of January 1st, 1821, Smith reported, he had received pledges of \$23,125 in subscriptions and \$12,509 in donations but of this sum he had managed to actually collect only \$14,460. After the 20% commission he was paying, he had netted about \$11,500 (\$1,150,000 in today’s money).

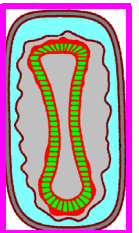


1822

→ The 1813 [Act to Encourage Vaccination \(2 Stat. 806\)](#) was repealed in the wake of the fatal accident caused when the Baltimore, Maryland office of [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) accidentally posting a sample of live [small pox](#) rather than of cow-pox vaccine to a physician in Tarboro, [North Carolina](#), a mistake that would take 10 lives. [Representative Hutchins Gordon Burton of North Carolina](#) led the assault on the bill, advancing his own campaign for governor of North Carolina by stoking the outrage of the citizenry. The repeal would leave this nation without a reliable source of vaccine until the rise of large pharmaceutical companies at the end of the century. In the absence of such vaccine distribution, during the 19th Century the small pox would be taking in the United States of America a terrible, largely unnecessary toll: instead of being responsible for but 1% of all deaths as in other civilized locales such as Bavaria, Lombardy, and Geneva, in the USA the small pox would be responsible for fully 14% of deaths (it would be outdistanced only by dysentery due to the cholera, and by yellow fever). The problem was that Dr. Smith was acutely aware that the fee-for-service physician was an unnecessary expense, and had come therefore into the practice of mailing supplies of his vaccine to any and every layperson who requested this. Such distribution was contrary to the vested interests of American physicians and therefore they had come to detest him the way the NRA detests new laws requiring gun registration! He had been done in not by an office mistake but by the profit motive. Capitalist physicians were furiously accusing him of having attempted to establish an illegal monopoly in restraint of their business trade — this nation's health amounting merely to their profit opportunity.



→ January 30, Wednesday: [Representative Hutchins Gordon Burton of North Carolina](#) demanded that a select committee of the federal House of Representatives be appointed to investigate the negligence of [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#). The body decided to wait for the results of an investigation by a group of Baltimore physicians into the mistake that had been made with live [small pox](#) rather than cow-pox vaccine. Within a couple of weeks a select committee would be appointed to look into whether the 1813 [Act to Encourage Vaccination \(2 Stat. 806\)](#) ought to be repealed.



Ramon Lopez Pelegrin replaced Jose Gabriel de Silva y Bazan, marques de Santa Cruz as Spain's First Secretary of State.

[Brister Freeman](#), former [slave](#), died of "fever and age" at the age of 78. In his final months he had been loaned "a pair of sheets, and woollen bed quilt" by Concord's Female Charitable Society, which noted in its records that he was "sick." Freeman's burial place is listed as [Concord](#) but of course it would have cost money to mark the spot with a stone.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal that his wife, Friend Hannah Rodman Gould, had offered him an adequate explanation for Quaker quietism, to wit, this world with its web of alluring interests is the abode of Satan, and a place of temptation:

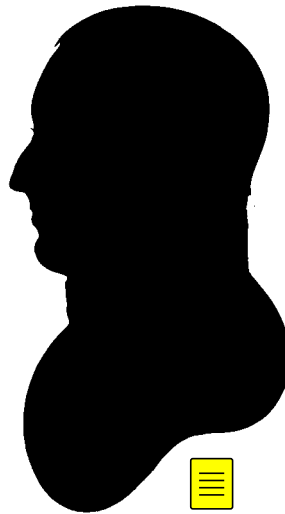
4th day 30th of 1 M / A Difficulty about a Worldly concern between Several individuals having been in agitation, in which my mind has been exercised, & that pretty much since yesterday - It called fourth this remark from my wife - She observed that "the time had been, when she did not see why the World Should stand first in the Trio of our potent enemies, as the 'World the Flesh & the Devil', but the longer she lived the more she was confirmed, that it would be out of place anywhere else" - It is indeed the most promonent forerunner, & sets the devil at work in some, in whom it would seem as if more of an overcoming had

THE SMALL POX

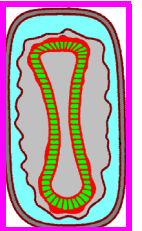
THE SMALL POX

been experienced but alas some object is turned up, which touches the interest, & Satan steps in & agravates the case, by stirring up evil surmisings, then to detraction, till the breach is sufficiently widened for him to effect his purposes, by laying waste & destroying love & harmony, & introducing that in which his dominion consists, Hatred Strife & every evil thing – May his power be averted

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 22, Friday: The federal House of Representative's committee report into the unfortunate accident that had been caused posting a sample of live [small pox](#) rather than cow-pox vaccine to a physician in Tarboro, [North Carolina](#), a mistake that had taken 10 lives, was quite favorable to [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#). The committee decided that though the unfortunate tragedy had indeed occurred, the benefits of vaccination were too great to repeal the 1813 [Act to Encourage Vaccination \(2 Stat. 806\)](#). After cataloging the successful efforts of various European governments at mandatory vaccination, the committee recommended that nothing be done. The incident had been understandable and was over.



The Legislature of Massachusetts instituted a Fire Society for the settlement at [Boston](#), and proposed a vote in regard to whether it ought to incorporate itself as a city.


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

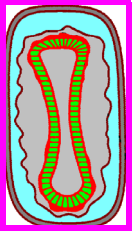
6th day 22 of 2 M / Mind much affected with Solemn accounts in Lynn & Salem - the Spirit of Ranterism appears to have [-] en to great height & the hearts of the faithful are almost ready to sink.


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX


 March: [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) offered to resign his commission so the National Institution could continue to safeguard our nation's vaccine supply under a new Vaccine Agent, but to no avail. Because the previous committee of the federal House of Representatives had cleared [Dr. Smith](#) of wrongdoing, [Representative Hutchins Gordon Burton of North Carolina](#) demanded that another select committee be appointed "to repeal the law, or place the institution on a more respectable footing ... the present agency was not only a nuisance, but a nuisance of the most dangerous kind" — and that he himself should serve on this new committee and author its report about the mistake the agency had been made by mailing out live [small pox](#) while supposing that it was mailing out its cow-pox vaccine.



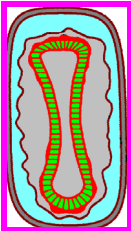

 April 13, Saturday: A performance of *Zelmira* began a Rossini festival at the Karnntertortheater, Vienna. The festival would include 6 different Rossini operas and continue from April into July.


In *The Euterpeiad* or *Musical Intelligencer*, John Rowe Parker first termed Anthony Philipp Heinrich the "[Beethoven](#) of America" — it was a name the composer would adopt.

The Great Lakes steamboat *Walk-in-the-Water* was refloated, beating the May 1st deadline.

The Orleans County town of Oak Orchard (later Carlton) was formed from Gaines and Ridgeway.

Because the previous committee of the federal House of Representatives had cleared [National Vaccine Agent Dr. James Smith](#) of wrongdoing, [Representative Hutchins Gordon Burton of North Carolina](#) had caused another select committee to be appointed, "to repeal the law, or place the institution on a more respectable footing ... the present agency was not only a nuisance, but a nuisance of the most dangerous kind." He himself was on this committee, and on this date he submitted the committee's report about the mistake that had been made with live [small pox](#) rather than cow-pox vaccine. Predictably, the report was harshly critical of Dr. Smith and reported a bill repealing the 1813 [Act to Encourage Vaccination \(2 Stat. 806\)](#). In result, [Dr. Smith's](#) commission was revoked by President James Monroe "as a consequence of the violent prejudices against him" and federal House of Representatives voted to repeal its act to encourage vaccination.




 May 2, Thursday: The Fellows of the Connecticut State Medical Society voted to petition the state legislature for an act of incorporation and funding of a public institution for the care of people with mental illness. The legislature did so and, on January 27, 1823, the Society voted to locate the facility at Hartford, on land owned by Ira Todd. The Connecticut Retreat for the Insane, later named the Hartford Retreat, opened for the admission of patients in 1824.⁴⁷

PSYCHOLOGY

After considerable debate, the federal Senate concurred in repeal of the 1813 [Act to Encourage Vaccination \(2 Stat. 806\)](#). The leading opponent of the Act, [Representative Hutchins Gordon Burton of North Carolina](#), had made his goal of punishing Dr. Smith clear from the beginning. His vociferous ad hominem attacks seem less motivated by Constitutional principles than by the political motive of magnifying the fury of constituents in [North Carolina](#), constituents who would soon be electing him as governor of their state. Within a week, [Dr. James Smith](#) would launch a large public relations campaign to defend the practice of vaccination, restore his good name, and revive support for his institution. He promised to continue distributing vaccine freely and asserted that he would never charge for it. He alleged that he remained committed to building a permanent vaccine institution based on private contributions as outlined in his 1818 Prospectus. The doctor would put out 5 issues of a journal, [The Vaccine Inquirer](#), allegedly published by a "Society of Physicians of Baltimore." His efforts to restore himself would ultimately prove unsuccessful and he would be obliged to "retire in some measure, from the contest." He would publicly allege that a "Small Pox Plot" had been behind the Tarboro

47. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

Affair — that this had been no accident or mistake committed by him or by the personnel of his office, but instead had been instead the false-flag operation of some unspeakable capitalist conspiracy against giving away stuff for free. “Certain manuscript papers of considerable volume, relating entirely to the vaccine institution, and of no other value” having turned out to be missing from his office without explanation, for 3 years he would continue to lobby for a new investigation by a Congressional committee.

Maria Szymanowska performed before the Russian royal family at the Noblemen’s Club in Moscow.

In a [duel](#) between the Duke of Buckingham and the Duke of Bedford on account of some disparaging remarks that had been made by the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Buckingham fired and missed, whereupon the Duke of Bedford discharged his pistol into the air, whereupon the antagonists shook hands.


ENGLISH EVENTS OF 1822

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

5th day - came on the Quarterly Meeting at large - In the first Meeting Thos Anthony & Wm Almy appeared in good solid testimonys, then Thos in Solemn reverend supplication, in which I thought life & power rose into dominion, & certainly my feelings were in a better state than they had been for sometime, having been much in poverty & leanness for some weeks - After a short testimony from Betsy Purinton the Meeting closed & we proceeded to the Usual buisness, which was transacted in harmony & good order, & I believe many minds were thankful they were present. - At early candle light John Wilbour appointed a Meeting for the inhabitants of [Greenwich](#), which was attended pretty largely & friends who were there from other Meetings also attended - John was much favored to open the Truths of the Gospel to the people -D Buffum said a few words, lively & powerful & Ruth Meely concluded in Solemn supplication -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1832

 The facility for the quarantine of small pox victims on Rainsford Island in Boston Harbor at this point erected a building resembling a Greek temple. It is supposed that hundreds now lie in an island cemetery.



