

EDWARD HITCHCOCK'S PRIVATE NOTES

1829 – 1864

Transcriptions of the original hand-written
manuscripts in the collections of the
Amherst College Archives and Special Collections,
Amherst, Massachusetts

Transcribed by
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2017-2020

Introduction

Edward Hitchcock (1793-1864) is best known as a geologist and paleontologist who taught at Amherst College from 1826 to 1863 and served as the third president of the college from 1845 to 1854. He was also a minister who preached in churches throughout southern New England for over thirty-five years. He married Orra White in 1821 and the couple raised six children in their home adjacent to the Amherst College campus. Orra created thousands of drawings, woodcuts, and paintings that Edward used in his books and in his teaching.

Hitchcock began recording what he called his “Private Notes” in February 1829. His intention was not to keep a diary for his own use, but to record his thoughts on his life and his work for his children. In the first entry he explains: *“There is no probability that I shall live until my children (if God spares their lives) have known me from their personal observations of the character opinions and feelings of their father. It has occurred to me that some short remarks of mine relating to my history, feelings, and opinions might be no unprofitable or unacceptable legacy to leave them.”*

Over the next thirty-five years he made some eighty entries. In some years he made several, in others he made but a single entry. During a five year period in the 1830s he made no entries; he makes mention of this in the first entry after that long hiatus. In an entry late in his life Hitchcock expresses regret at some of the things he has written and suggests that he might remove some pages. Perhaps he or a family member did just that as there are a number of gaps in the page sequence. Most are just a few pages long, but there is one fifty-page gap between April 1860 and April 1862.

Hitchcock’s “Private Notes” are recorded in three booklets which are preserved in the Amherst College Archives and Special Collections. They are located in the Edward and Orra White Hitchcock Collection, Series 7-C, Box 19, folders 3, 4 and 5. The pages have been digitized and may be viewed on line by entering “Private Notes” in the search box at acdc.amherst.edu.

In 2017 I began studying the life and works of Edward Hitchcock with the goal of writing a biography. His "Private Notes" were invaluable to me and I began transcribing them in late 2017. I used voice-to-text software to dictate the notes from the images into a document file, then reread them, comparing the transcription to the images of the originals. This document contains the complete transcriptions of all his notes to which I was able to gain access.

The images in most cases show two facing pages. Most of the pages are numbered, possibly in Hitchcock's own hand. I have marked the start of each new image with the page number, normally an even number. Where no page number was found or it was illegible, I have entered "Page ?"

Many variations in spelling have been preserved in the transcription. Some of these may have been Hitchcock's own, others were customary for his time. Examples include *eccentric*, *independant*, *volcano*, *risque*, and *favour*. Hitchcock was frugal in all things, including the use of punctuation. In some instances I have added commas or replaced colons with semicolons or periods to make the meaning clearer. My comments are shown in brackets.

I am indebted to Amherst College and particularly to Margaret Dakin and Michael Kelly of the Archives for preserving the unpublished writings of Edward Hitchcock and making them accessible to all. If you make use of this transcription, please be sure to cite your source including, of course, the Amherst College Archives and Special Collections.

Readers wanting to learn more about Edward Hitchcock may wish to read my biography, *All the Light Here Comes from Above: the Life and Legacy of Edward Hitchcock*. It is my hope that the book and this transcription will inspire others to get to know the man behind that quill pen.

Sincerely,

Robert T. McMaster
September 24, 2020

Private Notes Part 1 1829

[Edward Hitchcock, "Private Notes," pp. 1-86, 1829 Feb 8 to 1843 Dec, EOH, Series 7-C, Box 19: folder 3]

Private notes

February 8, 1829

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I have never been in the habit of keeping a religious diary, for several reasons which do not now appear to me altogether satisfactory: and I am rather inclined to believe that such a register of the soul's experience would have been of service in the work of self-examination. From month to month and year to year however I have unequivocal evidence that my debilitated constitution cannot much longer withstand the renewed and more powerful attacks of those complicated complaints that have for twenty years been assaulting the powers of life. There is no probability that I shall live until my children (if God spares their lives) have known me from their personal...

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...observations of the character opinions and feelings of their father. It has occurred to me that some short remarks of mine relating to my history feelings and opinion might be no unprofitable or unacceptable legacy to leave them. If Providence spare my life and more urgent duties do not prevent I propose from time to time in a desultory manner to make such remarks upon these topics as may suggest themselves to my mind. God grant that this occasional retrospect may have a happy influence upon my own heart.

Through the distinguishing goodness of God I was favoured with religious parents and early religious instruction. And to this it was probably owing that I was restrained from gross wickedness. Nevertheless, I soon became enamored of human knowledge particularly of scientific subjects and devoted myself most unremittingly to its acquisition although prevented by poverty from pursuing it in the way of a public education. An esteemed relative and friend afforded me much assistance and encouraged me forward. But unfortunately he was extremely sceptical in regard to religious subjects having little more regard for Christianity than an avowed Deist. Although I now perceive that he was extremely superficial upon religious subjects (notwithstanding his respectable acquirements in science) his frequent lectures against orthodox religion made too deep an impression on my youthful mind puffed up with my supposed attainments in science. I never however became quite as sceptical as my instructor: but embraced the Unitarian views which had for some years been gradually gaining ground in...

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...my native place and which were highly recommended by the gravity of deportment and highly respectable character of the clergyman who was labouring there to disseminate these views. Probably however if asked I never could have told definitely what were my views of religious truth: for I had never seriously examined the subject. I knew enough however to perceive that Unitarian principles and practice were much less repulsive and difficult than orthodox. I found that I could embrace these views and be considered a good Unitarian - nay come to the communion table without giving up at all my love

of the world – or curbing my ambition for its honors and pleasures or knowing anything about holiness and communion with God. I therefore was ready to advocate Unitarianism - though not infrequently doubting whether it were true: in other words doubting whether all religion would not prove false. It gave relief however to my conscience and was the most effectual opiate I ever drank. Open infidelity and atheism were too gross and deformed to prejudice this effect: but this system covered with the habiliments of real religion had too winning an aspect to be resisted by the natural heart.

And here let me remark that it is my belief that a large majority of professed Unitarians have adopted that system for the same reason that I did viz. because it furnishes an opiate to the conscience - that stern witness of orthodoxy which God has implanted in the soul. This may seem severe judgment: yet I have been in a situation...

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...to look closely at the subject. For more than twelve years I have sat under Unitarian preaching and have grown up as a companion and bosom friend of Unitarians. And although I am by no means prepared to say that everyone of this denomination is destitute of piety (for some of them I have known seem to have a principle of holiness within their hearts) in nine cases out of ten a profession of Unitarianism has not produced so far as I could judge a single fruit of holiness.

[The next thirteen or so paragraphs appear with only minor differences in Hitchcock's Memorandum.]

It has seemed to be merely a substitute of piety. They have no fixed and definite notions of religious truth: and if you would but let them alone on the subject of religion - if neither your words nor conduct disturb their consciences they cared not what system you adopted. But how happened it that I was led to abandon this system. Oh the depths of Divine Wisdom! Oh the boundlessness of Divine Mercy! Had I remained unchastised and been suffered to accomplish my own plans, I should no doubt have persisted in these errors through life. But what seemed the severest blow of adversity that I ever met proved the talisman to dissolve the fatal chasm. I was preparing to enter as a student in advanced standing at Harvard University within a few months. A slight epidemic disease attacked me not severe enough to prevent my attention to study: but on opening my Majora one morning my eyes were so much affected that I was obliged to close it. As the disorder passed off, I supposed my sight would recover its strength: but from that day...

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...to the present I have never spent an hour in reading without suffering severely from pain in my eyes: and for a year or more such was their weakness that I was compelled to abandon almost entirely my classical studies. All my plans for life - my high hopes of distinction among men of science were thus blasted in a moment. My proud heart struggled against my fate, but all in vain. I was compelled to resort to other pursuits for a livelihood. Sometimes I performed the duties of a deputy sheriff sometimes I was a carpenter sometimes a land surveyor sometimes a farmer. During this period a sense of desolation and hopelessness exceedingly oppressed me. It was a time to try my religious principles to see if they would sustain me amid feeble health and disappointed worldly hopes. I found that they gave me no support. Neither philosophy nor Unitarianism could staunch my bleeding heart. For a long time, however, I thought that the difficulty lay not in the principles themselves but in my not having yielded my heart fully to their influence. Longer experience however dissipated this delusion. I became satisfied that my religious principles were radically defective. But if these were erroneous what religious opinions

could be true? Certainly not the evangelical; which were then associated in my mind with ignorance and bigotry and inquisitorial intolerance. For many months a dreadful blank succeeded - a sort of religious desolation. I still retained however a great respect for the bible – and believed most of it to be inspired and therefore authoritative in matters of belief. Being skeptical in...

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...regard both to the Unitarian and orthodox exposition of its doctrines, I came to the resolution to examine it for myself. I began with Genesis and went through to the end of Revelation in about a year constantly offering up prayers that were at least sincere for guidance and wisdom and a disposition to receive every truth contained in the bible however repugnant to my prejudices. I made but little use of commentaries unless marginal references may be considered such. The result was that I found in the bible the leading truths of evangelical religion though my prejudices and pride resisted their reception for a long time and I received them only after a severe struggle. Some of the most offensive as election and the perseverance of the saints were not admitted fully into my creed until even after I began to preach.

While engaged in this examination of the bible it pleased God in some measure to realize to me the depravity of my heart and life. I found myself entirely depraved and hostile to God whether others were or not and felt no small degree of anxiety to know how I should escape from the eternal ruin that hung over me. The atonement of Jesus Christ - faith in his blood seem to me to be the only refuge pointed out in the Scriptures for the lost sinner: and the dealings of God with me in a variety of respects urged me to flee to this refuge. In particular he called me to witness the death of a companion and bosom friend who in health was even more loose in his religious views than myself but who on his...

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...death bed avowed his belief in the truth of orthodoxy. Perhaps I yielded my heart to the Saviour if ever I have done in the very evening in which he died. But of this I am extremely doubtful. From this time however the settled gloom that hung over my soul gradually gave way to a calmer state of feeling unaccompanied however by a religious joy.

But the light that had thus been thrown into my path was by no means vivid. Though discarding unitarianism, I still retained prejudices in favour of some of its most worthy supporters and against orthodox ministers. I joined the church in my native place whose clergyman was an able and serious unitarian and who had for a long time befriended me. Of his church my father though decidedly orthodox continued a Deacon until his death.

About this time I also resolved to commence study with a view to the ministry of the gospel influenced as I humbly hope in some measure by a desire to be useful. Being engaged in an academy in my native place, I commenced Hebrew and the Evidences of Christianity under the direction of unitarian clergyman above named: I rarely however recited to him, and he did little more than direct me in the selection of books and answer occasional questions.

At this time I had very erroneous conceptions of the evangelical orthodox system of faith as held by the churches in our country. I supposed that they held to all the absurd inferences which their enemies have charged upon their system such as the imputations of Adam's sin, physical natural inability to obey the divine commands - a willingness to be damned as a condition of...

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...being saved, the damnation of infants, etc.. Although I differed from Unitarians in many points yet in these respects I thought I differed from the orthodox and to them it seemed to me I never could subscribe. But I began to suspect that the views of orthodoxy which were prevalent among unitarians were not correct. I determined therefore to go to New Haven and complete my theological studies. It seemed to me at least to be but right that as all my life had been spent among unitarians I should have an opportunity of hearing for a year or two orthodox arguments and instructions and witnessing orthodox practice. I carried my resolution into effect. But I went to New Haven most resolutely opposed to orthodox intolerance and to certain doctrines which I supposed to belong to the Orthodox creed. Judge then of my agreeable surprise when I found that my views in all important respects coincided with those of the orthodox and my still greater surprise to find much less of intolerance and bigotry than among unitarians. I had never once thought but that of whatever else unitarians were destitute they possessed genuine liberality. But I now found that while it opened its arms wide to every sect and every religion because it wished the mantle of charity spread over its own scepticism, it could still harbor within the bosom the bitterest hostility to evangelical christians. Whereas among the orthodox I found in general that those who declared their conviction that unitarianism was another gospel still cherished the kindest feelings towards those who had embraced views which seemed to them subversive to the gospel.

When I was first enquiring in regard to religious doctrines I had some opportunity to observe in neighboring parishes the effect of orthodox sentiments upon the practice. And I could not perceive how much more powerful it was...

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...than unitarianism upon its adherents. I recollect well about this time in conversing with a unitarian companion who had more opportunity than myself to observe the effect of orthodoxy upon the life and who was himself somewhat solicitous to know the truth - to have asked him: how is it that while orthodox people reject works from their system they should be doing so much for the cause of religion, while we in this place who rely on our works should be doing almost nothing? He acknowledged the correctness of the comparison but could explain it no better than myself. Such a fact before my eyes I confess operated powerfully upon my mind in leading to a suspicion that unitarianism was radically defective. True there is among the orthodox very much of faith without works, but there are several in almost every church of this character who make religion the grand business of life. Among unitarians I confess I rarely saw anything approaching to this. It would among them I think be called fanaticism: and the individual of that faith who should adopt such a course would ere long (if I may judge from several examples that have come under my notice) abandon the system.