The smallpox facility at the Rainsford Island quarantine station

One of the inscriptions on a grave on Rainsford reads:

**behold and see as you pass by
as you are now, so once was i
as i am now, so you must be
prepare for death and follow me**

VARIOLA

The quarantine facility would operate as needed until 1852, when it would be converted into an almshouse. When no communicable disease afflicted Boston and its environs an inn would be permitted to open on Rainsford.



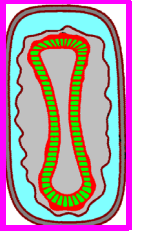
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1837



A steamboat, traveling on the Missouri River, inadvertently brought a passenger north from St. Louis who had the [small pox](#). Within a few weeks, in one of the *Mandan* villages on the banks of that river, of a population of 2,000, at most 40 pockmarked Mandans remained, attempting to dispose of the bodies of family members.



Between this year and 1840, the epidemic would be decimating all the Great Plains region, from the [Kansas Territory](#) northward, and westward to Prince Rupert's Land on the coast of the Pacific Ocean. The Blackfoot would be losing some 40,000 souls.



THE SMALL POX

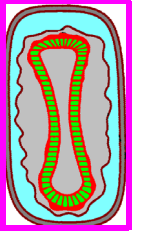
THE SMALL POX



The outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease that had begun in 1834 in the farm animals with cloven hooves on the Hungarian plains, at this point had spread to [Switzerland](#), Belgium, France, and Holland, affecting all cows, pigs, sheep, and goats. In a few years the [infection](#) would spread to the British Isles.

[Henry Thoreau](#) copied, from [Henry Rowe Schoolcraft](#), into Volume V of his INDIAN NOTEBOOKS, the following paragraph:⁴⁸

The small pox "swept through the Missouri Valley in 1837." The first case was a colored [Thoreau's change] mulatto man on board a steam boat 80 miles above Fort Leavenworth. "Every precaution appears to have been taken, by sending runners to the Indians, 2 days ahead of the boat; but, in spite of these efforts, the disease spread. It broke out among the Mandonis [?] about the 15th of July. This tribe, which consisted of 1600 persons, was reduced to 31 souls." & other tribes lost one half of their number.



VARIOLA



[In his Indian Notebook #7, [Thoreau](#) would make four sheets of extracts from Schoolcraft's "Hiawatha, or the

48. [Thoreau](#)'s INDIAN NOTEBOOKS are now at the Pierpont Morgan Library. These notebooks together comprise in total 2,800 handwritten pages. There are 11 of them, the 1st probably being completed during Thoreau's sojourn at Walden Pond; for instance, on the 1st sheet of his 1st volume Thoreau jotted "Bug ate out of a table in Williamstown 73 years after the egg was laid." He noted that he had gotten this material which would find its way into the final chapter of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) from J.W. Barber's MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. See: Fleck, Richard F. (ed). THE INDIANS OF THOREAU: SELECTIONS FROM THE INDIAN NOTEBOOKS. Albuquerque NM: Hummingbird Press, 1974

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

Origin of the Onondaga Council-Fire," which was also Longfellow's source.]





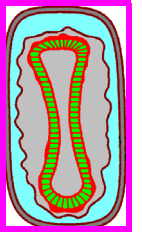
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1840

December: Lemon Valley on [St. Helena](#) was designated as a [small pox](#) quarantine area for [slaves](#) liberated from negrero vessels by the Royal Navy.

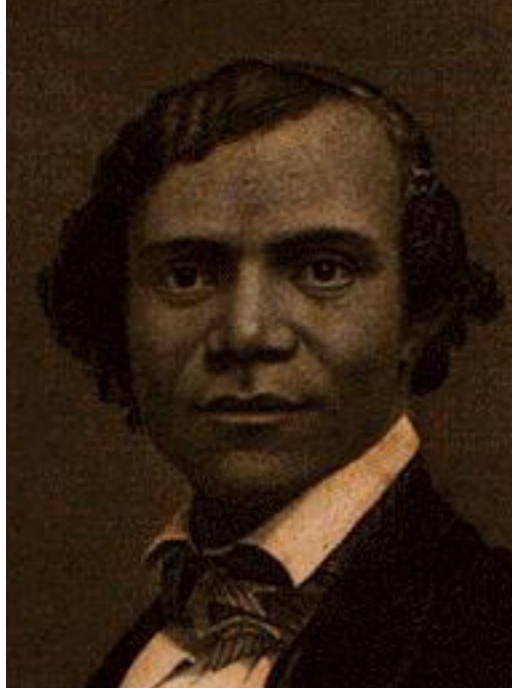
Noting the apparatus riveted around his neck, of an iron collar with prongs extending above his head and atop this a small bell which he could not reach, a band of “blacklegs” passing by, Thomas Wilson & Co., bought [Henry Bibb](#) at a reduced price for speculation. These white men, gamblers, figured they could represent him as a nonproblematic case and pass him off on some unwary purchaser at full value. He was not granted an opportunity to say good-bye to his wife Malinda or his daughter, who at the time would have been five or six years old. These venturesome fellows would not, however, be able to retail him as planned, for his obvious intelligence was such as to make potential purchasers frightened that he was able to read and write. Eventually, unable to dispose of their purchase for a profit while vending him as a single male slave, they went back and attempted to purchase also his wife and daughter, so that the three could be vended as a more-valuable family unit less likely to be troublesome. The owner would not sell the wife and daughter. At that point Bibb struck a deal with his speculative owners, that he would play dumb and cooperate in their sale of him, if in return they would share his sale price with him. He then arranged to be purchased by an unsuspecting half-Indian at a horse race in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma. The purchase price was \$900 which the purchaser counted out in



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

gold and silver, and true to their word the blacklegs slipped Henry his share of the windfall. This person had a plantation, and slaves, despite the fact that the only crops he raised were for local consumption: “he was the most reasonable, and humane slaveholder that I ever belonged to.... All things considered, if I must be a slave, I had by far, rather be a slave to an Indian, than to a white man, from the experience I have had with both.” He seemed to be a Presbyterian. This kind master would, however, sicken and die, and then during the funeral celebrations, Bibb would seize the opportunity to again steal himself away.



During this month in which Henry was again stealing himself away, a [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Conceicao do Maria*, master J.P. Costa, on the Middle Passage out of Angola, was arriving at the port of Rio De Janeiro and at the port of Pernambuco, Brazil carrying an unknown number, probably quite a few, of new recruits to [slave](#) status.



[THE MIDDLE PASSAGE](#)

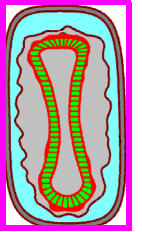


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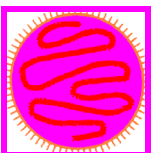
THE SMALL POX

1846

July: There was an epidemic of the [small pox](#) in [Boston](#) and [Concord](#).⁴⁹



49. There was also an epidemic during this year, of the [measles](#), on the Faroe Islands of the Atlantic Ocean, after an infected ship's carpenter had reached them on a vessel from Denmark. The experience on the Faroes offers an interesting example of how antibodies function. Humans who live in small, isolated groups tend to lose their antibody resistance to infection quite readily. On the Faroes there had been no measles until the microorganism first reached them in 1781. Then there had been an epidemic, many had died, and the people who survived their illness possessed a temporary acquired immunity. Thus the disease microbe, not possessing any natural repository other than the human organism, quite vanished from the locale. By the time the microorganism was introduced again in this year by way of this ship's carpenter, everyone had altogether lost that acquired immunity. So, there had to be in this year a sadly precise repeat of the 1781 experience.

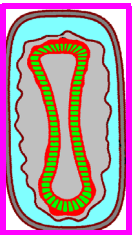


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1847

The [Reverend Edward Thompson Taylor](#) and the Seaman’s Aid Society (a women’s charitable organization to assist the Seamen’s Bethel and support sailors’ wives and families in times of need) began a temperance establishment for sailors, “Mariners Home,” at a cost of \$34,000. In addition, there would come to be nearby a Seamen’s Savings Bank, a Seamen’s Aid Society, an Industrial School for Seamen’s Children, a Seamen’s Co-operative Store, and a Seamen’s Boarding-house (much of the funding for these establishments would come from Unitarians, who eventually would take control of the entire apparatus). The [Reverend Taylor](#) served during this year as chaplain of a frigate providing 12,000 barrels of foodstuffs donated by American private citizens to Ireland during the famine, [USS Macedonian](#), Captain George C. De Kay.



After the epidemic of the [small pox](#) in the previous year in [Boston](#) and [Concord](#), Boston took over control of Deer Island in Boston Harbor. In the early 19th Century the island had been a popular summer resort, but this episode of variola had suggested the city’s need for an isolated quarantine station. Over the next three years almost 5,000 [Irish](#) ecological refugees, therefore, many of whom would have taken ill during their long voyage across the stormy Atlantic in jammed substandard vessels without adequate provisions, would be processed through this quarantine facility, and 750 of these immigrants to our land of promise who had made it this far, a full 15%, would die and be buried here on our threshold.



The reality of the famine in [Ireland](#) was described to US readers, as “The Starvation in Ireland” appeared in the New-York [Evening Post](#).



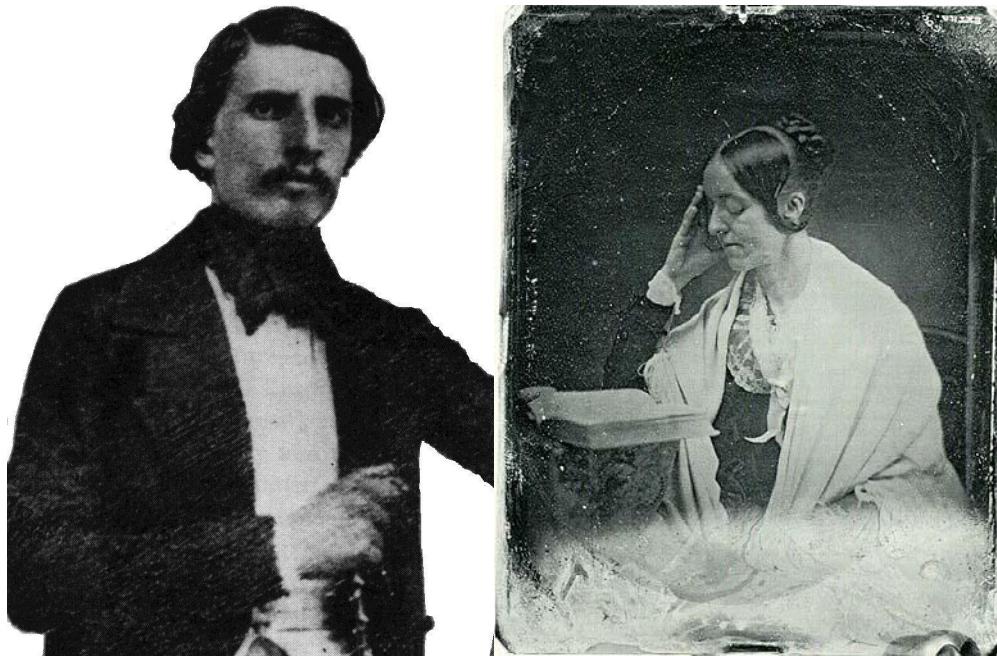
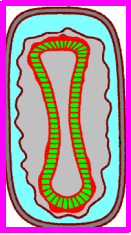
IRISH POTATO FAMINE

THE SMALL POX

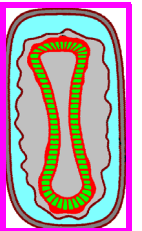
THE SMALL POX

1850

May 17, Friday: The passage the *Ossolis* took to come to America, fleeing impossible conditions in [Italy](#), was absolutely the cheapest they could find — a merchant vessel, the *Elizabeth*, fully loaded with a cargo of marble. Shortly before this vessel sailed from Livorno for New-York harbor, [Margaret Fuller](#) wrote “I can but accept all the pages as they turn.” Fuller’s manuscript on the Italian Revolution had been rejected by a publisher, her habitations had been under police surveillance, and she was no longer receiving journalism assignments from the New-York [Herald Tribune](#) (presumably due to rumors circulating in New-York about her private life). She had a letter in her pocket recently received from America, informing her that the Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#) and the Reverend [William Henry Channing](#) desired that she not return. Before the *Elizabeth* would clear the Mediterranean its captain would die of the [small pox](#). Fuller’s infant was twice in the same room with the captain before the nature of his illness was known. The ship would be quarantined for a period in the harbor at Gibraltar. During the voyage across the Atlantic the infant would show the [variola](#) bumps and scabs for nine days, but would survive.



July: There was an epidemic of the [small pox](#) in [Boston](#), and [Bronson Alcott](#), who probably alone in [the Alcott family](#) had never been vaccinated, had it last and experienced it in its worst form. For three weeks he was very gravely ill while he battled this “hideous” and “obscene” enemy which had inflicted upon him a “leprosy” that rendered his unshaven, [variola](#)-laden face “frightful to behold.”



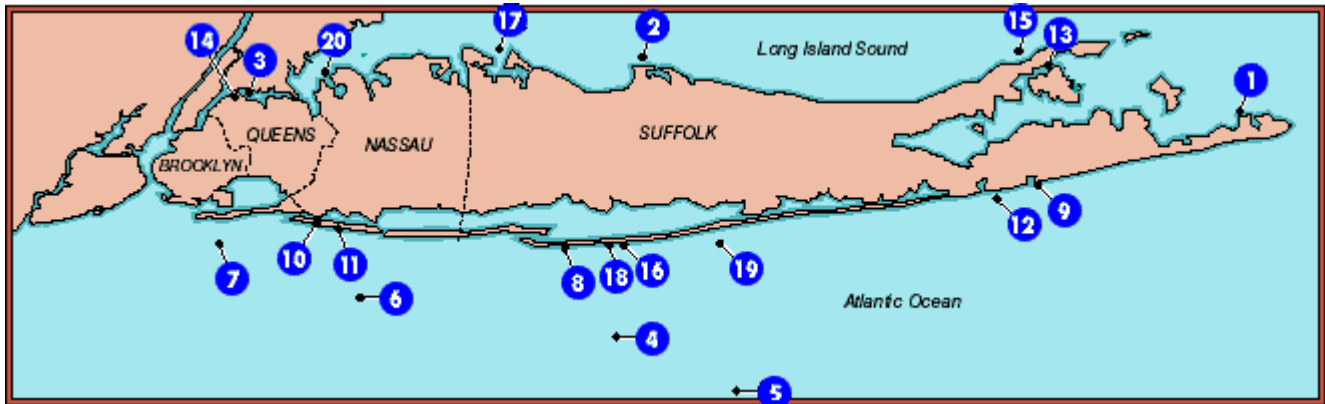
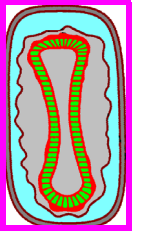
Amos Baker died at the age of 94 (his remains are presumed to be in the Baker tomb in [Concord](#)’s Town Hill Cemetery, behind Bemis Hall).

THE SMALL POX

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July 19, Friday: At 3:30AM, holding course with close-reefed sails, the *Elizabeth* struck a Fire Island sandbar.

The ship's lifeboats were soon smashed. As it grew lighter figures could be made out on the beach but these humans didn't seem to be doing anything by way of a rescue, only waiting and watching. In fact these were not rescuers but resident scavengers waiting for their storm booty. At noon the first mate, in command of the *Elizabeth* since its skipper had died of the [small pox](#), picked himself out a likely plank and jumped overboard. His instructions to those he left behind: "Save yourselves!" There was only one life preserver, which would by tradition have gone to [Margaret Fuller](#), but as they all waited aboard the vessel and saw that it was breaking up in the surge, she offered that life preserver to a crewman who was volunteering to take his chances going overboard to summon aid (wreck #18 below):



TIMELINE OF SHIPWRECKS

The toddler had been slung into a canvas bag around the neck of a sailor. A [Tribune](#) reporter reached the beach at about 11AM. At about noon the Fire Island Lighthouse lifeboat and rescue howitzer arrived but, despite the fact that the ship was only a few hundred yards out into the breakers, rescue attempts were made difficult by wind and waves that were building into a hurricane. The lifeboat would never be launched. At about 3PM, with perhaps a thousand people on the beach at that point watching (half of whom were looting as cases of goods washed ashore), the ship began to come apart as pieces of its marble cargo broke through the hull. Some of the people aboard made it ashore by clinging to pieces of wreckage. When a sailor attempted to get the toddler ashore, the attempt failed and the tiny body would be submerged for about twenty minutes before being located and carried still warm out of the waves (the body would be placed in a chest donated by one of the sailors). Just before leaping overboard the cook heard Fuller, in her white nightgown, say "I see nothing but death before me." When the ship broke up all who had not made it to shore were drowned (of the total of 22 aboard, a total of 10 including the baby could not be gotten across the surf to shore). Ossoli was seen to reach up from

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the water and attempt to grab a piece of rigging before disappearing beneath the waves.



The bodies of Giovanni and Margaret were not immediately recovered. When [Ellery Channing](#) reached that beach, some people who were still standing around informed him that they would have made a rescue attempt had they known someone “important” was on board.⁵⁰ The reporter took some letters found on the beach in a box back to [New-York](#) and dried them and turned them over to [Horace Greeley](#). [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) had not met [Giovanni Angelo](#) but commented, according to his son’s *NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE AND HIS WIFE, A*

50. Four editions of the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* held that their drownings occurred on July 16th and this error would not get corrected until 1974 — which would be hardly worth mentioning were it not such a graphic illustration of the general lack of value we place on a pushy woman’s contribution to our clownish society.

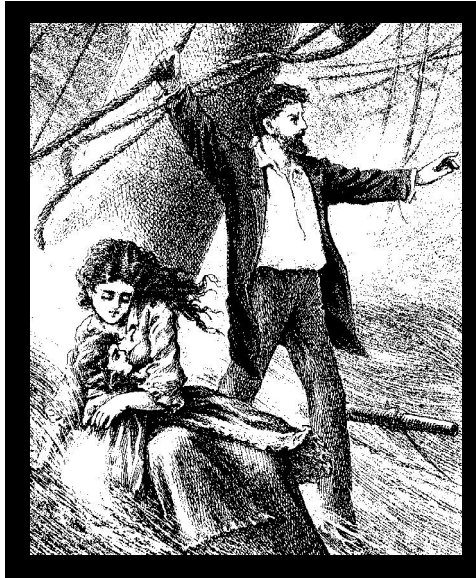
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

BIOGRAPHY, that



Providence was, after all, kind in putting her and her clownish husband and their child on board that fated ship.



Yeah, and a kind Providence put those clownish [variola](#) scarifications on the fated child's face!

Behind this term "Providence" mobilized by Hawthorne we can see lurking the notion that this was an unquestionably murderous, yet unquestionably kind, act of God. His deity was merely disposing of a female who had gotten out of her place, sort of like crushing an ant that had wandered onto the author's dinnerplate. God as the sanitary police for the Old Boys Network. The schadenfreudian remarks [Nathaniel](#) made from time to time about the Ossolis may have had less to do with his generally livid gender chauvinism, and less to do with the two of them as a couple, or with the two of them as particular individuals, than with Hawthorne's special ambivalence toward the twisted sister with whom he had had those starry-night walks while his wife was inconvenienced, or his general misanthropy toward any woman who would do such an unwomanly thing

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as to write:

I wish they were forbidden to write on pain of having their faces deeply scarified with an oyster-shell.



Dear reader, do you agree with Nathaniel that fortune was **kind** to Margaret and her family? Do you, perhaps, harbor a hope that fortune will smile on you and on your family as it did not smile on her and her family? Do you suspect, as so many scholars studying this period have suspected, that Margaret perhaps harbored some sort of a death wish, and that it was this death wish which prevented her from leaping overboard into the breakers and attempting to make it to the shore that was only a few yards away? Remember, if you will, that Margaret had a spinal deformity, which very likely was some part of the cause of part of pretty boy Nathaniel's hostility toward her and which very likely was the entire cause of his hostility toward her husband –what kind of clown could it be, who could marry a **deformed** woman, and have sex with her and produce a child?– and remember, also, if you will, that Margaret herself had long before been forced to abandon any suspicion she might have had in her earlier years, of the basic fairness of life. We were born to be mutilated, she commented, and, she might have added, we were born also, to be mocked:



I have no belief in beautiful lives; we were born to be mutilated: Life is basically unjust.