Not long after I professed religion, three or four friends in my native place, who were chiefly orthodox and who felt in some measure the declining state of religion there united with me in efforts to establish an evening religious meeting. We went to the minister and consulted him about it. He came to the conclusion to establish one himself on Wednesday or Thursday evening. But lest his parishioners should suppose him verging towards enthusiasm, he first preached a sermon setting forth the dangers attending weekday religious meetings, such as enthusiasm, spiritual pride and then told his people he had concluded to hold a meeting of this sort: stating to them that they need not fear that its object was to produce...

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...enthusiasm – as he had consulted Unitarian ministers at the east on the subject. He did not state nor did he then suppose that he did it to prevent our doing it and thereby leading the people astray: but such evidently was the scheme. He conducted the meetings exclusively himself, except that he got some one to read a portion of such books as Chalmers Astronomical Discourses or Mason on Self Knowledge. The meetings were well attended for a time - but they were conducted with so little interest that they soon declined. I believed at the time that Chalmers and Mason were read through. Not satisfied with this we determined to apply to this minister for liberty to hold a meeting on Sabbath evening. He gave a cold assent, but never attended one of the meetings. It being understood that Mr. W. approved of these meetings they were numerously attended. We read at each meeting a sermon from Cooper or Burton or some other evangelical writer endeavoring to bring forward as often as possible the doctrine of regeneration. A solemnity began to prevail in the meetings and I do believe that the Spirit of God was accompanying his word. Indeed the report got abroad that there was a tendency to enthusiasm.

Unfortunately we who conducted the meeting did not think it our duty to do anything contrary to the wishes of Mr. W - nor did we understand the mode of conducting a revival. Had the favourable moment been seized and the proper means used I cannot doubt but a powerful revival of religion would have followed. As it was I cannot but hope that some souls were born again. Nearly 40 afterwards made a profession of religion and though most of them were nominal unitarians, I cannot but hope that God will bring some of them out of the cloud that now is so thick upon them. Oh that I had then taken a stand on the side of truth, and had known how to conduct a revival!

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I doubt not but it would have shaken Unitarianism in Deerfield. But if I was converted previous to that time I was only half born – or yet in my swaddling clothes. Oh how important it is that Christians when they are born again should breathe the fresh air, and draw in a healthy nourishment.

Alas, to this very day I feel the deadening influence of the damps which I breathed, and the poison that was mingled with my nourishment in the early part of my religious course. Oh that God would give me another opportunity before I died to address the Gospel to a collection of anxious souls in Deerfield! How shall I give thee up Deerfield! How can I look upon thee as Admah and Zeboiim!

When I concluded to go to New Haven to complete my theological course it was evident that Mr. W. and other Unitarians in Deerfield greatly feared that they were about to lose me. So apprehensive was I that I should meet with an intolerant Jesuitical Spirit among the orthodox that I even asked Mr. W.'s advice how to resist such management most successfully. He did not say much, yet in conclusion remarked, *I have many things to say to you but you cannot bear them now.*

This remark made a deep impression on my mind, and produced a salutary effect. What, I said, I have sat twelve years under your ministry, and been two years your student in divinity and there yet remain *many things* in your system which I cannot yet bear! Is this your way of making unitarian christians to keep out of sight the higher mysteries of your faith until you have sounded your pupils disposition, and enlisted his prejudices in your favour and against orthodoxy and deadened the flame of youthful piety! I will go to New Haven and see if such a Jesuitical course will be taken with me there! I went and all my subsequent acquaintance with orthodox christians...

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...has shown me that whatever other faults they have they cannot be charged with concealment of their sentiments, even their most offensive parts. But this is the grand secret of the success of Unitarianism in New England.

Such is the course in which the hand of the Lord led me out of the mazes of error. Surely nothing but Divine Wisdom and infinite mercy could have overcome so many prejudices and brought me through so many snares and obstacles, to the adoption of views which mortified my pride and seemed most adverse to my worldly interests. Let God therefore have all the praise and all the glory!

From that period to the present my confidence in the truth of the Evangelical system of doctrines has been confirmed more and more by every fresh accession of knowledge and experience. Indeed for a considerable time passed I can hardly say that any remaining doubts on the subject have lingered in my mind. I often doubt and greatly fear that these religious principles have been embraced by me only speculatively and will not prove the wisdom of God and the power of God to my salvation. But rarely if ever - unless I am negligent in personal religion - in prayer and self - examination in reading the bible etc. do I doubt that the system is the true Gospel. Never does it appear so true and so precious to me as in seasons of affliction of sickness and danger. In all these circumstances have I repeatedly been placed and then these doctrines are uniformly my last and only hope. Indeed the great scheme of redemption by the incarnation and death of Jesus Christ have sometimes appeared to me unspeakably glorious and filled me with rapturous admiration.

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April 26. I feel the need of setting down in earnest to the work of self-examination to ascertain the state of my heart in relation to God. My plan of proceeding is this. Begin with repeated prayer for Divine assistance then at one time take up one item in the great account giving it an impartial application to my own case then after putting this down on paper proceed to another as fast as time and health will permit and so on till the whole ground be going over when I am to draw up my judgment upon the whole case before me. O it is a trial of my soul which may decide my eternal destiny. How honest how impartial how faithful ought I therefore to be! I would in the first place call up the evidences that testify against me.

[*Three
Pages numbered 25 – 27 appear to be missing.*]

1831

August 14, 1831

The interval since I last entered any remarks in this journal has been an important one in my life. God - I humbly trust it was God - soon after that date stirred up my attention more particularly to the subject of Universal Temperance. And from that time to the present my leisure time has been almost incessantly sacrificed in writing and publishing on the subject while the adoption (alas how often it is only the

imperfect adoption!) of my own system has greatly increased my ability to labour. Within less than two years I have written more than 600 pages on the subject and published nearly as much - a large part of it indeed the second time. The second edition of my lectures on Diet etc. contains a better view of the system of Hygiene which I advocate than the first: and I am now engaged in preparing four sermons for the *National Preacher* on the subject of diet which will probably give a still more perfect view of that part of the system which relates to food. Every reexamination of the subject which...

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...satisfies me more and more that the essential principles of this system are founded in truth and must ultimately prevail. The effect which I have every reason to believe they have already had on the religious and sober part of the community is beyond my expectations. Indeed I expected little else but ridicule and censure. Whereas I have testimonies from all quarters of the good effects that have resulted from my exertions. I find that I have the consciences of almost every man on my side. And even those who profess to treat my system with sneer or disdain are nevertheless influenced in a measure by it because they find their own experience testifying to its general truth. So long as I have such evidence I feel it to be a duty to exert my utmost energies - even to the neglect of almost every other subject - to fortify and illustrate and enforce this hygiene system. It is a field of usefulness to which I never thought of entering until God led me into a quite painful and mysterious path. I have learned the value of the system and I urge upon others by experiencing the effects of its violation. And therefore unfit as I am for any great intellectual or moral influence - I can still urge the subject with the eloquence of sincerity and hence I do not urge it in vain. How wonderful are the leadings of Providence! How astonishing that God should employ me a poor worn out and unworthy creature - standing as I have done for years seemingly on the brink of the grave - to advance a cause – nay to be even a pioneer in a cause whose prevalence would do more to promote human happiness and bring on the millennium than any other means now in operation! I do not indeed expect to acquire renown in future times by these efforts. For I anticipate that my labours will speedily be forgotten in the abler and more important labours of others who come after me. But the consciousness that when I first opened my mouth on the subject there was a leaden sleep upon the public mind concerning it will make me grateful while I live to Him who excited me to effort. If ever I have done anything without fear of man and with a sincere desire to promote the temporal and eternal welfare of a race it has been my effort in the cause of temperance.

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The personal benefits which I have derived from the partial adoption of major principles of temperance have been surprisingly great. Ever since that time God has prospered my worldly concerns - giving me success in almost every enterprise in opening new and unexpected sources of pecuniary profit that I often fear it is a sign that he has given me over to hardness of heart saying *Why should ye be stricken any more? Let him alone - he is joined to his idols.* Still when I find that most of my success results directly or indirectly from temperance and cannot feel that it is a token of divine disapprobation. My family is now generally free from violent and severe diseases: and since we have abandoned the use of tea and coffee and used a diet chiefly vegetable we find the physician's aid seldom necessary. Indeed, though a constitution so far gone as was mine can never be anything else but a feeble one and of consequence while I live I must be liable to a feeble state of health yet I find myself to be comparatively a happy man and my family a happy family. Just as I seem ready to go out of the world and have abandoned all imputations of earthly happiness I begin to enjoy it. Even as to eating and drinking I never knew what it was to enjoy it till I had learned in a measure to live upon *the lightest and the least I could possibly be easy under.* My meals now afford me one of the happiest portions of my life. Indeed I now

enjoy eating so much that I often fear I am becoming a kind of epicure: though I do not and cannot enjoy rich and stimulating dishes. Were I perfectly temperate at the table how much greater still could be my satisfaction! But in my labours I am often obliged to be somewhat intemperate - that is too irregular. A consequence is that when much exhausted by effort I am apt to eat too much instead of endeavouring to repair my energies by rest.

The effects of this system of temperance upon my mind is however the most wonderful and should excite the deepest gratitude. Who could have made me believe three years ago that I should ever in this world have been able to do so much intellectually as I have done within a year or two past! And then the taking away of the load and irritation from the digestive organs has not a little influence upon my religious feelings.

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I now find that I am able to judge more correctly concerning my religious feelings being freed from that horrid weight and depression of spirits under which I have so long groaned. I find indeed enough of sin and unbelief in my heart and irreligion in my life to produce great alarm and anxiety as to my condition but still my views of the Divine character and the plan of salvation are more cheerful and delightful than formerly and I feel habitually a deeper sense of the goodness of God. And two or three times within as many years I have had - shall I call it enjoyment or delusion? Certainly I can say I have had remarkable views and feelings when meditating upon the character of the Saviour and the immutable glories of the Deity manifested through him. What shall I think of those seasons when I recollect (for it was many months since) that even for an hour or two I found myself in tears – not of grief – but of wonder and transport and my soul swallowed up in the glories that beamed upon me from God and the Redeemer! These feelings succeeded to a solemn meditation upon my condition and an attempt to cast myself entirely into the hands of God - and so new and unexpected were they to me that I could not help exclaiming can it be that this is a manifestation of God to one so utterly unworthy? Can this be religious enjoyment! I fear it is delusion and yet it is wonderful. Oh it is overwhelming. I cannot even now think of these scenes but with deep emotion: and yet when I think how little influence they have had upon me since it does seem still as if it must have been illusion - or as if I was made to taste for a moment of heavenly joy only that I might more clearly the anguish of losing it.

If these feelings were really the result of a Divine manifestation to my soul and of a heavenly character then I can truly say that I know something of the feelings of heaven and also of hell. As to the latter I have no doubt: for can there be a bitterer hell than I formerly felt when good conscience roused upon me with a whip of scorpions and guilt pressed me into the dust. Especially I can never forget the horrid state of feeling which once or twice seized upon in dreams when I fancied myself guilty of some awful crime. Oh, I cried out on awaking I know what hell is.

But to return to the subject of temperance. I do now earnestly entreat my children if they shall survive me and read these remarks to adopt the grand principles of that system of hygiene which they will find works. Deriving as they do undoubtedly from me constitutions predisposed to nervous complaints the adoption of this system is the only thing that can save them from those...

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...horrid sufferings it has been my lot to endure so many years. If inclined to neglect the system through the example of companions or acquaintances I beg them to remember that the testimony of their departed father ought to weigh more than that of all the world beside and that they cannot disregard

his advice and be happy. Next to a decided religious course does he urge upon them the principles of temperance. Let them remember that they will meet me at the final judgment. Let them keep that solemn hour continually before them and feeble will be the influence of the world over their resolutions.

1832

August 26, 1832

More than two years ago on a journey to Pennsylvania being satisfied that some thorough and systematic course of exercise was very important to give more vigor to my constitution and to save me from sinking I addressed Governor Lincoln of Massachusetts suggesting to him the expediency of appointing someone to make a geological survey of the state. On my return I was agreeably surprised to find that in his message to the Legislature the Governor had recommended such a course and not long after I received permission to perform the labour. I could not doubt that this was an opening which Providence had made for me for the improvement of my health: and therefore I engaged in the business immediately and within two years have gone over nearly all the state and travelled probably not less than 5000 miles: and in all these wanderings over the roughest parts of the state not a hair of my head has been hurt and I feel called upon to record the goodness of the Lord to me in this enterprise. The effect on my health has been great and salutary so that I endured the severe cold of last winter better than any winter for ten years past. Though I ought to mention that my too severe labours in college...

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...last spring have in a measure counteracted the good effects of my journeys. The work is not indeed completed though I have made out the first part of my Report and have made good progress in the remaining parts. It is a work of great labour. But if I do not mistake my feelings I hope I may be able to glorify God in the enterprise - and do some service to the cause of learning. God grant that I may be kept from unhallowed ambition - from the desire of worldly distinction by this labour!

In this enterprise I have found the system of temperance which I have adopted admirably adopted to sustain me. Not one drop of alcoholic liquor have I drank during all my wanderings in almost all kinds of weather. And I can say the same almost without exception in regard to tea and coffee. Bread and milk have been my principal diet and using these moderately I have found myself equal to the most severe and long protracted labours and climbing the highest mountains - a thing which I could never have done had I used stimulating drink or much animal food.