Several days after the *USS Elizabeth* had disintegrated, when all that lay in the breakers were some rough blocks of Italian marble and some hull timbers half buried in the sand, a sea captain named James Wick would show up at the offices of the [New-York Herald Tribune](#) on Manhattan Island with a packing crate containing the corpses of a man and a woman. [Greeley](#) was informed that these were the bodies of the “Italian count” Ossoli and Greeley’s war correspondent [Margaret Fuller](#). He “refused to have anything to do with them,”



THE SMALL POX

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according to Tribune reporter Felix Dominy.

The horses rattled the empty chariots,
longing for their noble drivers.
But they on the ground lay,
dearer to the vultures than to their wives.



So Captain Wick and his mate, to get rid of the bodies of Greeley's war correspondent and her clownish husband without getting themselves into trouble, would bury this packing crate at night on Coney Island without marking the spot.⁵¹ We are reminded of something [Henry Thoreau](#) would jot down in his journal some nine months subsequent to this event, between April 19 and April 22, 1851, and something he would write into CAPE COD, and we are led to wonder whether Thoreau had in some manner come to suspect that his "friend" Greeley had something to do with the fact that it was **these** bodies in particular that had not been recovered from the wreck of the USS *Elizabeth*. For Thoreau did make an uncharacteristically bitter remark during this period, a remark about the moral character of editors in this country, a group of whom Greeley was arguably the single one who was the best known personally by Thoreau:



... probably no country was ever ruled by so mean a class of tyrants as are the editors of the periodical press in this country.

Later in this day, in Boston, an appeal brought on behalf of [Professor John White Webster](#) by the minister of the Unitarian church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, the Reverend George Putnam, D.D., failed to move the Governor's Council on Pardons. Murder being contrary to the law of God, with one dissenting vote they recommended to the Governor of the commonwealth that he murder this murderer.

51. A letter from Felix Dominy's son, that is among the Fuller papers at Harvard, attests to this incident and is described in Chevigny, Bell Gale. *THE WOMAN AND THE MYTH: MARGARET FULLER'S LIFE AND WRITINGS*. Old Westbury NY: The Feminist Press, 1976.



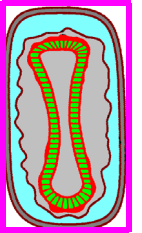
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1853

In Britain, vaccination against the [small pox](#) was made compulsory. The virus belatedly reached the Hawaiian Islands for the 1st time and, of a remainder population there of some 84,000 natives, in this year another 10,000 would die.

An outbreak of the [yellow fever](#) (also known as the [black vomit](#)) in New Orleans was killing 7,848 people.



MOBY-DICK: Give me something for a cane – there, that shivered lance will do. Muster the men. Surely I have not seen him yet. By heaven it cannot be! – missing? – quick! call them all.”

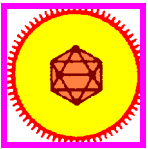
The old man’s hinted thought was true. Upon mustering the company, the Parsee was not there.

“The Parsee!” cried Stubb – “he must have been caught in – ”

“The black vomit wrench thee! – run all of ye above, aloof, cabin, forecabin – find him – not gone – not gone!”

But quickly they returned to him with the tidings that the Parsee was nowhere to be found.

“Aye, Sir,” said Stubb – “caught among the tangles of your line – I thought I saw him dragging under.”



Everybody knew at that time that this [yellow fever](#) had something to do with the swamp, but at the time it was being generally presumed that this was something having to do with fetid air, bad air, “malaria.” This was being presumed by almost everyone. An exception was [Dr. Josiah Clark Nott](#), who had figured out that there was an insect vector and that that insect vector was the mosquito, and who was doing his very best to pass this critical information along to others.

In France, the physiologist Pierre Roux was demonstrating that diphtheria was being caused by a toxin produced by a bacterium, rather than by that bacterium per se.

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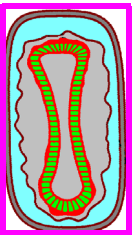
1857



July 20, Monday: I started on my third excursion to the Maine woods ... with one companion, ...

EDWARD HOAR

July 20-August 8: On Henry Thoreau's 3d and last trip to the Maine woods, bringing along "one companion" from Concord (Edward Sherman Hoar) and with Joe Polis as guide (many other native Americans were absent from the village because they had evacuated to other native settlements when smallpox had broken out), he finally

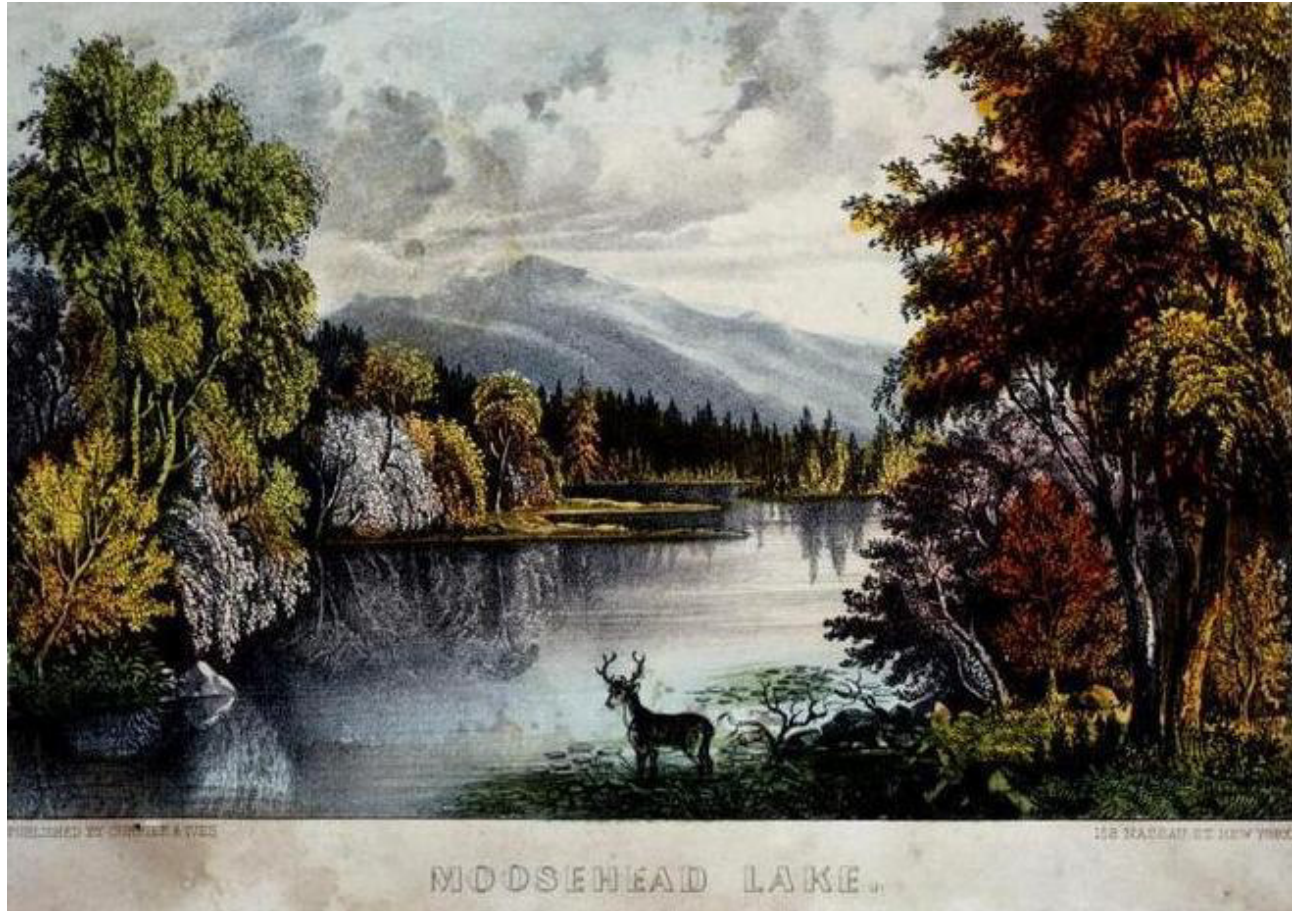


completed his intended circuit around Mount Katahdin. To accomplish this they took a train to Portland and then a steamer to Bangor. The party went up the Allegash, that almost legendary white-water river of Maine, circled Katahdin, and came down the East Branch of the Penobscot River, once more crossing Moosehead Lake.

TIMELINE OF THE MAINE WOODS

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX



Thoreau's "one companion" was [Edward Sherman Hoar](#), who had just returned to Concord after 8 years near the California goldfields. Did Henry inform Edward that the rush to California had represented "the greatest disgrace on mankind" and that as a gold digger he was "the enemy of the honest laborer," as per "Life without Principle"?

Or had Eddie already figured this out on his own?

(The map prepared by Tom Funk which shows the route of this journey, and the one Thoreau had made in 1846, can be viewed on the following screens.)

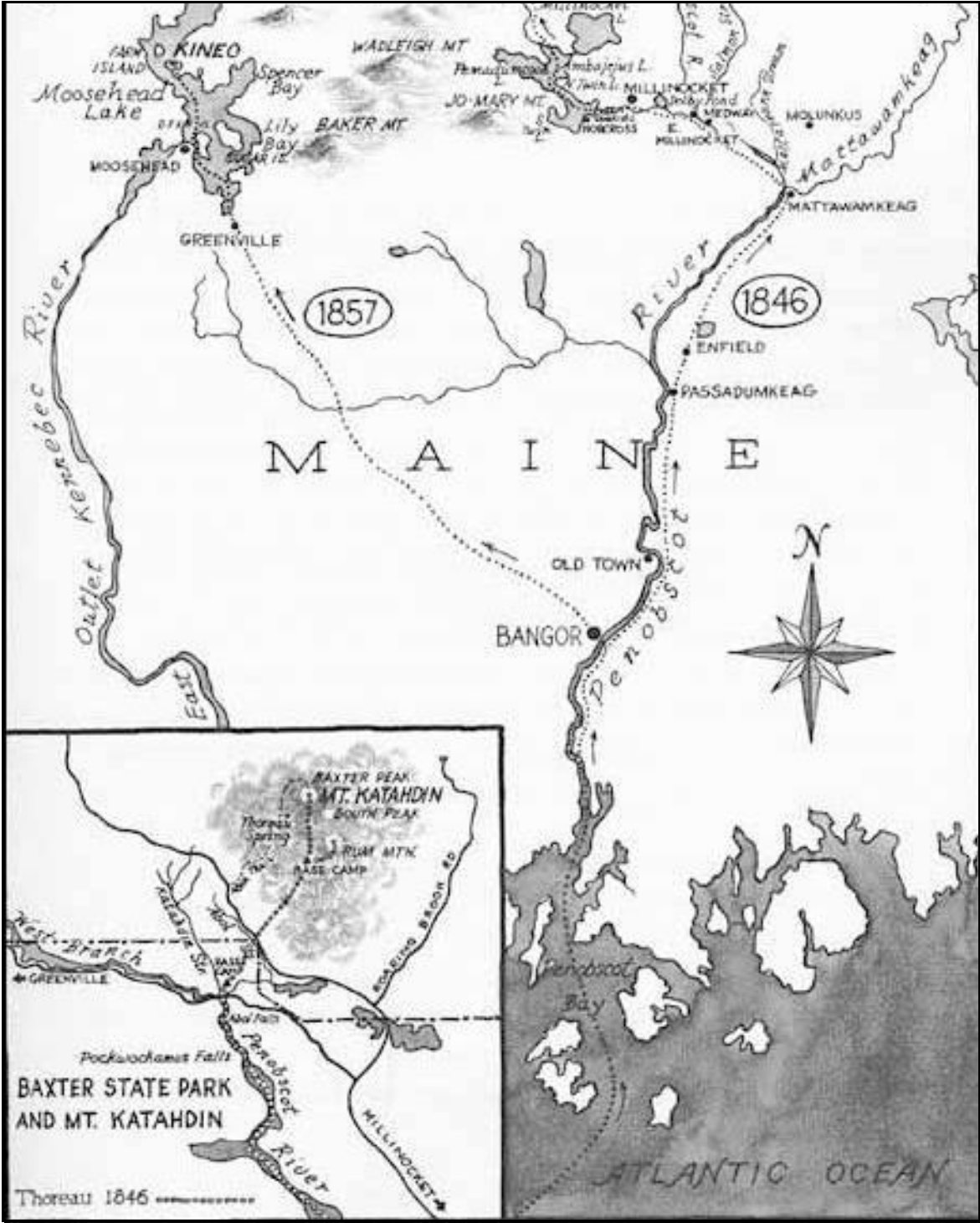
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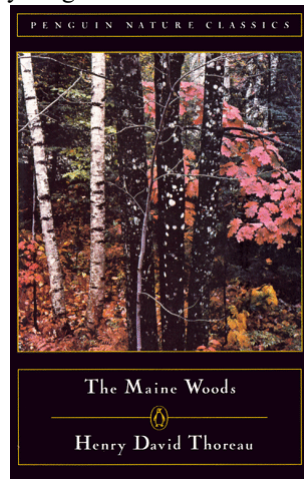
THE SMALL POX



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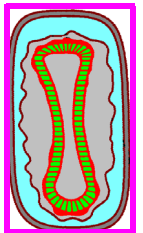
THE SMALL POX

Lucy Maddox points out in *REMOVALS: NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN LITERATURE AND THE POLITICS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS* (NY: Oxford UP, 1991, pages 157-8) that “Thoreau clearly went to Maine to find in the deep woods the same man that ‘the discoverers found,’ not to learn what life might be like in 1857 for the Indian community in and around Oldtown (where the children went to school and the adults took an interest in local and national politics). Having persuaded himself that the primitive man could still be found in the nighttime woods, Thoreau could then come home to declare the truth about Indian history: it is static, the Indians have learned nothing from the whites (since the **true** Indian is still a primitive), and they are therefore fated to become extinct. The only trouble was, he couldn’t publish what he learned by observing Polis in the woods. Joe Polis might read the article, might even confront Thoreau about its political implications. That complicated everything.”



July 22, Wednesday, Morning: ... The succeeding morning, a relative of mine, who is well acquainted with the Penobscot Indians, and who had been my companion in my two previous excursions into the Maine woods, took me in his wagon to Oldtown, to assist me in obtaining an Indian for this expedition. We were ferried across to the Indian Island in a batteau. The ferryman’s boy had got the key to it, but the father who was a blacksmith, after a little hesitation, cut the chain with a cold-chisel on a rock. He told us that the Indians were nearly all gone to the seaboard and to Massachusetts, partly on account of the small-pox, of which they are very much afraid, having broken out in Oldtown, and it was doubtful whether we should find a suitable one at home. The old chief Neptune, however, was there still. The first man we saw on the island was an Indian named Joseph Polis, whom my relative had known from a boy, and now addressed familiarly as “Joe.” He was dressing a deerskin in his yard. The skin was spread over a slanting log, and he was scraping it with a stick, held by both hands. He was stoutly built, perhaps a little above the middle height, with a broad face, and, as others said, perfect Indian features and complexion. His house was a two-story white one with blinds, the best looking that I noticed there, and as good as an average one on a New England village street. It was surrounded by a garden and fruit-trees, single cornstalks standing thinly amid the beans. We asked him if he knew any good Indian who would like to go into the woods with us, that is, to the Allegash Lakes, by way of Moosehead, and return by the East Branch of the Penobscot, or vary from this as we pleased. To which he answered, out of that strange remoteness in which the Indian ever dwells to the white man, “Me like to go myself; me want to get some moose”; and kept on scraping the skin. His brother had been into the woods with my relative only a year or two before, and the Indian now inquired what the latter had done to him, that he did not come back, for he had not seen nor heard from him since.

At length we got round to the more interesting topic again. The ferryman had told us that all the best Indians were gone except Polis, who was one of the aristocracy. He to be sure would be the best man we could have, but if he went at all would want a great price; so we did not expect to get him. Polis asked at first two dollars a day, but agreed to go for a dollar and a half, and fifty cents a week for his canoe. He would come to Bangor with his canoe by the seven o’clock train that evening, — we might depend on him. We thought ourselves lucky to secure the services of this man, who was known to be particularly steady and trustworthy.



VARIOLA



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

EDWARD HOAR

I spent the afternoon with my companion, who had remained in Bangor, in preparing for our expedition, purchasing provisions, hard bread, pork, coffee, sugar, &c., and some India-rubber clothing. We had at first thought of exploring the St. John from its source to its mouth, or else to go up the Penobscot by its East Branch to the lakes of the St. John, and return by way of Chesuncook and Moosehead. We had finally inclined to the last route, only reversing the order of it, going by way of Moosehead, and returning by the Penobscot, otherwise it would have been all the way up stream and taken twice as long.



July 22, Wednesday, Evening: ... At evening the Indian arrived in the cars, and I led the way while he followed me three quarters of a mile to my friend's house, with the canoe on his head. I did not know the exact route myself, but steered by the lay of the land, as I do in Boston, and I tried to enter into conversation with him, but as he was puffing under the weight of his canoe, not having the usual apparatus for carrying it, but, above all, was an Indian, I might as well have been thumping on the bottom of his birch the while. In answer to the various observations which I made by way of breaking the ice, he only grunted vaguely from beneath his canoe once or twice, so that I knew he was there.

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1858

November 2, Tuesday: Although the [Republican Party](#) candidate, [Abraham Lincoln](#), obtained a majority in the popular vote by opposing the extension of slavery to the new western states (125,000 over 121,000),⁵² the voters were merely selecting candidates for the [Illinois](#) statehouse who would then select the politician who would represent Illinois in the federal Senate — and in the Illinois statehouse the Democratic incumbent Stephen A. Douglas would by a margin of 8 votes be able to retain his seat in the US Senate.



November 2: P.M.— To Cliff.

A cool gray November afternoon; sky overcast.

Looking back from the causeway, the large willow by Mrs. Bigelow's and a silvery abele are the only leafy trees to be seen in and over the village, the first a yellowish mass, also some Lombardy poplars on the outskirts. It is remarkable that these (and the weeping willow, *yet green*) and a few of our *Populus tremuloides* (lately the *grandidentata* also [Still one.]), all closely allied, are the only trees now (except the larch and perhaps a very few small white birches) which are conspicuously yellow, almost the only deciduous ones whose leaves are not withered, *i.e.* except scarlet oaks, red oaks, and some of the others, etc.

I see here and there yet some middle-sized coniferous willows, between *humilis* and *discolor*, whose upper leaves, left on, are quite bright lemon-yellow in dry places. These single leaves brighter than their predecessors which have fallen. The pitch pine is apparently a little past the midst of its fall. In sprout-lands some young birches are still rather leafy and bright-colored. Going over the newly cleared pasture on the northeast of Fair Haven Hill, I see that the scarlet oaks are more generally bright than on the 22d *ult.* Even the little sprouts in the russet pasture and the high tree-tops in the yew wood burn now, when the middle-sized bushes in the sprout-lands have mostly gone out. The large scarlet oak trees and tree-tops in woods, perhaps especially on hills, apparently are late because raised above the influence of the early frosts. Methinks they are as bright, even this dark day, as I ever saw them. The blossoming of the I Still one scarlet oak! the forest flower, surpassing all in splendor (at least since the maple)! I do not know but they interest me more than the maples, they are so widely and equally dispersed throughout the forest; they are so hardy, a nobler tree on the whole, lasting into November; our chief November flower, abiding the approach of winter with us, imparting warmth to November prospects. It is remarkable that the latest bright color that is general should be this deep, dark scarlet and red, the intensest of colors, the ripest fruit of the year, like the cheek of a glossy red ripe apple from the cold Isle of Orleans, which will not be mellow for eating till next spring! When I rise to a hilltop, a thousand of these great oak roses, distributed on every side as far as the horizon! This my unfailing prospect for a fortnight past as surely as I rose to a hilltop! This late forest flower surpasses all that spring or summer could do. Their colors were but rare and dainty specks, which made no impression on a distant eye. Now it is an extended forest or a mountainside that bursts into bloom, through or along which we may journey from day to day. I admire these roses three or four miles off in the horizon. Comparatively, our gardening is on a petty scale, the gardener still nursing a few asters amid dead weeds, ignorant of the gigantic asters and roses which, as it were, overshadow him and ask for none of his care. Comparatively, it is like a little red paint ground on a teacup and held up against the sunset sky. Why not take more elevated and broader views, walk in the greater garden, not skulk in a little "debauched" nook of it? Consider the beauty of the earth, and not merely of a few impounded herbs? However, you will not see these splendors, whether you stand on the hilltop or in the hollow, unless you are prepared to see them. The gardener can see only the gardener's garden, wherever he goes. The beauty of the earth answers exactly to your demand and appreciation.

Apples in the village and lower ground are now generally killed brown and crisp, without having turned yellow, especially the upper parts, while those on hills and [in] warm places turned yellowish or russet, and so ripened to their fall. Of quince bushes the same, only they are a little later and are greener yet.