I have made the record because this geological enterprise must be regarded as an important epoch in my history and because I wish to bear testimony to the goodness and faithfulness of God in opening such a door for the improvement of my health in a manner very congenial to my taste and in protecting me from every danger to which one must necessarily be exposed in such researches. True it does not afford so much satisfaction in the review as the same amount of labour devoted directly to the cause of religion. But when I consider its connection with my health and the possibility that indirectly I may thereby promote the cause of religion I reflect upon the work with satisfaction and gratitude.

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May God grant me the satisfaction of recording his goodness even to its final consummation!

It becomes me in this place however to acknowledge that such long and assiduous attention to a scientific subject has rather served to divert my attention from the things that are unseen and eternal. Strange that a study of the works of God should tend to make one forget God! It could not have had that effect upon an angel of holiness. But how far alas am I from his purity! O for grace to make me feel the presence of God in all the sublime and interesting scenes of nature which I have an opportunity of witnessing.

The effect of hard labour with the hammer among the rocks has generally been to give me strength to preach on the sabbath which I have generally done. I have also had opportunity to distribute many tracts in some of the wildest and most irreligious parts of the state. And by means of the vigor which my journeys have given me I have been able to preach the past year in Amherst and the vicinity as many as five out of six sabbaths. I ought to be thankful for this privilege though I have so poorly improved it.

1833

September 22nd 1833

It becomes me to acknowledge with thankfulness to God that he has sustained me to nearly to the completion of the labourious enterprise described in the pages immediately preceding that I may regard it as completed. For only one or two indexes remain to be prepared and about 150 pages to be printed of my report to the Government. The specimens also (more than 1500) collected for the Government have all been ticketed and the plates are all lithographed: so that were I to die today the work might be completed by other hands except that the collection made for the colleges in the commonwealth have not yet been ticketed and might occasion another person some perplexity. My report which will make a volume of not less than 700 octavo...

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...pages is far more extensive than I had anticipated: upon the whole this business has been one of the most laborious enterprises of my life and has occupied me more than three years incessantly.

But while I have occasion to praise God for sustaining me through it I have also reason to humble myself in view of his judgments. For though he guarded me in all my wanderings from accident and injury yet now my health has suddenly failed me and I am rapidly wasting away so that if his Providence does not save me I shall soon be in my grave. I impute this failure almost entirely to excessive labour. More than a year ago I had promised the Government that I would endeavour to finish my Report and have it published before the close of the present year: and a variety of circumstances render me extremely unwilling to have it delayed. One motive was a wish to get this business off my hands so that I might find more time to devote in several ways directly to the promotion of the cause of religion. I hope indeed that I have prosecuted this geological enterprise with a desire to glorify God: and I can truly say that scarcely a page of my report has been written without a prayer for divine assistance. Still God can be glorified by the advancement of science only indirectly: and I cannot but regard it as a frown from God for my unfaithfulness in the ministry that I have been able to glorify him for several years past only in

this indirect manner, if indeed the worldly motives that have influenced me too much in scientific pursuits have not prevented me from glorifying him at all. I could wish therefore to be able to act more immediately upon the cause of religion than by such labours as I have now completed: although in looking back upon this enterprise it still seems to me perfectly clear that it was his will that I should engage in it: and I doubt not but he will answer my prayers that he would glorify himself in it.

To return from this digression: after having thus promised the Government what seemed to me easy to accomplish the embarrassed state of our College and the feeble health of the President and one of the Professors rendered it necessary for them to be absent...

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...a great part of the time. This threw a large increase of most trying duties upon me and during the past summer they have been peculiarly severe. For a cold which I took last winter in my Laboratory gave a severe shock to my constitution from which I never recovered. I held out under the excitement till Commencement: but since then my heart and my flesh have been failing fast my sufferings have been great. I have never before felt such a dreadful protraction of the powers of life and have great reason to believe that my work on earth is nearly finished. It would have been pleasanter that my closing intellectual labour should have been of a more strictly religious character than the Report just published and I have for some time had my heart much set upon such a work to which I had consecrated the residue of my days. But I have reason to suppose that God has little more for me to do on earth. If so let me be entirely submissive thankful that he has permitted me to do any thing and especially has sustained me through so many severe labours. I have been for some months strongly impressed with the feeling that my labours would crush me: still I did not really believe this: for it has been my fixed resolution for years to do only so much as my constitution would bear. Whether I am to impute my failure to my geological labours or to my college labours it may not be possible to determine: probably in part to both combined. Yet I know that the extra cares that have come upon me in the College have always seemed most trying to my health. And indeed I am always found myself able to labour most constantly in philosophical pursuits without injury.

I have said thus much upon this subject because it will very probably be said when I am no more that this geological enterprise destroyed me. If this be true it was done in this manner. The great amount of exercise in the open air which at first it required so invigorated my constitution that I was led to presume too much upon its ability to endure and laid too much upon it. By very careful management I think my constitution might have held out a few years more. Yet I have all along felt like a man attempting to carry a feeble taper against the wind almost unprotected. I have long expected that some unexpected flare of wind would put out the feeble...

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...and trembling flame. God make me entirely submissive if the fatal breeze has now struck me!

I have all along prayed that God would glorify himself by this geological enterprise. And so confident have I been that he would do it that I have begun to look out for the manner in which my prayers will be answered. Can it be that by making it instrumental of breaking down my health he means to recall me from my wanderings after worldly vanities back to himself and thus to prepare me for the final change? Oh if such should be the effect what cause for everlasting gratitude should I have!

I feel but little comparative solicitude respecting the fate of my Report. It will probably somewhat promote the cause of learning and may be the means of stimulating legislators in other parts of the country to promote this cause of learning. But the merits of this report are not great. It might have been made more creditable to myself and the state had I been able to continue my examinations two or three years longer and spent more time in writing it. But an apprehension that the Legislature would not allow me to proceed much longer and be satisfied a wish to finish the business during the gubernatorial term of Governor Lincoln and apprehension that my health might fail if I continued much longer to attempt to sustain so great an amount of labour and thus the Government might lose every advantage from the enterprise and finally a wish to get the business off my hands that I might attend more thoroughly to my duties to my family and to the College as well as to devote myself more to certain projects more directly bearing upon the cause of religion and human happiness - all these considerations induced me to urge forward the work to a completion as soon as possible. I doubt not but the result will be a loss of scientific reputation as it seems to have been a loss of health. However the work is done after a sort and I bless God that life has been prolonged to see its consummation. In my present state of health it seems to me that severe criticism will not much disturb me nor praise and approbation much elate me. I feel myself too near eternity...

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...to dread the one or the other.

1834

February 9, 1834.

Oh what a winter of suffering is this! Dreadful dreadful is the prostration of nervous energy which I endure. I thought I had known before nearly everything that could be known of the horrors of dyspepsy. But I had scarcely entered the vestibule of this inquisitor's torturing house. Yet it is remarkable that my mind has been suffered to remain unusually clear and buoyant and when I have let it operate unusually successful in study. I impute this in part to the more rigid temperance which I now practice in my diet. But to the goodness of God I impute it more.

Like Job I have found three classes of comforters among my acquaintances. One class – the unkindest of all but thank God the fewest - give me to understand that all my present troubles result from the preparation my Geological Report and that it is just what I deserve for my inordinate ambition in writing that book. To be compelled as I have been to be the *locum tenens* of the President of the College for months during his absence in addition to my ordinary duties is not even mentioned by these comforters as having had any hand in prostrating my energies. I am to be censored therefore and not pitied and the only regret they manifest is founded on the fear that the College will suffer injury from the feeble health of one of its officers.

Now is it not too true that pride and improper worldly ambitions have been among the motives that influenced me in the geological labours above referred to – and that these have been among the causes of my prostration? Conscience replies in the affirmative and therefore instead of resenting these harsh charges and inferences of this class of friends I ought rather to repent before God and acknowledge the justice of his dealings.

Another class and this very numerous charge all my troubles to the intolerably strict system of diet which I have advocated so long and so obstinately. You have starved yourself say they - and you must eat more and of more...

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...stimulating riches and generous food. They seem to feel as if they have now a good opportunity for being revenged upon me for all my attacks upon their modes of living and as if my present situation were a triumphal refutation of all my favorite principles.

I confess that such suggestions grieve and distress me very much: not on my own account but because they injure a cause which lies near my heart - that of universal temperance. To say to these friends (and in general they are such and are influenced by the kindest of motives in urging upon me a richer and more generous diet) that I have never maintained that the most rigid attention to diet will secure a man against the effects of intemperance in employment and that I find more rigid abstemiousness instead of greater laxity of diet indispensable to my comfort at this time will not satisfy them so long as they see me pale feeble and emaciated. I have therefore sometimes yielded a little to their entreaties (for some often are physicians) and tried more hearty foods and have been drunk a pint or two of the sweet light wines. But the effect has been in almost every case so decidedly bad aggravating all my complaints that to please all my friends in the world I cannot follow such advice. While on the other hand I find so much benefit from every thorough and successful attempt to reduce the quantity and simplify the quality of my food and drink that the conclusion of the whole matter is a more decided conviction than ever of the great fundamental truths of that hygiene system which I have so long advocated. It will not indeed confer earthly immortality upon man but it will prolong and render more comfortable the existence even of the man on whom incurable disease has fastened.

A third class of friends themselves decided advocates of the dietetic system above mentioned have assailed me with severe rebuke for not living up more rigidly to my principles – for suffering to be kept under by disease when more thorough abstemiousness would restore me. They feel as if an imperious obligation lay upon me to let the world see that my system of diet will save me and restore me otherwise that...

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...system will be regarded with contempt.

Now upon the whole my conscience testifies that this class of friends are nearer right than any other that have been mentioned. It is my daily grief that I cannot keep myself within those narrow limits in respect to the quantity and quality of my food which the low state of my health demands. I pray daily against excess I try to guard against it. But morbid appetite almost daily triumphs by a little over these prayers and efforts and thus I keep up an irritation in the system and prevent the operation of the *vis medicatrix naturae*. Still I feel by no means confident that the most rigid temperance would restore me: for I greatly fear that organic disease is upon me. Yet it would at least smooth the passage to the grave: and therefore I am inexcusable for not reducing my food to the smallest quantity and simplest quality that will possibly sustain the system. Oh what a slave to appetite I still am! While others imagine me starving and know myself to be rendered miserable by excess. I am as certain of it as of my existence. Why then can I not reform? Lord, I cry unto thee earnestly tears to help me in this unequal struggle.

Meliora video et probo deteriorates sequor. O deliver me from the body of this death!

December 8th 1834

It is possible that I find myself so near the close of another year under circumstances so merciful! For several months past not only has existence been prolonged but my bodily health has seemed to be more vigorous than for several years and I have had the physical and intellectual ability to labour incessantly. Surely this is all of God: for no human instrumentality has been employed that I am aware of except a partial suspension of intellectual labour. I have not been idle. During the year I have published a new edition of my Geological Report to correct and add to which has cost me much labour and have written nearly two sermons on Temperance for...

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...*National Preacher* an essay on the use of wine in the in the Eucharist an article on the connection between Geology and Natural Religion besides revising a part of my lectures - giving two full courses on Chemistry and a course on Mineralogy Geology and Botany.

Blessed be God for giving me strength for all of this. Instead of it I expected a year ago to be in my grave ere this: and perhaps my present state of health is only a short respite from the grave: but even if it be to be able to do so much more than I expected is surely a great mercy for which I cannot be sufficiently thankful. And this is not the first nor the second time in my life when in feeble health I could get no relief until I had despaired of help from man and cast myself entirely into the hands of God. In these cases I have said to my friends, *I can do no more towards restoration: but if God has anything more for me to do in the world he will give me the requisite strength.* And there is really a great consolation when a man is in trouble to feel himself cut apart from every resource but God. Here is firm footing: for whether life or death come we know all will be well. And here I apprehend is the secret of happiness experienced by the missionary and the martyr when assailed by an unholy world. It brings God so near that they cannot but be happy whatever their external circumstances. At any rate this feeling in the circumstances which I have mentioned as regard myself has seemed to remove a load from my mind and it has often been followed by gradual restoration to comfortable health. In such cases however I have felt bound to practice the rules of temperance otherwise I should feel that to call on God for help would be presumption. Indeed with my constitution I am satisfied that God is the best physician to which I can resort and temperance the best remedy. I have indeed during the past season when on the mending hand found the demands of appetite very clamorous for an increase of the quantity of my daily food and I have in a measure yielded to the demand. The consequence has been a greater fullness of muscle than I have had for many years. I have taken more food under these circumstances (some days not less than a third more) because I believe the principles of...

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...physiology justify it. But I must be very careful to check the reins of appetite at the proper time lest plethora should be the consequence and some of those violent diseases to which the full fed are so liable.

I have to say however that though I have taken a larger quantity of food my appetite has not craved in the least anything but the most simple and wholesome kinds of food such as plain bread and milk or bread and butter or mush or hasty pudding or rice. As to meat although I still eat it occasionally it is by

no means as pleasant to my taste as a vegetable diet.

The effect of this indulgence upon my mind I do not think is very happy. If I mistake not my mind is more inclined to inaction and dejection than before - consequences which I have always supposed would result from full feeding. It may partly however be explained by the fact that I have felt it to be my duty to let the mind rest more than formerly during the year past because previously it has been overtaxed. And I am the more...

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...confirmed in this opinion by the fact that I find my old symptoms returning upon me now that I have been obliged as I have been for a few months to labour under high pressure steam.

But what is the influence of all this goodness of God upon my heart? I am ashamed that it is so feeble. I do not indeed suppose that God wrought a miracle for my relief - but I do regard the deliverance as providential and just as much undeserving of gratitude and love as if it were miraculous. Why then after so many lessons of the vanity of the world should I still find my affections so set upon any of its objects. So many warnings of my frailty and exposure to death why so stupid and careless? Why so unwilling to engage in self denying duties for him to whom I owe a double a triple redemption? For what other purposes has God spared me but to glorify him? I hope indeed that there is a desire in my heart to employ the little residue of life and strength in that manner which will accomplish the most for the good men. But I greatly fear that worldly and selfish motives come in to feed this desire - and that should God point out for me a very humble and self denying path of labour I should shrink from it. Yet oh Blessed Saviour why should I need any more of chastisement or any more of mercy to leave me cheerfully to devote myself my all to thee who hast done more for me! What I have suffered ought long ago to have thoroughly weaned me from any undo attachment to a perishable world and what I have enjoyed as thy gifts ought to have won my whole heart. Here then afresh on my knees would I consecrate to thee my spared life my bodily and mental powers my time my privileges my influence my property my children my all for time and for eternity. I pray for a disposition to use all these gifts while I am the steward just as thou wouldest have them used.

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If it shall please thee to employ me in teaching science to thee I devote my limited knowledge of science and my poor ability to communicate knowledge. Or if thou wouldest use me in preaching thy Gospel stated by or occasionally I would feel the power to preach (which (so far as I have it) is specially thy gift) should be sacredly devoted to thy cause. Or if I should be directed in thy providence to some humbler sphere I would devote to thee ability to labour with my hands. And all that I do and all that I say in all that I think may I ever regard *thee first thee last thee midst* so that finally I may be with thee and enjoy thy favour forever, Amen.

1839

November 1839

Still among the living and able to praise God! Surely He deserves my praise for having carried me with a

constitution so ruined through so many labours and sufferings! I cannot yet quite say with Baxter that God has spared me 40 years from the time when with Hezekiah I should have been glad of a lease of 15. But it is more than half that period since I felt my constitution so much broken down that I stood on the brink of the grave. How can I doubt that to God's power and mercy I am indebted for my continued preservation: and yet so far as instrumentality is concerned I impute it to temperance and hard work. Had I been more temperate in all things I should doubtless have had more health and longer life. But had work both of body and mind of which I have always had enough tended to counteract the bad influences of excess especially in diet I desire therefore to testify to my children who may read this that if they wish for long and happy lives they must...

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...labour hard and some honest and interesting pursuit and live abstemiously. I should I die when a monument shall be placed over my remains I wish to have this sentence inscribed upon it : *Salus mea temporalis, Temperantia eterna, omnino Christus*. Let no other panegyric accompany it. For if I may venture to hope the passing reader will believe me honest in this declaration it is as high as I ought to aim.

Since I last made an entry in this journal I have passed through many interesting and trying scenes. Nearly three years ago I received a commission from the State Government to re-examine our geology and since that time I have been about incessantly engaged in this work. I have not completed the survey so far as explorations abroad are concerned although a great work still remains to complete my final report. I have been amazed to find how many new facts have come to light so many indeed as to render it necessary to make out an entirely new report. I have traveled as far during the reexamination as I did during the original – in all between 9000 and 10,000 miles and that at the rate of not more than 25 miles per day. And yet I have scarcely met with a serious accident! Although I have climbed all our mountains and penetrated almost all our retired vallies. How much I owed to a kind Providence for such remarkable preservation! What multitudes have lost their lives with far less exposure.

This research has been to me a work of immense labour. I have performed a great number of chemical analyses 400 of which will appear in my report and to get those 400 more than double that number must be performed. And this work was to me in a good measure new so as to be for a time very difficult. One year ago my multiplied labours (I can impute it to no other adequate cause) brought on a fever and for many weeks I was prostrated on the bed of sickness this was the first time in my life that I was attacked by a fever almost constantly complaining of feeble health: and this...

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...scene was one of remarkable interest. God showed me great mercies in the midst of judgments and my experience can never be effaced from my mind. I will not here go into details since I have already detailed some of the more remarkable of my feelings in a little work published recently entitled *A Wreath for the Tomb [published 1839]*. I cannot but notice however one unexpected and singular fact. As the season of the year returned in which my sickness occurred and nature should bear the same aspect and a thousand incidents remind me of my state one year ago emotions of a similar character are revived in my mind to those I then experienced and although I suffered much during that sickness I recollect scarcely nothing about it that is not pleasant. Every thing unpleasant respecting it seems to be forgotten. Is not this astonishing mercy! Is it not strange that a fever should now give a zest to my enjoyment of the splendid scenery of the opening morning and the closing day which I never

experienced before! Oh how easy for God to convert our severest sufferings into sources of happiness!

In general I find my health since my recovery to be poorer than before. Thus I am reminded that my constitution has received a shock that will only weaken its resistance to future attacks. It does seem to me also that I feel more deeply than formerly the vanity and comparative unimportance of worldly pursuits and I anticipate far less from any of my scientific labours. I have lived to see how very imperfect my former productions and to wonder why they have been received with any favour than to complain that they have received no more. I wish to make my final report of such a character as to do credit and be of value to the state that has so long patronized my labours. But I expect very little increase of my poor reputation among scientific men. Although it will contain (if God permits me to complete it) a large amount of new matter yet nearly 20 states and territories of the Union are engaged in similar surveys and the novelty of the thing is gone and interesting reports are continually thrown before the public. I shall probably have lived and die in the belief that my efforts to undertake in Massachusetts to make a geological survey has led to all the surveys that have been under...

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...taken (save those of North and South Carolina) not merely in this country but in Great Britain also where recently a large report has been made by Mr. De la Beche. For although North Carolina preceded Massachusetts in this work: yet her example had no effect upon other states that I ever heard of and had long been forgotten when I called attention to the subject. I make these remarks because I believe this enterprise is exerting a salutary influence upon human improvement and happiness and I foresee that an effort will be made to deprive me of the honour of not strictly speaking originating it (for North Carolina has already long before undertaken it and Gen. Van Rensselaer has ordered a survey of the Erie Canal) but rather of reviving it when forgotten. I have no expectation especially that Europeans will ever acknowledge that they derived the first idea pf the geological surveys from this country: yet I have satisfactory proof that such was the fact.

But after all how comparatively unimportant is it whether justice is done me in respect to this matter - unimportant I mean when brought into comparison with the enquiry whether my name be in the Lamb's Book of Life. Oh let me but be assured of this and I can afford to be deprived of every worldly honor and have my name sink into oblivion. Nay if I know my own heart I do feel in a great measure willing that this should take place if it be necessary to my final salvation - and I am often inclined to believe that it is necessary. For I often greatly fear the love of reputation and honor is my besetting sin. May God bring down into the dust every idol that would be his rival in my heart! Oh what a treasure is a well grounded and a steady hope of eternal happiness! How can a man who possesses it be unhappy, come what will come upon him here!

1840

March 30th 1840

The greatest temporal blessing which I have ever received from the hand of God was in permitting me to be allied to such a woman as my wife has been proved to be. I feel quite sure that had it not been for

her friendship previous to marriage I never should have surmounted the difficulties in my way. And since our marriage she has been everything to me that I would expect of any mortal. How few women would have consented to take so much...

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...care and labour upon them in order to give their husbands time to attend higher pursuits as she has done. Men may talk as much as they please about fickleness of women and try to make us believe that there is no entire dependence to be placed in any friendship. But I here testify to our children that my confidence is absolutely perfect. I do not mean that she is infallible: but excepting that she may err from limited knowledge I am sure that every thing she advises and does is intended for the temporal and eternal happiness of her husband and children: and I have learned that it is very hazardous for me to act contrary to her advice - I never knew a person so entirely free from everything like guile and duplicity nor ever ready to make sacrifices in any good cause when it seemed to be her duty.

I have spoken only of temporal things. But I owe much to her in respect to other interests of the soul. It was her conversion and subsequent consistent conduct that first disarmed my scepticism and was a powerful means of leading me to embrace the same precious faith and hopes. And the continued consistency and beauty of her religious character has often led me to mourn over my own selfishness and inconsistency.

With such a wife how delightful a place is home! Will it be called weakness if I confess that I never leave it for a week while she is left behind without experiencing dejection and homesickness: and I confess that this attraction has proved the greatest I have ever experienced in the prosecution of geological researches. The older I grow the more painful is it to break away from my family. For though nearly fifty years old I find my affection for my wife has not lost the freshness the ardour nor even the enthusiasm of youth. How trying then must be the final separation! Oh this is almost the only earthly trial which I cannot think of with calmness! The idea unmans me – yet I can bless God...

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...for the glorious hope we cherish of meeting in heaven!

There is one subject that is beginning to weigh heavily upon the spirit of myself and my companion. We have a large family of children growing up without religion. The increasing infirmities of both of us (to say nothing of accidents which may cut short the span of life) admonish us that we cannot long be continued to them. And yet the idea of dying before their conversion is terrible. Oh that some means of grace might arouse their hearts – or rather Oh that God's spirit might arouse their consciences for vain is the help of man – vain is every thing but God's grace. We do not feel anxious for their temporal prosperity but for converting and sanctifying grace we do fervently pray – Oh Lord, how long!

1841

September 1841.

The great mercy and forbearance of God have spared my life and strength to complete my *Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts* and to arrange the state collection of specimens: also publish two editions of my *Elementary Geology* and some smaller works. In the state survey I have been occupied more or less for eleven years and towards the close of the time my labours in preparing the Report have been very severe and protracted. I have long feared that I would not live to complete the work and thus the state might receive an injury or rather get nothing for the expense they have incurred. But God has directed otherwise and now that I have more of a breathing time than for...

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...several years I desire to pause and look back upon the past and to leave my testimony on record to the Divine Goodness. Oh that the little remnant of time and strength left me might be devoted directly to address my own soul in holiness and promote the glory of God! Let me inquire why it is that I am spared and still find some strength left from physical and intellectual exertion? I have no wish to get under such an intolerable pressure of labour as I have been struggling with for several years: yet if I have no object of special interest I feel that my mental powers will become torpid. I have plans enough in my mind to occupy a half-century: but I am almost afraid to take hold of any of them seriously lest I should become too much absorbed in them. If it be the will of Providence that I should take up any of them I pray that I may be directed and assisted. Can it be that it is intended I should do anything more in the way of literary effort I mean except to attend to my duties in College which indeed are by no means small. Increasing infirmities both bodily and mental admonish me that I cannot expect to do much more. Yet my wish is to labour to the utmost of my strength while I live. This I have done thus far in life and I do not desire to relax hereafter except as infirmity and the torpor of advancing years require. That infirmity and torpor I sensibly feel and whatever I do hereafter I presume will be far less efficiently...

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...done than my past labours. One thing however I hope maybe more efficiently done and that is to prepare for my departure out of the world.

1842

March 1842

I am just getting up from such a fever as I experienced three years ago: though I have not this time been brought quite as low. And yet I recover my strength more slowly and have suffered more from extreme prostration. Indeed it would not be strange if the remnants of disease in my system should seize upon some one of the great centers of life (the lungs the heart or the brain) and finish what the fever begun. In this case as in the former of fever overexertion was the cause. During the winter I have lectured in many of the larger towns and cities and found my health thereby promoted. I engaged to lecture once at Worcester during term time and did not relax at all my labours in College. It happened also that I was obliged to attend several most unpleasant Faculty meetings at the same time and these more than any thing else protracted as they were to a late hour at night overcame me. But I have to thank God for the many mercies with which he visited me even in my sickness. He permitted me to be attended by my faithful wife and gave me the unclouded use of my reason. Above all I was not visited by any distress

apprehensions as to the issue I often fear. It was mere stupidity but death was not armed with terrors. The most distressing thought that visited me was the idea of dying before any of my children were converted. This was indeed a most agonizing thought: but here too God has been better than my fears as I shall state in a subsequent paragraph.

In my sickness three years ago I was favoured with some peculiar...

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...optical delusions which gave a deep interest to my sickness. I was visited by the same during my recent sickness and they became far more remarkable. It was in fact dreaming while perfectly awake. I had only close my eyes at any time in order to have pass before me a continuous series of splendid visions which I could examine and describe to an amanuensis with as much coolness as I could a series of paintings and an artist's collection. I have given an account of these phenomena in a letter to one of my colleagues (Prof. Fiske) and need not be more particular here. I must confess however that these peculiar impressions had not a special religious aspect. They seemed to take their coloring from the scenes which I had been conversant during the winter viz. crowded and splendid audiences – motion in steamboats and on rail roads and through the streets and suburbs of cities. There were however three important religious truths which were deeply impressed by these scenes upon my mind. First they taught me the inflexibility of Divine Law. It is a law of an organization that the mind in sickness shall shall be most deeply impressed by scenes in which it has last been most interested. Hence my visions though pleasant were not religious. Had I been occupied during the winter in labour strictly religious doubtless my impressions in sickness would have been of a religious character. So if a man passed through life destitute of religious habits he cannot hope for religious impressions when he dies or in eternity. Whatever a man soweth that shall he also reap. Secondly I got new impressions of the power of faith and vision to sustain the Christian through the agonies of death and martyrdom. Faith approaches vision when strong and to be able actually to take a glimpse of heavenly joys which in a few hours the soul is going to enjoy must nerve it against all mortal agony. It sustained Stephen through his martyrdom. Thirdly these visions were an earnest of the increased activity of the mind when released from its present corporal prison house and acts through a new organization. These subjects might well constitute the themes of one or two sermons...