The sap is now frequently flowing fast in the scarlet oaks (as I have not observed it in the others), and has a pleasant acorn-like taste. Their bright tints, now that most other oaks are withered, are connected with this phenomenon. They are full of sap and life. They flow like a sugar maple in the spring. It has a pleasantly astringent taste, this strong oak wine.

That small poplar seen from Cliffs on the 29th is a *P. tremuloides* [quaking aspen]. It makes the impression of a bright and clear yellow at a distance, though it is rather dingy and spotted.

It is later, then (this and the [Baker Farm](#) one), than any *P. grandidentata* [bigtooth aspen] that I know.

Looking down on the oak wood southeast of Yew Wood, I see some large black oak tops a brown yellow still;

52. Neither candidate was pro-black. Both made repeated use of the word "nigger" in their stump speeches.



THE SMALL POX

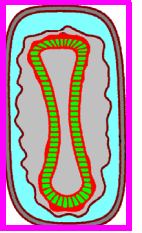
so generally it shows life a little longer than the white and swamp white apparently. One just beyond the smallpox burying-ground is generally greenish inclining to scarlet, looking very much like a scarlet oak not yet completely changed, for the leaf would not be distinguished. However, the nuts, with yellow meat, and the strong bitter yellow bark betrayed it. Yet it did not amount to scarlet.

I see a few shrub oak leaves still fresh where sheltered. The little chinquapin has fallen.

I go past the Well Meadow Field. There is a sympathy between this cold, gray, overcast November afternoon and the grayish-brown oak leaves and russet fields.

The Scotch larch is changed at least as bright as ours.

THE SMALL POX



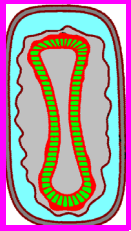
VARIOLA
JAMES BAKER

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1860

The [small pox](#) was brought to Vancouver Island by a passenger from San Francisco. Local whites then drove infected native Americans away, spreading the disease. The epidemic swept the coast all the way up into Alaska, killing some six out of every ten natives.



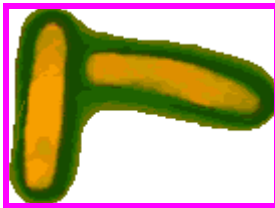
THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1862

Thomas Wakley, the doctor who had founded the international medical journal The Lancet, died of tuberculosis while on a rest cure in the mild climate of Madeira.

During this year for the 1st time a linkage would be being made, by Louis Pasteur, between specific germs and specific diseases.



- TB
- SMALL POX
- MALARIA
- SCARLET FEVER
- BUBONIC PLAGUE
- YELLOW FEVER

Was Henry Thoreau giving off the feverish redness associated with the terminal stage of tuberculosis, which Walt Whitman described in his poetry as “this hectic glow”?⁵³

ASSLEY

53. Warner, John Harley. THE THERAPEUTIC PERSPECTIVE: MEDICAL PRACTICE, KNOWLEDGE, AND IDENTITY IN AMERICA, 1820-1885. Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1986

“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

Before the Civil War era, American medicine got involved in a self-defined system of medical practice and rigorously stemmed efforts to introduce European (especially French) ideas about the nature of disease, treatment, etc. The American style was to see each patient as an individual, requiring individual therapy. In general the approach was interventionist – the doctor always did something, especially, he found which fluids were in excess (blood, crap, etc.), and bled, purged. This early work was “rationalism” as opposed to foreign “empiricism.” Until the 1860s, disease-specific treatment was professionally illegitimate (with the one exception that doctors did treat malaria with quinine, since it worked so well).

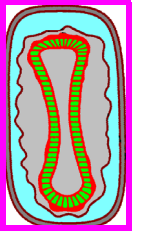
Despite the apparent silliness of the American approach, and even though European medicine was, we now know, on the right path as far as identifying symptoms and diseases and then treating all patients the same way, it wasn’t until late in the century that the treatments were reliable.

There’s some slight of hand in all this – if there is a consistent, rational way to treat an identifiable disease, then anyone can be a doctor. Later in the century, much of the aggressive bleeding and purging was replaced with opiates (at their high mark in the 1850s). Also, medical education began to become professionalized, rather than just having the faculty chat about cases, and doctors actually conducted physiological experiments, laboratories, and exams (you need a stethoscope to listen to the heart).

THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

[Small pox](#) epidemics were devastating the northern Canadian coast. The Victoria city police, rather than instituting a quarantine of the Northern tribes, simply burned them out of their settlements.



An epidemic of the small pox killed all but a few of the surviving *Juaneños*. By the time the [California](#) reservation (*estancia* or *rancheria*) system would be set up at the prodding of Helen Hunt Jackson, this wounded remnant from Mission San Juan Capistrano would no longer be considered to have the status of a native tribe.⁵⁴

The [Mirror of the Times](#) in [California](#), which had been established in 1855 as the first West Coast newspaper for black people, altered its name to the [Pacific Appeal](#) and changed its agenda to “He who would be free, himself must strike the first blow.”⁵⁵

In the course of the year, about 90 Chinese, more or less, would be murdered in various places in [California](#). Eleven of these ninety would be murdered by collectors of taxes, as they were making their rounds on behalf of the state government.

54. Lest this should sound to you as if it were a mere happenstance, bear in mind that the same thing happened in each and every instance. Which is to say, by the time of the first California census, **not a single** intact tribe could be found **in any one** of the numerous counties along the coast which had been the site of a Franciscan mission. What had happened to these peoples? Well, the same sad situation obtained in each and every one of the counties in which gold had been discovered: in each and every California county in which there was surface gold, by the time of the first census, 1910, there was no longer any native tribe in existence. In the case of the gold counties, we know very well what happened, as we have records of armed white gold diggers standing around in bars bragging and getting drunk, with scalps of dank hair hanging from their belts. In the case of the mission counties we have no idea whatever what happened, as the statues we have erected show only padres standing around with compassionate countenances, with crosses dangling from their belts.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

55. It seems that in the heat of preparation for battle, people were forgetting that the famous quote had originally started with a clause “Let he who is without sin....”

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There was a big breakout from the San Quentin Prison of [California](#):



Some 200-300 prisoners escaped through the large gate in the center. The backdrop for this woodcut, made in 1859, is a Mt. Tamalpais that has been greatly exaggerated and positioned in the wrong direction (one is grateful, at least, that the artist did not turn the peak into a volcano).



THE SMALL POX

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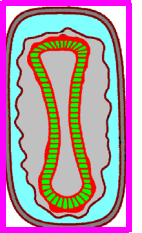
1863

November 19, Thursday: Confederate President [Jefferson Davis](#) was working on a Trans-Mississippi strategy for the Confederacy.

US CIVIL WAR



President [Abraham Lincoln](#) took the train down from [Washington DC](#) to participate in a ceremonial dedication of the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, as a national military cemetery. After a 2-hour oration by Edward Everett that must have exhausted the 15,000 citizens present, he offered his own “little speech,” or “Gettysburg Address.” As he delivered this he was probably in the early stages of [infection](#) by the [small pox](#).



READ THE FULL TEXT

During the early 1860s, in the early throes of our [civil war](#), our [Declaration of Independence](#) had been being very carefully reexamined and reconsidered. In this Gettysburg Address it found itself transformed into “first and foremost a living document for an established society” and this president’s brief words of dedication would become in due course “an American sacred text” (Maier, Pauline. AMERICAN SCRIPTURE: MAKING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997, page 207). As in 1776, the power of the locution would come from the fact that rather than echoing what all Americans presumed, it broadcast what a number of them were preparing to ram down the throats of the others as what all Americans henceforth were to presume.

Lincoln wasn’t the only orator on this occasion. According to the Steubenville [Weekly Herald](#), “President Lincoln was there, too,” We don’t know for certain sure which particular phrases Lincoln used in his brief address. There are a number of drafts of the speech, which differ somewhat from one another, and there is the problem that one reporter who bothered to transcribe the President’s words from the podium, either indulged in free phrase substitution on his reportorial notepad or else faithfully recorded phrases that are somewhat less polished than those we now read in one or another of the manuscript documents. The [Providence, Rhode Island Journal](#) would report not only of the brief address’s power but also of its “charm”:

We know not where to look for a more admirable speech than the brief one which the President made at the close of Mr. Everett’s oration.... Could the most elaborate and splendid oration be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring than those thrilling words of the President? They have in our humble judgment the charm and power of the very highest eloquence.

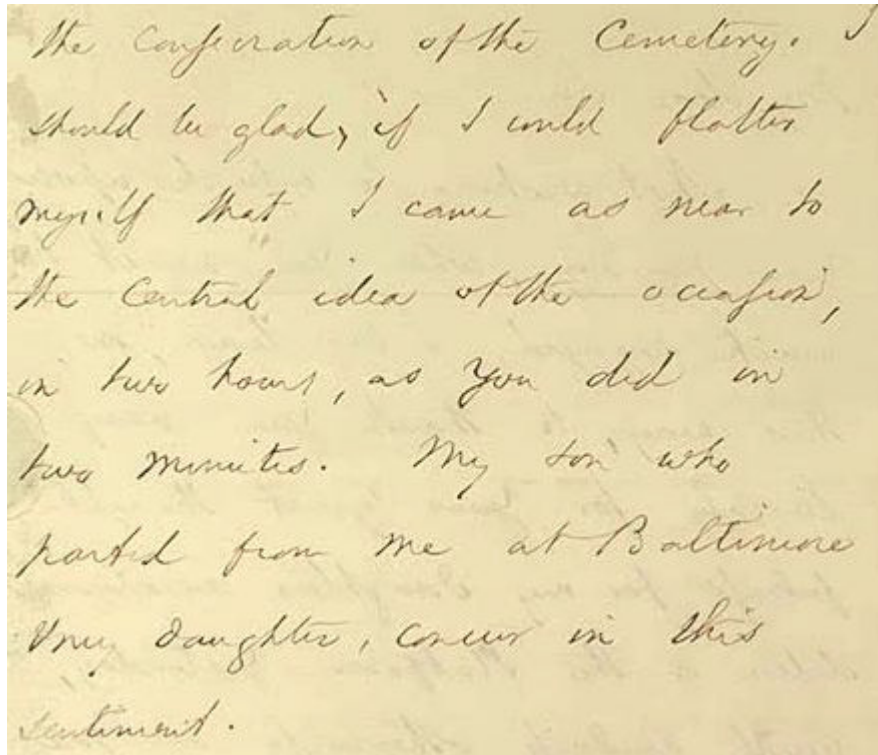
The Harrisburg [Patriot and Union](#) would be considerably less tactful than this:

We pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the Nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of.