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...as a supplement to that on sickness in the *Wreath for the Tomb*. But probably they will never be written

Whether I shall be permitted to resume my labours again in College I do not know. I have of late however been strongly impressed with the idea that my days of usefulness to that Institution were almost over. The numbers in the College have greatly decreased and we have become unpopular in the community partly from the pursuit of a policy there – though honestly preserved - which in my opinion is fatal to the interests of the Institution. The tone of piety too has greatly sunk - immorality and irreligion triumph - revivals no more bless us - cases of discipline are greatly multiplied – the students are annoyed against the Faculty and do all they can to trouble them - we have boys now where we used to have men - opinions and practices are advocated now on the subject of temperance and some other subjects both by students and some of my colleagues which I regard as most hostile to morality and religion and I seem able to do almost nothing to stem the torrent. It seems as if my labors were almost useless. In short I am discouraged and know not what for the recovery of God and the church to an

institution which I have embarked my all and to which I have devoted the maturity of my days. I leave it for God to decide whether I shall longer be employed where through my unfaithfulness or some other cause my way seems so hedged up.

March 6.

We have just received the most gratifying intelligence that can come to a Christian parent's ears viz. that of the hopeful conversion of a child. Our eldest daughter Mary now at school at Mount Holyoke Seminary writes us that she indulges a hope of having yielded her heart to the Saviour. If she be not deceived what a change in her condition and how does it make sure the great object of all our progress and labours for her. All other things that can befall her are comparatively of no consequence.

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Surely it is the greatest blessing God can send upon our child. It came too at a season when our account of the continued carelessness and impenitence of all our children's faith and hope were yielding to despondency. God be praised for the sovereign boon! And oh may he remember our other children in their sins! Let his goodness in this instance stimulate us to labour and pray for their conversion while life lasts.

1843

November 1843

During the last summer I completed the work which has occupied my leisure time for two years viz. ten lectures on the Religion of Geology. It is the result of long study upon the subject: and as I consider the religious applications of science to be its most important use I look upon these lectures as the most valuable of my scientific studies. I had no particular object in preparing them except to preserve a record of my conclusions on a subject of no small importance. I do feel as if I had shown that very important religious applications may be made of geology. From the nature of the case a good many points in these Lectures are more or less hypothetical yet if I mistake not they contain much that may be turned to a good account in the cause of religion although the public mind is yet hardly prepared for them. I wish to have them published: and I wish too to dedicate them to my wife and as this may not take place till I am gone I record here the form of dedication which I wish to have prefixed.

To my beloved wife,

In token of my gratitude and affection I dedicate to you these Lectures

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which I regard as one of the most important results of my past studies. To your kindness and self-denying labours I have been mainly indebted for the ability to conduct those pursuits with any degree of success. Early should I have sunk under the pressures of feeble health nervous despondency poverty and blighted hopes had not your affectionate sympathies and cheering counsels sustained me. And during the last thirty

years in which the responsibilities and labours of my professional life have pressed upon me how little could I have done in the cause of science with a broken down constitution had not you in a great measure relieved me of the cares of a numerous family. And while I have been able to describe scientific facts only with pen how much more clearly have you delineated them to the eye with a pencil! It is meet therefore that whenever any literary labours of mine are made known your name should be associated with mine. I know that your modesty would shrink from the public announcement of your labours and sacrifices lest you should seem to have been influenced by the ambition a name among men - a desire which I know has never entered into the motives of your conduct - and therefore it is my desire that this dedication should not meet your eye till it has gone forth into the community. But I am unwilling to lose this public opportunity of bearing testimony which justice as well as affection prompt me to make. In a world where so much is said about female deception and inconstancy I desire to testify that one man at least has placed implicit...

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...confidence in woman and has not been disappointed. The ties of her affection which have so long bound us together in uninterrupted harmony and happiness will soon be sundered. But these are ties which death cannot break and we indulge the delightful hope that by them we shall be linked together and to the throne of God through eternal ages.

In life and in death I abide your affectionate husband

Edwin Hitchcock

The greater part of my studies for the last twenty five years have been directly upon the subject of Natural Theology and most of the lectures and papers which I have written and published relate to this subject. And it has long been a strong desire of my heart to prepare a work upon it which should take in the whole subject yet be as brief as possible to be written indeed upon the place of my *Elementary Geology* - where I have attempted *multum in parvo*. Such a work has never been written. Most works on Natural Theology as Paley's, Derham's and the Bridgewater Treatises look only to the argument from Design. But he takes up only the part dependant on analogy and does not enter the principle to some of the most important truths of revelation and there are many other points which may be found in such works as Crombie and William Laurence Brown. It seems to me therefore that if the whole subject could be brought together into one book so that it could be taught in our higher schools it would be of much service to the cause of religion. But the labour is...

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...a vast one much greater than to write a half dozen volumes in a different manner like the Bridgewater Treatises. I can have little hope of living long enough or having health enough to do it. Yet the object is so dear to me that I need to begin. But if I fail I will here record the plan of my work which after long thought I have concluded to adopt.

I propose in the first place to give an Introduction containing a brief summary of all those sciences which

contribute to elucidate Natural Theology. This is for those who have not opportunity to study those sciences carefully that they may understand the subsequent portions of the work.

Part First demonstrates the Existence of the Deity and illustrates his Attributes. Here I should bring in most of Paley, Derham and the Bridgewater Treatises.

Part Second consists of Proof and Illustration of the Relations of the Deity to the Universe and of Men to the Deity and to one another. Here I would bring in the Divine Plans and Purposes – the Natural and Moral government of God - His common and marvelous agency or Providence - Man's Immortality - his free agency and his duties to God and shown by reason.

Part Third consists of an Illustration and Corroboration of some of the peculiar doctrines of Revelation from Natural Laws. This would embrace the ground gone over in a part of Butler's Analogy and I would extend the principle to other doctrines such as the resurrection of the body- Divine Influences Faith Depravity etc.

Some would probably object the Natural Theology does not properly cover so much ground. But it appears to me to...

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...comprehend every religious truth directly taught or illustrated by the light of nature. I can give but an imperfect idea in so brief space. But it does appear to me that a work written on such a plan that might be used as a textbook for the young would forestall most of the deception that exists. It would be presumptuous in me to suppose that I could prepare a perfect work at this time: for it begins a very wide acquaintance with science. But if I could do enough to stimulate some able person to complete it I ought to be satisfied. But how faint is the probability that health or life will last long enough to do this. I leave the intention with God: and should it be his will that I should proceed in the attempt I pray for grace and resolution to help me to overcome the torpor of increasing years and the hindrances of infirmities which weigh heavier and heavier upon me every year. It seems to me now as if I accomplished almost nothing. The debilitated condition of my constitution and consequent despondency of mind have for 35 years the most powerful obstructions to my literary and scientific efforts. How hard I have had to struggle on this account to do what little I have done no one will ever know. But I find there is a point below which it is in vain to attempt to wake up the system to much effort and that point I now often reach. But I will not complain: for my poor body has served me far better than I have had...

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...reason to expect when I consider how I have treated it. If it had not been a wonderful machine it was long since have been moldering in the dust.

December 1843

Many years ago as this journey testifies I resolved to institute a formal and rigid examination of the grounds of my hope. A variety of circumstances have prevented the execution of that resolve. In the mean time I have been repeatedly brought into circumstances where the grounds of my hope have been more or less practically tested. I refer to severe sickness. And yet I did not then obtain any such decided

testimony in favour of the soundness of my hope as to render unnecessary the formal examination above mentioned. And therefore although I have less confidence in formerly that it will lead to any very decisive conclusion yet as it may...

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Private Notes Part 2 1843

[Edward Hitchcock, "Private Notes," pp. 87-258, 1843 Dec. to 1854 Jun 18, EOH, Series 7-C, Box 19: folder 4]

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...aid in making me understand my true character I propose to proceed with my original plan (See this Journal for April 1831) though I may never be able to carry it entirely through.

I place first as the most prominent unfavorable symptom in my case, inordinate worldly ambition or more definitely love of scientific distinction: I say scientific distinction: for I am not conscious of having sought after political or ecclesiastical distinction or sought to attract attention by showing equipage or extravagant and luxurious living. But I have had a strong love of science and devoted to it my most rigorous days certainly since I became connected with a College. And I have reason to fear that the hope of distinction among scientific men has been with me a most powerful motive of action. I find myself quite too sensitive in respect to this kind of reputation and when what...

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I consider due justice is not rendered me for my services or when I am treated with neglect others claim those discoveries which I know to have been made by myself I find it hard to bear and it is apt to produce dejection and discouragement. In short I am led seriously to doubt whether I am influenced in my scientific efforts by any better motives than the love of distinction.

On the other hand these are a few facts which may perhaps excite some hope that other and better motives may have some influence over me. In the first place I have always made it a rule to make a point scientific pursuits subordinate to the higher duties of religion: that is I have tried not to let those pursuits interfere with those religious duties owed to God myself and my fellow men. I do not mean that I have not suffered science to encroach upon the time which was demanded by religion: but when the two things came into collision so that it was evident that I could not attend to science without neglecting religion I have not hesitated to follow in the path of duty. And yet all of this may have been only the device of deceitful heart to satisfy the clamours of conscience.

In the second place I have ever regarded it as the most important ultimate object of my scientific pursuits to illustrate religion. I believe that science has been abused by being appropriated to the service of irreligion and many Christians have come to look upon it with jealousy as if they were something in it hostile to religion whereas I believe in every scientific truth to be an illustration of religious truth.

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In my writings published and unpublished I have endeavored to bring out these illustrations in as distinct a manner as possible and if I may depend upon the opinion of such a man as Dr. J. Pye-Smith not without some success. But here too the hope of distinction may have been the chief motive or in this way I may have quieted conscience and justified myself for inordinate attention to these pursuits.

In the third place I have of late years more especially endeavored to make scientific pursuits (and indeed all other pursuits) means of personal sanctification. It has been my constant practice when engaging in any new scientific enterprise to pray for Divine guidance whether to undertake it or not and that too before I had made up my mind on the subject and sometimes I trust in answer to those prayers has my way been so hedged up that I have turned away from it. But when allowed to proceed I have made it a daily habit of praying for help in it and that God would so order every event that my personal holiness might thereby be promoted. In this way have I prayed over almost every page of my public scientific writings. And yet I am sensible that all this may be accounted for by a quick sensibility of conscience and a deceitful heart without any real love to God in my heart.

In the fourth place I have endeavored to exert a religious influence over my scientific associates. My pursuits have brought me into occasional contact with men of almost every grade of opinion in respect to religion with men who are mostly out of the reach of common...

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...clerical influences: and as opportunities have presented (alas that I have not improved them better) I have tried to bring religious proof before their minds through the medium of science. I have in a few instances made a direct personal appeal to the conscience - perhaps in one case with success. In another case no good that I know was the result and it may not be improper to say that it was Dr. Thomas Cooper of South Carolina supposed to be a decided infidel. Being on friendly terms with him I made a direct personal appeal to his conscience. I regret that I did not retain a copy of that letter. But he made no reply - I suppose he was offended for I never heard from him again. I shall meet him next at the judgment seat of Christ. And there perhaps it may appear that other than religious motives actuated me in the course I took.

Finally I feel no little confidence that I have ever felt and still retain a deep sense of the unimportance of science when compared with revealed religion both as a source of truth and me as a means of good to mankind. Upon the sanctified heart the truths of science may open a rich field for illustrating the Divine Perfection. But upon the unsanctified soul they are nearly powerless. To destroy the Bible would be to extinguish tomorrow some of our world. But to sweep away all the sciences would in a religious respect be only to block out a few small stars from the firmament. And the longer I live the deeper my conviction becomes of the total inefficiency of mere knowledge for the reformation of the world and of the infinite superiority of revealed truth to all science. And yet such convictions as these by no means imply the possession of personal religion.

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A second unfavorable symptom in my case is a great backwardness in private efforts to bring sinners to repentance.

What I have written and published on the subject of religion has not been deficient in boldness and urgency of appeal to irreligious men. Nay I have feared that my exhortations have savoured a little of severity. But so soon as I meet a man fare to few I seem to lose all courage and if I have anything unpleasant to him to say I almost always feel in the end that I have been cowardly and inefficient. I have no doubt this is partly the effect of natural diffidence and of the timidity resulting from dyspepsy. But in a matter so important as the eternal good of a pupil or a friend one's religious principles ought to

overcome natural diffidence and many of most timid nature have been bold as lions when called to speak for God. It is certainly therefore a cause of alarm that I do so little efficiently for the salvation of man to direct personal appeals and that the little I attempt is so unsuccessful. I once had great confidence in the power of truth upon the stupid conscience: but I greatly fear that I am more afraid to trust its power than I used to be where as I ought to be less so.

A third unfavorable symptom is that I derive so little pleasure or profit from the public means of grace. I know not why it is: but I am sure that the private means of grace make a much deeper impression upon me than the public means. My mind is so apt to run...

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...into criticism upon the performances I hear: I really hear so little that is new to me and the wretched state of the physical system producing often excessive irritation or drowsiness that I have often felt as if it would be better for me to stay away and devote my attention almost exclusively to meditation reading and prayer in retirement. I do not mean that I never derive profit from public means. For when I hear a very plain man of devoted piety preach the great truths of the gospel as if he loved them and for the sake of doing good or a man of distinguished abilities preach a really great sermon not because he cannot help it my soul is not unaffected. But when I see a strained effort to make an impression to preach a learned discourse my bad feelings are up in arms against it and I go away unprofited. But it ought not thus to be. As I approach eternity religious truths ought to be seized by me with great avidity almost unmindful of the instrument through which it comes.

Another unfavorable symptom is the great amount of selfishness which I find mixed with all my labours.

I find the little imp peeping out sooner or later from behind every service in the cause of learning or religion in which I engage and I am led to fear that its influence...

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...is the chief spur to all my efforts. And then again it keeps me back from the bold and decided course which a religious man ought to take on all subjects affecting the world's highest welfare through fear of offending this or that individual or party. My heart indeed would flatter me that I act more under the influence of Providence than formerly: but I greatly fear it is only another name for selfishness.

I might make this list of unfavorables much longer: but I turn to see if there is anything on the other side.

In the first place I feel quite confident that I have a complacency in the God of Nature.

I am a believer in the doctrine that all the operations of nature organic and inorganic physical and mental depend upon the direct efficiency of the Divine Will. So that whatever movements take place around me I view them as so many manifestations of the Divine Character and Will. And certainly if I know my own heart those movements almost without exception exert in me sweet complacency. The exceptions are the operations of evil and I do not feel satisfied that I can solve the problem of its existence. But when I see Divine Benevolence in ninety-nine out of a hundred of the movements and contrivances of nature I know that their Author must be infinitely benevolent and I wait the light of eternity to clear up a few excepted cases.

In the second place I feel perhaps equal complacency in the God of Redemption. In other words I cordially...

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...embrace the great doctrines of revelation which centre in the cross of Christ - man's lost condition by nature - his salvation by the working of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost and justification by the blood of Christ. This system I embrace not simply because it is revealed but because it seems to me to harmonize best with true philosophy. Yet it was not always thus with me as the early pages of this journal testify. But this system of truth once seemed to be hostile to philosophy and repulsive to my taste. And my heart was not led to embrace it without many a severe struggle and contrary to what then seemed my best temporal interests. Yet my conviction of the truth of this system and my sense of the glory in it and of the infinite perfection of the Author of it have been increasing up to this day so that now it seems as firmly fixed in my belief as an proposition of exact science. Nay more I cannot conceive how any other system can be substituted for it though its leading parts may be savingly held as it seems to me in connection with much error in other words a little of the leaven of Christ crucified with leaven a large mass of errors ignorantly maintained. I have had within a few years more than one opportunity to test the value of this system in the near prospect of eternity and really everything else in which men trust seemed to me like *the baseless falsity of a vision* while Christ crucified seemed to form a bridge of adamant across the bottomless gulf into which I was plunging. In short so sure am I that I feel a complacency in the Gospel system of salvation that I could have little...

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...doubt of my personal interest in it did I not know that there may be a complacency of the understanding in this plan which may be mistaken for a complacency of the heart.

In the third place I have some evidence that I have a complacency in the character of good men.

A *Christian* in my conviction and feeling is *the highest style of man*. I respect an honest consistent Christian whatever his rank more than I do any other man on earth. If natural amiableness and sound learning be added to his piety I respect him more but I respect him for consistent piety alone. And if I see a man eminent in station or learning who is destitute of personal piety I feel as if the grand attribute of humanity that should make him an object of complacency is wanting. I do indeed feel a strong complacency in men whose scientific pursuits and opinions are similar to my own. But when I perceive that they are either indifferent or sceptical on the subject of religion it sends a chill to my heart and mars my enjoyment of their society.

Yet after all I have a great many hard feelings towards my fellow men even towards those whom I believe to be Christians. What seems to me to be failings in them is apt to hide what is Christian. I do not mean that I have any permanent bad feelings towards anyone who is really a Christian in my estimation. But I am a great deal troubled with transient feelings of ill will and disgust towards others. Sometimes I think it proceeds from the terrible state my nerves are often in which colors everything at...

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...which I look as if seen through a prism. But I fear it is more probably the fruit of an unholy anti-Christian heart.

In the fourth place it does seem to me as if I sincerely desire the salvation of every human being.

I am sure that in regard to my own children this is my strongest desire and that I prefer to have them poor and despised and compelled to suffer much in this world if necessary to their salvation. I have similar feelings in regard to all my friends and there is no human being however much he may have injured me for whom I cannot and do not sincerely pray that he may be converted. And it does seem to me as if I sustain the missionary cause not because it is popular but because I long to have salvation sent to every creature. And yet if these are my honest feelings why is it that I make no more sacrifices and no more efforts for the salvation of others? After all may not my feelings be only those of natural compassion.

Finally I have at times strong desires after the rest and holiness of heaven.

I am an exceedingly timorous man. My disordered nerves often make me tremble at the rustling of a leaf and fills all the prospect before me with darkness suffering and evil and make me shrink from the thought of dying. But after all there is no subject which for some years past fills me with stronger emotions than that of leaving the world. There is something inexpressibly delightful especially in the holiness and rest of heaven. I shrink from the final struggle but still...

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...feel a strange sort of desire to cross the dark valley whenever God shall give permission. My days of usefulness on earth seem to me almost over and my every system reels and staggers under the attacks that are made upon it. And yet I am bound to a beloved family by the strongest ties and really I am in a strait between the two.

But after all though there have for years been with me something exceedingly exciting in the idea of departure yet the more I reflect upon it the more convinced am I that much of my feeling on this point affords no evidence of my piety. I fear that it nearly all results from a broken down constitution and a weariness with the world. I am afraid that it is the rest and peace and immortal vigor of heaven which I long for rather than its holiness - rather than the presence of Christ and of God. Still the total ensemble of the picture on the heavenly shore is full of enchantment and makes this world look dull and uninteresting. And if I am a Christian it may be that there is some sympathy in my soul with the holiness as well as happiness of heaven.

1844

(Sunday, April 28th 1844)

[The next paragraph is crossed out.]

November 1844

It may gratify my children and other friends who survive me if I here give a brief outline of my scientific and literary labours some of which have had an important influence upon my religious feelings and character.

1845

March 1845

I had thought that with me the drama of life was almost closed. How strange and unexpected then to find a new act added. It may indeed hasten...

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...the final dénouement: as I apprehend it will be bringing new labours and perplexities upon me. Still as the new relations in which I am brought seem to [*be*] the result of special Providence I am bound to notice them. I refer to my recent election to the Presidency of Amherst College. This is certainly a post which I have never sought out here or elsewhere. Nay I have done all in my power when I saw that affairs were tending to my election to prevent it. In all cases when I ascertained that any one had been applied to abroad to fill this post I have written to him urging his acceptance: but in vain. And when finally the question came to me so many things seemed to conspire to make it my duty to accept that I could not with a good conscience refuse. The truth is that the new plan for bringing the expenses within the income of the College could not be adopted unless I took the place: and this I deemed indispensable to the existence of the College. Nevertheless I feel entirely incompetent for this office. Its duties are uncongenial to my habits and feelings. I am very liable to depression of spirits and often shrink from taking decided ground with others when I ought to do it through timidity. I look too much on the dark side of things and more troubled with little trials than with great ones. Moreover the government of a College is a work to which I have always been most averse. And then Amherst College is at present in the state of great depression and those who accept that expect that I shall bring it up will be assuredly disappointed. Indeed according to my best judgment little else is before me but anxiety perplexity trial and defeat if I shall ever actually into the office as I have agreed to do if life be spared. Often my mind shrinks from this cross with the strongest aversion and it is only agonizing prayer that prevents me even now from cutting loose from my engagements. My wife...

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...too sympathizes with me in this aversion: and while the world supposes us exulting in our new honours and elevations as they are called we actually dread them as likely to prove sore evils. We feel as if it were too late in life and as if we were too much invalids to engage in new enterprises especially in those which are full of unpleasant duties and bring little else but care. Nevertheless if we could only believe that we should promote the welfare of the College we can cheerfully engage in the work trusting in God for wisdom and strength. And we yield our judgment to that of our friends who seem almost unanimously to urge the place upon us. If a short period shall prove that we are right and they wrong in judgment let not posterity charge it to inordinate ambition on our part that we assume these duties.

There is one circumstance connected with this change which I confess I look upon with pleasure. I am to

become again the pastor of a church and must engage more than I have done of late in preaching the gospel. The ideas certainly seems pleasant to me for although the business of instruction in science may if properly performed indirectly promote Divine Glory yet it does not bear so directly upon the conversions and salvation of man as one would desire that his efforts should do. But on the other hand it is clear that with all my other duties on hand I can not find time and strength for making those preparations for the pulpit and those private efforts that seem desirable and I fear that I may soon break down under the whole load. Indeed it is an easy matter to break what has been broken so often before. But I must go forward leaning on Almighty strength and it seems to me I never felt my own weakness and insufficiency so much as I now do. I pray that I may be prepared for the rebuffs and mortifications and trials that are before me. To expect much success - still less to expect much happiness in my new station would be folly. But this is of little...

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...consequence if I can only feel sure I am in the path of duty and that God approves of what I do. I have no expectations of occupying the place long if I live to occupy it at all. Nor with my present feelings do I desire to do it and I earnestly hope that whenever the community desire me to leave it I may be ready and not hold on till I am forced out.

Sabbath April 13th

I feel at times and most unconquerable shrinking from the station to which I am called. My feelings my judgment everything revolts at the idea. It is a dreadful undertaking to bring the College up from its present depression and it must need someone else to be at the helm until the ship gets through the shoals and breakers yet community expects that there will be a change soon in its condition and that its numbers will increase. But they will certainly be disappointed as probably our numbers will decrease for several years. Hence when they find themselves disappointed they will charge the blame upon me. If I know my heart I feel willing to make almost any sacrifice if I can be the means of fixing the institution on a firmer foundation. But to make this sacrifice and not accomplish the object would be very trying and this is what I apprehend and what presses me to the dust. Then my labours have been so severe during the past winter that my health has suddenly given way and it is quite uncertain whether I can go through the exercises of the present week. In circumstances like these I have no resort but prayer for it is too late to turn back now and refuse to be inducted into office. Yet so strong are my feelings of aversion sometimes...

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...that I feel tempted to do it. I am sometimes almost in an agony on the subject: Oh let my agonizing prayers be made for help. Let me trust in the Lord and go forward. Let every unhallowed motive be rooted out of my heart and though time and darkness be before me yet let me find when I reach eternity that some little good has been accomplished by these strange and unlooked for dispensations of Providence towards me.

Sabbath August 17th 1845

In some way or another I can hardly tell how I have been carried through the severe labours of the summer term and Commencement week for which I have great cause for gratitude: for my labours have

been ever more trying than I anticipated on account of the new duties growing out of the peculiar state of the College. But my heart still has its seasons of stout rebellion against continuing in a post whose duties it seems to me I cannot long sustain. And then I am becoming more and more satisfied that God does not mean to honour me as an instrument of raising the College from its state of severe depression. Yet it is obvious that at present there is for me no escape from the place. Oh how severe the discipline! But I need it for my spiritual good: and if God only grant that such may be its effect I will struggle until I hear his voice...

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...giving me a distinct release. And that period I know cannot be distant. After uninterrupted confinement for nearly nine months I now propose to go forth a little while to try to bear up my destitute frame. May God go with me and guard me and bring me back in peace and inspire me with more courage and hope in my onerous labours. And may the shield of his protection be over my beloved family while I am absent.

December 13th 1845

With much suffering from feeble health and disconsolate spirits I have been carried through another term and have been for nearly three weeks resting at home. But it has been for the most part a season of trial. A severe attack in the thorax has confined me for some days and so seriously prostrates all my bodily energies that I almost feel as if the time of my departure could not be far distant. I used to call these attacks rheumatism but they seem now to be only premonitions of pulmonary disease which is probably silently working its way in my constitution. Had I opportunity to escape from my present responsibilities and be in a good measure free from care I might probably for some time keep this disease at bay. Am I then doing as I ought to retain a place which I am sure may soon decide the matter against me? Is the object of sufficient consequence to make the sacrifice of life a duty? I have thought it wise: but is it not possible that the College would get along even better in some other way if I were to retire? Oh that I could know what duty is and that before it is too late. One difficulty is...

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...that I have no one whom I can consult in the matter. All with whom I am familiar have heard me complain so long of feeble health and have seen me yet live and work hard that they suppose it will continue to be thus. In short excepting my family I have no one who sympathizes with me at all in this matter except that all wish me to have help for my labours. I must therefore bear my sufferings in silence as long as I can and then decide alone and yet I hope not without Divine direction - for this is my daily and hourly prayer. For nothing else do I pray more fervently save for a heart submissive and penitent - a heart willing to live or to die as God shall appoint. Well if one thing I am sure that a little longer time of patient waiting will bring out God's will distinctly. Oh what a shadow of a man have I become in body and in mind! Oh Lord sustain me for all mortal help fails.