THE SMALL POX

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[Edward Everett](#)—who had himself addressed the assembly for a solid two hours— would write to the President after hearing his brief address, “I should be glad, if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion, in two hours, as you did in two minutes.”



The Cooperation of the Cemetery. I should be glad, if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion, in two hours, as you did in two minutes. My son who parted from me at Baltimore My daughter, concurs in this sentiment.



EVERETT'S TWO HOURS

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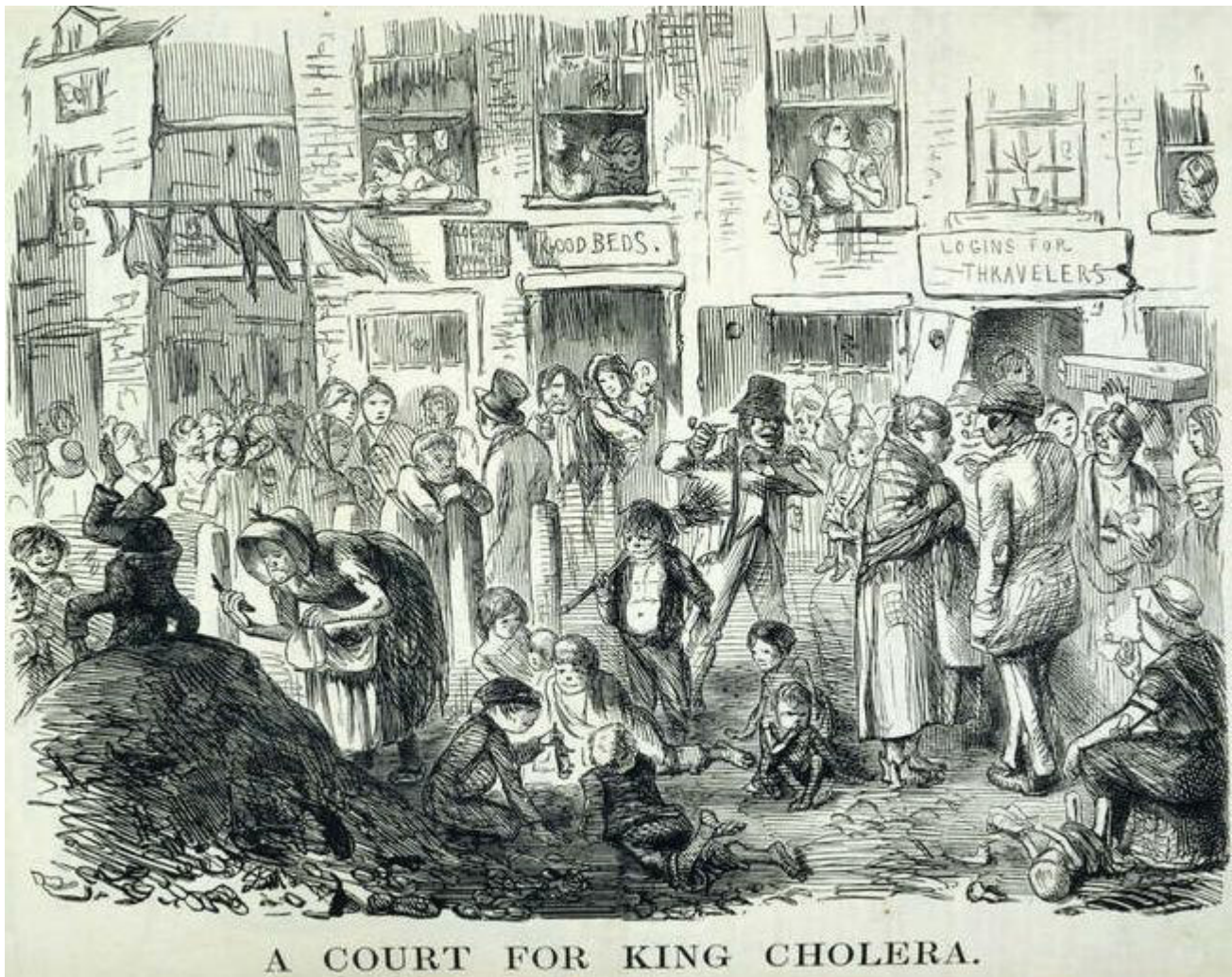


THE SMALL POX

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1865

A [cholera](#) epidemic in Paris removed 200 people a day at one point, one of the fatalities being a daughter of Louis Pasteur. From this year into 1873, there would be major American outbreaks of the cholera, in particular in Baltimore, Memphis, and [Washington DC](#). In Baltimore, Memphis, New York City, Philadelphia, and Washington there would be not only recurring epidemics of [cholera](#), but also of [scarlet fever](#), [small pox](#), [typhoid fever](#), [typhus](#), and [yellow fever](#).



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

THE MEDICAL APPLICATION OF ELECTRICITY, BY [WILLIAM F. CHANNING, M.D.](#) SIXTH AND ENLARGED EDITION (Published by Thomas Hall, Electrician, and Manufacturer of Electro Medical Instruments, No. 13 Bromfield Street, Boston, Mass.)⁵⁶

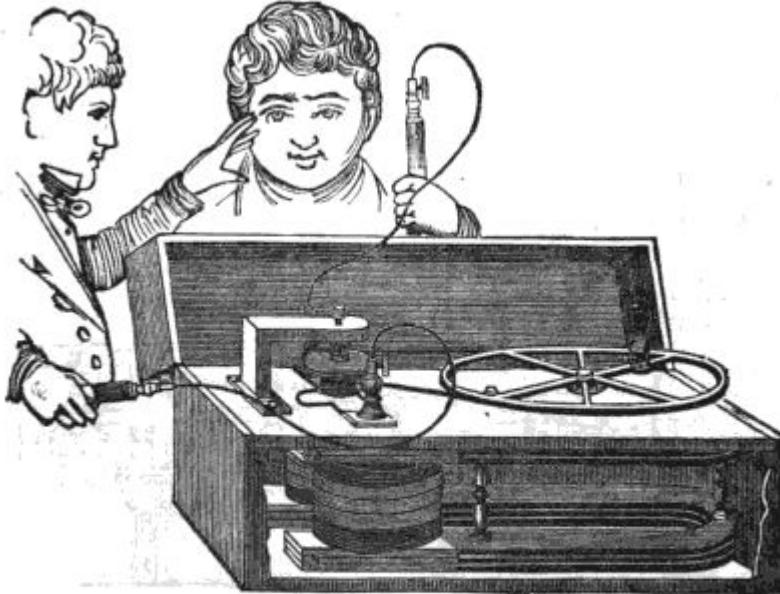


Fig. 17.

No. 17. Medium size Magneto-Electric Machine, in box, suitable for a physician's office. Price, \$35.00.

DR. CHANNING'S CURE

During this year the 1st usage of surgical [disinfectant](#) was beginning to reduce the death rate from major surgery from 45% toward 15% (another source uses the date 1861 instead of 1865, and claims that the statistic is a reduction of mortality rate from 18% to 1.2% — and I have no idea how to resolve the discrepancy between these two very specific and definitive assertions).

The French army surgeon Jean-Antoine Villemin demonstrated by experiments upon animals that [tuberculosis](#) was a contagious [infection](#) (many medics remained incredulous because they knew that the disease tended to run in families, and understood from this that the disease was a disease of heredity).

The Tsarevitch Nicholas, presumptive heir to the throne of Russia, was receiving treatment for [consumption](#) in Nice. His mother visited him there on several occasions, and in 1865 the Tsar Alexander II came to receive his last words and to order the return of his body to Russia on board the frigate *Alexander Nevsky*.

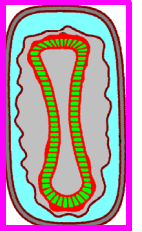
— René and Jean Dubos: THE WHITE PLAGUE

56. This procedure was performed upon me at about the age of 12 (which would have been in about 1949) in a private residence in Wabash, Indiana — the big difference being that the black medical apparatus box utilized had been one that the practitioner had just plugged into a wall socket (to do so he needed to unplug a standing lamp). I was taken there by my mother but the procedure was not performed on her, only on me. The practitioner, whom I was informed was a doctor, handed me a naked wire to hold tightly in my hands and then rubbed my forehead with a ring on his finger, a ring to the underside of which, inside his palm, he had attached a wire. He instructed me to keep talking continuously, and rubbed the ring back and forth across my forehead. I remember how the ring bounced and vibrated against my skull.

THE SMALL POX

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In England in this year there was a short-lived enthusiasm that an effusion of the root of the American pitcher plant could be used as a treatment for the [small pox](#). This, however, proved to be about as accurate as the old attempts at fortifying the blood by dressing the victim in red bedclothing, covering the sickbed with red-died blankets, and putting red-died curtains in the windows. Meanwhile, in France, drawing on his experiences with the army, Doctor Jean-Antoine Villemin (1827-1892) was informing the Academy of Medicine that [tuberculosis](#) might be a transmissible disease resembling the small pox rather than a hereditary disorder or a form of cancer. [Louis Pasteur](#) was at this point publishing his “germ theory” of disease. In the New World, the



city of Seattle, named after [Headman Seattle \(See-Ahth of the Susquamish\)](#), was simultaneously making it illegal for persons of native ancestry to reside within its limits. Would this have been related in any way to the development of germ theory in France, or is it merely a coincidence that these developments were occurring in the same Year of Our Lord?





THE SMALL POX

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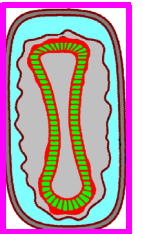
1870

January 23, Sunday: [Wendell Phillips](#) wrote to Charles Wesley Slack to convey the information that Mr. Wright J. Potter had been given a poem from Slack, to read.

Giuseppe Verdi wrote to a friend in Paris about his failure to send along promised prose works by [Richard Wagner](#) — it seems almost as if Verdi were desiring to acquaint himself with Wagner's nativist rants!

I have long been convinced that my artistic ideal stands or falls with Germany. Only the Germany that we love and desire can help us achieve that ideal.

After United States Army troops led by Major Eugene Baker attacked a village of Piegan Blackfeet on the Marias River in Chouteau County, Montana, killing 33 men, mostly elderly, 90 women, and 50 children below the age of 12, many of them with the [small pox](#), there wouldn't be the usual sort of bragging. The army would be covering up [this particular massacre](#), until in April a young officer would file a report. Investigation would reveal that the reason for all that secrecy was that the troops had raided the wrong village, killing off a whole bunch of people, man, woman, and child, who actually were friendlies. Oops, sorry about that, we'll get it right the next time.





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1872

December 17, Tuesday: Oscar Magnus Fredrik Bjornstjerna replaces Baltzar von Platen as Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden.

December 18, Wednesday: Serenade for Nikolai Rubinstein's NAMEDAY for small orchestra by Pyotr Illyich Tchaikovsky was performed for the initial time, privately, in the Moscow apartment of the dedicatee.

Seven of the songs op.57/2-8 by [Johannes Brahms](#) to words and translations by Daumer, were performed for the initial time, in Vienna.

December 19, Thursday: Newspapers across America announced that the great diamond swindle of Colorado had at last been exposed. It had been a "salting" operation, perpetrated by a couple of Kentucky grifters, Philip "Aundel" Arnold and John Burcham Slack. Some people, however, had been unimpressed all along, for instance one geologist commented that "though it may not pay to hunt for diamonds, yet it always pays to pick them up when you do happen to see them."

December 22, Sunday: Publication of Jules Verne's AROUND THE WORLD IN EIGHTY DAYS began on this day, in serial form.

December 26, Thursday: The [small pox](#) hospital on "Pine" Island was destroyed by fire (presumably, what was intended in the source document, here, since the smallpox isolation facilities had for a long time been on that island, and since there simply has never been any Pine Island listed among the various islands of Boston Harbor, would be actually Deer Island).



THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1890

February: From this point until sometime in May, [Alfred Russel Wallace](#) would be presenting testimony to the Royal Commission on Vaccination. He would be putting on the hat of someone who really understood how a statistical validation ought to be conducted, and pointing out tendentious errors in the government's official calculation of the benefits of universal mandatory vaccination for the [small pox](#) (suspicious errors in the omission of data that did not support the government's side of the case, plus suspicious "errors" in calculation), but in addition he would be introducing unfortunate new errors of his own (such as the oversight of adding in the same set of datapoints twice in his corrective calculation). At the end of his testimony it would be quite as murky as it had been before whether the existing practice of universal mandatory vaccination was of net benefit or of net harmfulness to society.

King [Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo](#), son of [Cetshwayo kaMpande](#), and his family, including a couple of uncles, were exiled to [St. Helena](#) for a period of 9 years. The Zulu royal family would be accommodated at Francis Plain House, Rosemary Hall, and Maldivia House in Jamestown. Dinuzulu learned to read and write and play the piano, and would be baptized and confirmed as a Christian by the Bishop:

The Emperor of the Zulus proved far more amenable than did the Emperor of the French. He did what he was told, never quarrelled with the authorities, and wandered about the Island making friends with all he met.



THE SMALL POX

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1892

Discovery of the 1st virus.

In Pennsylvania, Leonard Pearson began to rely on Robert Koch's "[tuberculin](#)" testing.

[Sir William Osler](#) quoted a German saying to the effect that "Every man at the end has a little [tuberculosis](#)."



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20TH CENTURY

1900

Although the [tuberculosis](#) mortality rate in Massachusetts had fallen from the 368 deaths per 100,000 of 1865 to 190 per 100,000, TB was still a major health problem, far exceeding in its death rate the death rate from the [scarlet fever](#), the [small pox](#), typhus, and diphtheria.

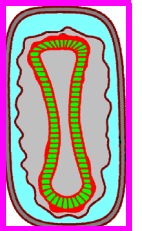


THE SMALL POX

THE SMALL POX

1937

The electron microscope was making it possible actually to view organisms such as the [smallpox](#) virus. Soon (early 1970s) it would become possible for us to eliminate this disease from the human population, and cease vaccination entirely — and by ceasing vaccination and allowing all natural resistance and immunity to disappear (latency of immunization = two decades), to weaponize this smallpox virus and manufacture it and transform it into one of the very most effective killing vehicles for military use ever imagined!



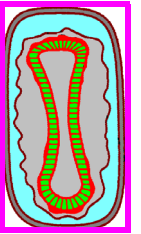


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1947

[Albert Camus](#) concluded –in his novel *LA PESTE* (THE PLAGUE, 1948) in which he utilized [smallpox](#) as a dual metaphor, representing within this context not only moral disease but also, paradoxically, life in general with its “misfortune and instruction”– that such plaguishness should never be expected to be banishable from the face of the earth. Plaguishness “can remain dormant for years in furniture and bedding ... it waits patiently in bedrooms, basements, trunks, hankies and red tape.” We might also expect that it must lie waiting in the countless unenumerated secret test-tubes of the countless unenumerated [secret bio-war laboratories](#) of various governments/terrorist organizations.



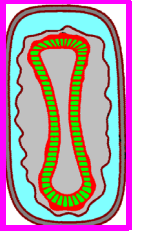


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1977

October 26, Wednesday: Ali Maow Maalin of Merka, Somalia had had [small pox](#) and had survived.
His would prematurely be announced as the final case of this disease.



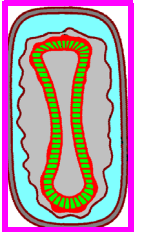
THE SMALL POX

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1978

The initial test tube baby was born, in England.

Janet Parker, a worker on the floor above a lab where the remaining samples of the [small pox](#) virus were being stored in Birmingham, England, contracted smallpox and died. The virus had apparently gotten through an air duct between the two floors. She infected her mother, who survived, but in the meanwhile her father was so alarmed that he had a fatal heart attack. The lab director then committed [suicide](#).



TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

There was an unexpected [criticality](#) at the [Fukushima Daiichi](#) facility of [Tokyo](#) Electric Power Company (they would be attempting to conceal this for years and years).⁵⁷

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

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.

57. There have been in the nuclear industry, to date, some 70 such criticality excursions and some 21 resultant fatalities, but –so far at least– there hasn’t been a single atomic blast! Cross your fingers.

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J.W. Kitching discovered a clutch of *prosauropod* eggs in South Africa, the oldest dinosaur embryos yet found. They would indicate that sauropods had walked on all fours as small animals, but the significance of this find would be overlooked for nearly three decades.

PALEONTOLOGY

F. Metzger-Krahé described a 9th-Century Viking settlement in southern Jutland –perhaps the initial city-like settlement in Northern Europe– at which were found 185 fossils, most of them fossil sea urchins.



Mary Leakey announced the discovery at Laetoli of fossil footprints demonstrating that hominids had walked upright 3,600,000 years ago.

THE SCIENCE OF 1978



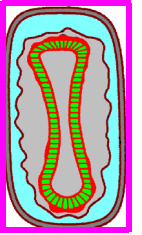
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1979

December: Formation of a [St. Helena](#) Fisheries Corporation.

The [small pox](#) was declared officially to have been eradicated as a threat to public health. It is only in our laboratories now, and with our bio-war experts — so what could possibly go wrong?



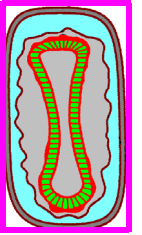


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1990

The complete genetic code of the *vaccinia* or [smallpox](#) vaccine was resolved and printed out. It is 98% similar to the smallpox virus, having only about 13 genes that are potentially different from the virulent wild variety of this virus.



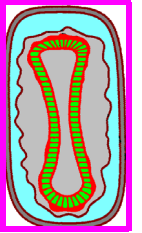


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1993

December 31, Friday, Midnight: The arrangement was that all remaining laboratory samples of the [small pox](#) virus were to be destroyed as of this hour, by cooking in the autoclaves of various laboratories worldwide at 248 degrees for 45 minutes. The plan was changed, however, allegedly because of a suspicion that the virus might someday prove useful. The explanation? "We are its only host."



David Berg of the Children of God had proclaimed, in [The Endtime News!](#), that the Tribulation was to start in 1989 and the [Second Coming](#) of Jesus Christ was going to happen during this year (McIver, Tom. THE END OF THE WORLD: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Jefferson NC: McFarlane & Co., 1999 #2095; Kyle,

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Richard. THE LAST DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN. Grand Rapids MI: Baker Books, 1998, page 145).



MILLENNIALISM

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2003

The formerly [Quaker](#) chocolate company, [Cadbury](#), decided to allow some *Salmonella* “montevideo”⁵⁸ organisms in their [chocolate](#) products, selling the items as is rather than reprocessing and sterilizing them, so long as it did not seem to their lab personnel as if the organisms had become numerous enough to actually make people ill. That is to say, they created an “allowable tolerance level” for such toxic organisms.

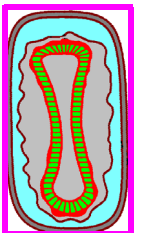


Modern industrial methods meant it was no longer going to be possible to sweat the small stuff. These tolerable levels had been established in the 1940s by feeding infusions of the live organism to Conscientious Objectors (primarily 7th-Day Adventists) held at Fort Dietrich by the US Army and in the 1950s by feeding infusions of the live organism to US prisoners (supposed “volunteers”), it having been found then that the lowest dose that would cause noticeable illness was about 100,000 of the organisms.⁵⁹ Cadbury also decided not to establish, in their manufacturing facility, a Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point system, considering that in today’s competitive environment such an obsession with cleanliness would be prohibitively expensive. The company could rely on its long reputation for the highest quality to keep its customers loyal.



(Such action of course relied on a presumption that levels of contamination would be evenly distributed from bar to bar and from batch to batch, so that average levels would not be in particular instances greatly exceeded — but that’s a good presumption, isn’t it?)

In a related piece of news, the Bush administration began distribution of [small pox](#) vaccine for the protection of health care workers, so that if Iraq were to launch an attack on us, these health care workers would be available to begin a program of general inoculation. We didn’t know that Iraq had any smallpox virus, or any intention of using it, but we were planning on attacking them — and you can’t be too careful. On the other hand, what was being distributed was a vaccine that would be expected to cause a death or two, and perhaps 15 or more serious reactions for ever 1,000,000 people vaccinated, and the Bush administration was taking no steps whatever to provide care for those whose lives would be impacted in such manner (that, it seems, would be being too careful).



58. *Salmonella* poisonings caused by a new seriotype are named after the place in which this new seriotype is first isolated.

59. Well, but that was when administered alone, not when mixed in with the lipids of milk chocolate. It would turn out that not only do these lipids tend to lengthen the life of the microorganism on the shelf, but also they are rather effective in protecting the organism against being destroyed by stomach acid, so when administered in, say, a commercial chocolate bar, a dose of considerably less than 100,000 organisms may be dangerous. Oh-oh, watch out!



THE SMALL POX

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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: October 9, 2017



THE SMALL POX

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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 Kourou Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

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



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