1846

April 24th 1846

I have reached another of those points when I pause for a time and cast an eye back upon the way in which the Lord has led me. And truly the past term has been a season of intense interest. Can it be that God has allowed me to witness another season or a revival in College! It seems almost a dream and yet it was a blessed reality. I dared not hope for such a privilege and could hardly believe my eyes and my ears when the work was among us. The obstacles seemed so great (none but College officers can fully appreciate them) and the alienation of our hearts so great that my faith was not strong enough to anticipate such a blessing. It has been the most delightful revival through which I have ever passed. And through the great many of God my pulmonary difficulties which were so threatening in the early part of winter almost wholly disappeared and...

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...I have had strength to labour every day and to be present at every public meeting.

I may be permitted here to express my conviction that a private conference meeting which I have held weekly at my study for the year past was the principal means of bringing on this revival. And when I established this meeting the ultimate object I had in view was a revival although I could not believe that I should succeed. But as we approached the annual fast for literary institutions the questions which I gave out for discussion had a bearing upon such a work. In short feeble as was my faith I went to work with an unconquerable determination to labour to bring on such a work as I ever felt in respect to any worldly enterprise and made all of the sermons which I wrote or preached bear directly upon this object and so to a great extent did my colleagues. And God blessed the effort. Yet he did it in such a manner as to make me feel continually that probably after all I had but little to do with the work and that it was granted in answer to the prayers and efforts of others - especially parents as may be seen by the account of the revival which I have today sent to the religious newspapers. Never perhaps did I see the sovereign grace of God so distinctly in any event as this. Never did I feel so utterly unworthy to be blessed. Oh how wonderful our God's dealings!

My interest in this work was increased by the strong conviction that I was passing through my last revival. I tried therefore to make the most of it and not be compelled to look back upon so many neglected opportunities of doing good as I had done in former revivals. I see indeed many omissions of duty to mourn over but I rejoice that these are less numerous than formerly.

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August 9th 1846.

How often in this world are our hopes unexpectedly blasted and how often do severe trials follow close upon the heels of distinguished success! Such was the case of Elijah when after hearing triumphantly vindicated the cause of truth upon Mount Carmel he was obliged as he thought to flee for his life into the wilderness: and such has been my experience the present summer. I feel the reverse more deeply because it was unexpected. After so interesting a revival as we enjoyed in College last term I had fondly anticipated a pleasant state of things at least during one term. And indeed the fruits of the revival

seemed most happy: for not more than one of those who indulged a Christian hope last term turned back to the world and nearly all of them have made a profession of religion and I have seen the College church nearly treble its numbers in one year. But in almost every other respect the tide has set against the College. And yet there has been no outbreak nor any professed dissatisfaction with the officers but there has been a discontented restless spirit and contentions among the students themselves growing out of secret societies so that so many have left and it does seem as if the College were almost run down. My health has been very low and entire discouragement has seized upon me and I feel overwhelmed with my labours and trials. I have never in my life been in circumstances so trying and have never suffered so much...

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...as during the last three months. It is impossible for me to hold out so much longer and yet my complaints are unheeded by many of my friends because they are an old story. I have looked earnestly and with an agonizing cry to God: but as yet my way seems hedged up. If I leave at once I have no means of supporting my large family. If I stay I cannot live longer nor sustain the odium of having the College sink in my hands nor do I see what the trustees can do at present if I leave. Oh God give me some token of thy will! Make me willing to suffer and even to die in my present office as I soon must if such is thy will: but if I may have a little respite before I die show me in what manner I had hoped that Amherst College would ere long begin to rise and I had hoped that the difficulties in my path where intended to stimulate me to greater efforts. But I cannot now avoid the conviction that God does not mean to use me as an instrument of building up this institution or even of keeping it in *status quo* till a better day should come upon it. It seems as if every plan which I form would not be so completely prostrated if God did not mean to teach me that I must give up that effort to save the College. Oh how can I go through not merely the distress but the mental anguish of this (Commencement) week! Oh God sustain me - and when I shall have been sufficiently humbled deliver me from the terrible load under which I groan and agonize daily. Doubtless I need this furnace...

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...but the heat is terrible and if my heart were not adamant it must melt.

November 22^d 1846

Another term has nearly closed and I have to speak of mercies as well as judgments as I look back upon it. An unusual number of students have joined us this fall (52) yet the whole number is scarcely greater than last year because so many left us during the summer. The term upon the whole has been a quiet one though some discipline has been necessary. We have also succeeded in raising the sum of money requisite for erecting a new Cabinet and Observatory which we hope may be done next summer. This building will not only be a great ornament to the place but will I think be of service to the College in a variety of ways so that we have great occasion to thank God for disposing the wealthy and the liberal to aid us.

On the other hand we have had judgments. The one that presses most heavily upon me is the necessity that has compelled Professor Fiske to leave us for a foreign land on account of his health. Besides producing disappointment in the senior class it has brought a great increase of labours upon me both of instruction and preaching. My health which was very poor at the beginning of the term has continued to

grow worse until now I am a constant sufferer both in body and mind. And yet the load of care and labour presses heavier and heavier. One effort however has been to drive me to a decision respecting my present office. My mind is made up to vacate it as soon as possible. And yet I wish to do it in such a manner that the College shall suffer from it as little as possible. I had hoped that I could hold out till the end of the collegiate year: but unless I speedily obtain relief I cannot do it. I had hoped by...

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...private conferences with the trustees to get matters so arranged that a successor could be brought in without affecting the College essentially: nay if I were able to do anything more in my former department I should be willing to continue connected with the Institution as a professor and so I hope that by bringing in a better man to take my present office we should be strengthened. For an increase of officers is very much needed. But I see little prospect of holding out till these plans can be carried into effect and I apprehend that Providence intends to force me to a resignation unconditionally. This may seem to be an injury for a time. For from all quarters I hear of an impression that the College is gaining ground and rising (Oh how slight a wind will change the current of popular feeling!) But ultimately I doubt not God will raise it as high as is best for it and his glory. At any rate what can I do but leave a place which I can no longer fill from the utter failure of my health. By managing my constitution as I have done for several years past I felt hope that it might hold out several years and allow me to do something. But such a blow as it has received of late I fear has sunk it too low to be again recruited especially after going through the trial of a resignation of my office and getting into a different situation when I can do something to support my family.

When I look at these dispensations of Providence towards me late with the eye of nature darkness and mystery rest upon them. Men who have laboured as hard as I have in early and middle life in their advanced years have usually found themselves in advancing years as their health failed them...

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...and nature cried out for a respite from severe toil they have found the means of gratifying these demands of nature. But it has been the reverse with me and the more loudly nature has demanded relief the more heavy have cares and labours pressed upon me. Yet religion shows me why it is thus. It is the punishment of my sins and especially my inordinate ambition which can be effectively brought down in no other way. Oh that I could see and feel the justice of God in the case and be chiefly solicitous to make a spiritual improvement of the exigencies in which I am placed.

1847

March 13th 1847

The plot deepens nor can I see fully the final dénouement of the Divine Plans respecting me and the College. And yet in regard to the latter light is breaking in. A benevolent individual has been found who will soon I think relieve it from most of its pecuniary embarrassments. He has already endowed one professorship and is willing to pledge annually to give the interest on \$30,000 as long as he lives for the support of a President who shall succeed me and he has inserted in his will that sum and \$50,000 more

so that his whole bequest to the College will amount to \$100,000. This will certainly it seems to me give his name to the College and it will soon be called Williston College - a change which would be of great service. Thus are the prospects of the College exceedingly flattering: for pecuniary embarrassments have been the great incubus upon us. If now my plans for a change of the Presidency can be accomplished (I fear they can not) it seems to me the College will be placed upon a firmer foundation than ever...

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...before or than we had dared to hope for. The only thing I fear is that so much prosperity may operate unfavorably upon our spiritual interests.

On the other hand my personal prospects are becoming more and more dark. I have struggled on till this time in the performance of my duties. But can I do so no longer. And now the ablest medical advice is that I must leave at once and go to a warmer climate and throw off care and labour. I have little confidence that this will accomplish much especially if I go unaccompanied by my wife and how can both of us be spared from our family. Yet I see no alternative but for me to go. The effect upon the College will probably be hard as our numbers in the faculty are so reduced. Could the students know what I know in regard to the prospects before the College they would not be troubled by the failure of some of us. But they must not be informed at present. Let me however trust in that same Providence which has carried me through so many dark paths and brought me to land so many times when I seemed to be just sinking in the waves. Whatever be my own fate let me be thankful to God for crowning my efforts for the College with so much success. I have been astonished at the remarkable answers to my prayers which God has given in relation to this object. For the very first man to whom I applied to aid the College I found ready to do more than I asked: nay I found he had already done more and have little hope from our present application to the Legislature: but I think that a failure then will produce sympathy for us in the community which may be ever more valuable than money and which may bring us money.

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Upon the whole the result of the matter will probably be this: the College will rise and flourish but I must die soon: for after such a winter of suffering as I have endured and with such evidence of deep seated disease in the whole alimentary canal and in the bronchial tubes I can hardly hope to rise again. But if by the sacrifice of a few years of existence here I shall be instrumental of fixing on a firm foundation an Institution that has done so much good and which promises so much in times to come I ought not to complain or regret the course I have taken. At the most I would have hoped only for a few more years of infirmity and the loss will not be much. Yet my greatest trial lies in leaving my large family at that age when they need counsel and aid and especially in leaving some of them unconverted. But God can make me willing to leave them in his hands and he can give me the victory over the last enemy. I would cast myself upon his mercy unreservedly. If he is anything more for me to do on earth he can give me strength to do it. If not he can carry me through the dark valley and the shadow of death I shall fear no evil. For his help I have prayed: for this I will pray as long as life remains.

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Saratoga Springs August 15th 1847

Well, another collegiate year has passed and what a year! When I made my last entry in my journal I thought I saw the outlines of the designs of God in respect to myself and in respect to the College. Yet the final dénouement shows results still more remarkable than I had dared to expect in regard to the College they are thus.

Mr. Williston's Benefactions	\$30,000
Mr. Hitchcock's	10,000
From the state	25,000
Cost of the new cabinet and Observatory say	9000
	<hr/>
	\$74,000

This enables us to pay our debts and endow three Professorships which with economy will sustain the College even though its number of students should be considerably smaller than at present. We have also been able...

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...to reduce the term bills from \$48 to \$42. From another quarter also we have the offer of sustaining a Professor if a certain gentleman be appointed. He has been so appointed and have other professors one however in the place of Professor Fiske. Professor Shepard's cabinet also valued at \$10,000 will soon be placed in the new building and Professor Davis has given a suite of the rocks and minerals of Vermont and his whole cabinet if he accepts his appointment will if not given to the College be placed in it and we shall then have one of the largest and finest collections in the country. The tone of public sentiment also is entirely changed and the general feeling is that now Amherst College must live and flourish and it was delightful at Commencement to see so many happy faces of alumni and friends.

Now how any one predicted one year ago that all these changes could occur so soon it would then have seemed to me just as probable as if he had predicted that I should see within the year the sun and moon stand still. What then has brought about this remarkable change? Nothing I replied but the Power and Mercy of God. It does seem to me that I see his hand in it as distinctly as I should have done had I seen the sun and moon stand still in the heavens. And just see how simple the means by which the whole or larger part of the change was brought about! God weakened my strength in the way and led me to the resolution to leave my present office yet I was induced to try to get the Presidency endowed and found that He had prepared the way. This led Mr. W. to propose to give \$10,000 provided someone else would do the same and thus was the Hitchcock professorship secured. Again I was satisfied that when once it was known...

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...that so much had been given to the College by individuals it would be in vain to appeal to the state. I therefore even contrary to the opinion of some of our Trustees put the means in operation by which the state was led to aid us. The other results were the consequence of these movements except the offer to endow a professorship temporarily which I can explain only by a special Divine influence. Indeed the time had come when God was pleased to return our captivity. We had passed through a long and dreary night of adversity and trial and our strength was almost failing us. We despaired of our own wisdom and

our own strength and were led to cry earnestly to God. The pages of this journal will show with what an agonizing of spirit I sought guidance and help from him. Never in my life with one or two exceptions were my prayers so fervent and agonizing. It was not so much a desire for this or that result as that I might know and submit to God's will. I record it therefore as the most remarkable answer to prayers that I have ever known in my experience and others I doubt not can say the same as to theirs.

Am I then to claim any honor or credit for my agency in bringing about these results. If I do it seems to be as unreasonable as for the wires of the Electric Telegraph to claim honor for transmitting the intelligence which they conduct along. True my agency has been employed: but how manifestly I have been led by an invisible Power. While therefore the result should strengthen my faith and confidence in God it should lead me to ascribe all the honor to Him.

We cannot indeed sufficiently extol his goodness. Oh the emergency through which the institution has passed has been...

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...painfully trying. What gratitude therefore is not due for our deliverance! And what strong hope may we cherish that God means still to employ Amherst College as an instrument of accomplishing his glorious purposes!

There is however one point on which I feel no little solicitude. Of all things in this world prosperity in temporal affairs is the most dangerous to an individual and why not to a public institution? It requires but little of it to ruin an individual and therefore a College is in danger from it. I tremble lest we should now feel less need of revivals than we have felt – woe be to us if such is the feeling: for the result will be that God will forsake us and the institution make become a fountain of error instead of fountain of truth. Oh God give us back our poverty with thy power rather than depart from us.

There is only one point on which I have failed to accomplish what seemed to me to be required by the interests of the College. To my surprise I found the trustees indisposed to change the name of Amherst College into Williston College. The reasons appear to me to be entirely insufficient and a sense of justice as well as interest imperiously demand such a change. To leave it for our successors to do it after Mr. Williston's decease is just leaving it never to be done at all. If we cannot do justice now after experiencing so great favors how can we expect it of our successors? But I have done all I could to bring about this object and therefore regard to failure as an act of God to which I should submit uncomplainingly.

A few words in regard to my self. My anticipated resignation...

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...has not yet taken place. I was compelled last spring for a time to quit my post earlier than I had intended and by the blessings of God on my temporary absence I gained strength enough to go through the arduous duties of the summer term. And as Trustees at least did not wish me to leave I told them I would hold on a little longer. I have still reason to think it cannot be long: for my complaints seem to be merely modified for the present: probably the coming very cold weather will enable them to gain new strength. Yet leave all in God's hands. I feel willing I work think in my present sphere or any other just so long as his will is and no longer. I have learnt to wait patiently to learn God's will: and surely the

extraordinary developments of his Providence which I have witnessed and in most of which I have been a humble instrument should lead me to the most implicit trust in him for the time to come. It does not seem now as if I had strength to honour religion in a dying hour. But how precious the promise, *as thy days so shall thy strength be.* Dying grace is reserved for a dying hour. I would fondly hope.

1848

January 15th 1848

It is truly wonderful that at the opening of another year I am able to make another record of the goodness of God towards me at my own home. I had expected to have been driven ere this to a milder climate. But the unusual mildness of the winter and the blessings of God upon my exercise have preserved me in comfort at home and enabled me through the fall term to perform an unusual amount of College duties: and during the vacation I have accomplished a work which I had almost despaired. I have removed into the new cabinet as many as 13,000 specimens of rocks and minerals and arranged them all and made a catalog for all. Had I been taken away before this was done they would have been of little service to those who come after me. But now...

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...they will have 11,000 geological specimens mostly named to work with. And this labour has contributed I believe to promote rather than injure my health. True my system is a mere wreck and may in one week be sunken lower than ever. But while I remain able to labour I will not complain but rather hope God means to use me for doing something more before I die.

And oh that this something might be to see and labour in a revival of religion in College! We have seen a great change in the outward circumstances of the Institution. But how unimportant is it all if the Spirit be not poured out. Yet what a bar is this outward prosperity to that humble dependent state of feeling which can pray aught for such a blessing. I dare not hope that I shall be allowed to see another work of grace. Yet shall I not spend what little strength I have in trying to bring it on!

November 12th 1848

Since the beginning of the year the course of my life has been marked by so few special changes that I have but little to record concerning it in this journal till within a few days. My hopes of a special work of grace in College were in a measure gratified although only a few souls were hopefully converted. Peace and prosperity also have for the most part reigned in the Institution and this autumn we have have larger additions to our numbers than for many years past. During the summer however I have found my former complaints gaining ground. During the present term as the cold weather...

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...has come on my cough has become very urgent and last Thursday as the immediate result apparently of the labours of preaching and administering the communion on the Sabbath and of some unpleasant excitement bleeding at the lungs commenced and has continued more or less to this time. Of course I

have been obliged to suspend at our once all my labours in College and shut myself in the house and I have reason to fear that this is the final termination of those labours and not improbably of all others on earth though I may linger for a short time. Of course I am brought to a solemn pause and and trying to bring myself into perfect acquiescence with the Divine Will.

The suddenness of the blow for after all it is sudden leaves me almost unable to say what is the state of my mind. In the eternal truths of the Divine Government and of the Gospel by Jesus Christ I know I have adamant to plant my feet upon even though I cannot see one step before me. And when I look back upon the dealings of Providence towards me for a few years past especially - when I remember the almost miraculous interpositions which I have witnessed Oh how can I doubt but what I shall be carried through what is before me. But the barrenness of my life as to religion and the selfishness of my heart never appeared so great as now and it does seem...

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...as if trust in God for such a one would be presumption. But O Lord I feel as if I must lean entirely upon thee in this trying hour. *I will cling to thine arm till I am forcibly shaken off.* Thou knowest how feeble I am in mind as well as in body and when I think of thy gracious promise *as thy day so shall thy strength be hope* begins to dawn feebly upon my soul. Oh let it not prove a delusion but may it shine more and more unto perfect day. That I should serve and live longer is not it seems to me my strongest desire but that I may lie quietly in thy hands - do what thou would and have me do and bear what thou shalt lay upon me and wait patiently for the full manifestation manifestation of thy will.

December 3^d

It is wonderful how God can smooth the roughest passages of life almost without means. For some days I have felt relieved in my bodily maladies although I am doing almost nothing for them but resting that a feeble hope is springing up I find that I may even yet so far gain strength as to be able to do something more before the final change. The physicians will not allow that as yet there is any actual disease in the substance of the lungs yet I know how liable they are to be deceived and how flattering such complaints are. My hope is not in their skill kind and able as they are: but if God should speak the word I might be spared. I am trying to leave myself entirely in his hands...

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...and to wait quietly to see what is his will.

Several of my manuscripts I am trying to get into a condition in which they may be published. I have thought that the following might do some good if printed.

1. The Tract Murderers of Fathers and Murderers of Mothers - Nearly ready for the American Tract Society

2 History of a Zoological Committee in Central Africa. Copied and ready for the press if I can get a few illustrations.

3. Outline of the Geology of the Globe. Newly completed. But it is very important that the map should

be corrected by a new edition of Boué's map just published at Edinburg in the Physical Atlas.

4. Lectures on the Religion of Geology and kindred sciences. I should be glad to rewrite some parts of these lectures: but still I should not alter much. I have a partly written lecture (sermon) on the Divine Benevolences that might well come into the series though not essential. There is in these Notes a dedication to these lectures (page 77) which I still wish prepared.

5. My printed sermon The Coronation of Winter with another on Eternal Scenery – a third on the Triumphal Arch of Summer and I could write a fourth on the Resurrections of Spring. But the three first will answer and I would give a sketch of Amherst in its eternal dress and another of the Colleges as seen from the President's House with the rainbow arching over them.

6. A few of my sermons written a few years ago I judge might do good. Perhaps some of my baccalaureates might be useful - I think some...

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...others more important – Ex. gr.

1. Two on the Objections to Prayer and Special Providence - founded on Job 21:15 and Ecclesiastes 9:11. These perhaps would do better as essays for some periodical. 2. A sermon (Hebrews 3:4) one Divine Decrees or the Divine Plan in creating the universe. 3. An Ordination Sermon founded on Romans 9:1-3. 4. A sermon on Spiritual Communion founded on Hebrews 13:1-26. 5. A sermon with diagrams founded on Philemon 1:23-24. 6. Two sermons preached on following on to know the Lord Hosea 6:3 (A third sermon should follow on this text describing the new knowledge of heaven). 7. Skeletons of sermons. I have very many of these preached on Thursday evenings etc. and some of them appear to be more valuable than most of my written sermons. Perhaps they would be of some service in print. Maybe however that better judges will be of a different opinion in respect to most of the printed manuscript and if so let them not be published. If they will not do that I do not wish them made public.

[None of these seem to correspond to any of his complete sermons]

December 31st 1848 – 10 o'clock P.M.

Two hours more and 1848 will be gone. And so is my life seemingly nearly run out. Yet so quiet and comfortable have I been for several weeks past at home in the midst of my family and free from oppressive cares and watched over by my affectionate wife that I am afraid I am becoming secure and losing my sense of immediate danger forgetting almost that I stand constantly upon a volcano. I desire indeed to wait in calmness the will of God. But let me not again put far away the evil day when the note of warning has sounded of late so loudly in my ears.

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Oh how almost certain that I shall never see the close of another year on earth! Before that time how unspeakably different will be the scenes that will open upon me! Oh if I could only be sure that they would be scenes of joy and glory how should I pant to behold them. But there are lingering doubts and fears and misgivings that make me shrink back and cling to present existence. But I will fondly pray and

hope that dying grace may be given me in a dying hour. Oh how will one beam of light from Saviour's countenance so illuminate the dark valley that I can walk through it fearing no evil. I do hope and yet tremble when I look forward.

1849

June 2^d 1849

Nature is in all her glory around me and I still am alive to behold it and to go forth and range the fields and the mountains. Indeed during the past winter I have attended nearly as usual to my duties in College though obliged to favor myself in the morning. During the last vacation also I went to Washington and gave a short course of lectures on geology before the Smithsonian Institution and though I rained a little blood before I began then I went through the course with more ease than usual. I have not been much troubled with a cough for several months past. Indeed I have great cause for gratitude that life so often trembling on the point of extinction still hold out and that...

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...I have been able to do so much in a literary way. During the winter term also I was permitted to witness many tokens of God's special presence in the College especially among professors of religion.

After all however it would be unwise of me to conclude that the diseases that had so long been working my system are essentially changed in their character. I have constant evidence that they are only checked a little in their progress. Indeed my system is little else but a mass of disease. Yet could I be allowed to live a life of quiet with but few anxieties and cares and with moderate mental effort I might hope to linger along for some time and be comfortable. But I find that whenever any difficulty occurs in College or is apprehended it breaks me down at once. And how seldom is it when there is not something in College to vex and distress one. How anxiously then have I been enquiring whether I could not be released from my present office and find some situation where my labours would be light. If God's will is that I should stay where I am and suffer and even die as a consequence I desire to do his will. But it does seem to me that there is no longer a necessity in the straitened condition of the College that I should make such a sacrifice. Yet if I leave my present place I know no means of supporting my numerous family. What a strait to be in! But I have confidence that the same God who put...

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...in my present office will show me when I can leave it with a good conscience. For some sure token of his will I wait and pray with earnest desires.

November 28th 1849

Another Ebenezer I set up on the eve of the annual Thanksgiving. It is truly marvelous that I have been carried through another collegiate term and have been able to perform my duties. Nay I have suffered less somewhat from my bronchial affections than at some previous times. I have also during the year got

out two small volumes of original matter (one of sermons, the history of the zoological convention), two tracts of an address at South Hadley. I impute some of these results to my having been engaged a great deal for the three months in exploring some geological phenomena which have interested me much and given me the exercise in the open air that I need. How clearly God's hand is in the whole matter and what occasion for Thanksgiving have I that still a life that has been so long trembling on the point of extinction is still prolonged and many mercies granted with it. My life is indeed full of suffering: but probably not more so than is necessary for my best good: and therefore I should be thankful for this.

But let me never forget that this is the most critical period of the whole year for me: and God grant that I may be ready for the Divine Will I fear that the long delay of the blow is rendering me...

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...insensible. What a madness for me to grow secure.

I have thought it might not be useless to myself and perhaps gratifying to my descendants if I were to set forth a list of those literary and scientific productions of mine which have appeared in print. I have not preserved copies of all these and do not recollect them all so that probably the list will be incomplete though nothing of consequence will be omitted: but probably a good many things of little or no consequence will be included. I shall try to arrange these productions under certain heads.

Volumes mostly bound

Scientific

1. First Report on the Economical Geology of Massachusetts 1832 pages 70 with a geological map.
2. Report on a Reexamination of the Economical Geology of Massachusetts 1838 pages 139.
3. Report on the Geology Zoology and Botany of Massachusetts 1833 pages 692 2nd Edition enlarged in 1835 pages 702 with an Atlas 18 Plates and 60 pages.
4. Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts 1841 Two vols quarto pages 831 and 52 Plates and 275 Woodcuts figures and all 513
5. Geology of the Connecticut 1 vol. 8 vo. Of 154 pages and two plates and 1823
(Inserted in Amer. Journal of Science: but published separately)
4. Elementary Geology 1 vol. 8 vo. 2 Plates 123 figures Inserted for the most part in the Final Report of the geology of Massachusetts: but published separately and enlarged in a vol. of 329 pages in 1840 – Eighth Edition in 1847 of 361 pages.
5. The Country Almanack for 1815, 1816, 1817 and 1818 in 48 pages each year = 192 pages.

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6. Catalog of Plants growing within 20 miles of Amherst College 1829 in pages 64.

7. Catalog of Plants and Animals in Massachusetts (From the State Report) 1837 in 127 pages.
8. Fossil footmarks of the U.S. quarto 128 Pages with 24 Plates and 123 figures in 1848 from Trans. of the Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences.

Temperance Productions

9. Dyspepsy Forestalled and Resisted Lectures to the Students of Amherst College 1 vol. and eight verso in pages 360 print edition in 1830. Second Edition of 452 pages in 1831.
10. Prior Essay on Temperance (prize of \$50 offered in Boston awarded by Token from Dyspepy Foundation and it being the Lecture.
11. Argument for early Temperance addressed to the youth of US. This is the Prize Essay enlarged and put in 18 vo. pages 89.
12. History of a Zoological Temperance Convention held in Central Africa in 1847 printed in 1850 in pages 180, 22 inserts with numerous drawings 13 plates and 28 figures.

Religious

13. An Exhibition of Unitarianism a pamphlet of 35 pages in 1824.
14. A Wreath for the Tomb: 12 vo. of 250 pages in 1839. A second edition of 150-pages in the London Edition in 1842 of 262 pages.
15. Religious Lectures on Peculiar Phenomena in the Four Seasons. 12 vo. Of 143 pages in 1850 with three plates. 2nd edition in 1851.

Single Sermons

1. Utility of Natural History at Pittsfield in 1823 of 32 pages.
2. Retrospection at Amherst College in 1823 of 24 pages.
3. Four Sermons on Diet in the National Preacher 44 pages.
4. The Sun Going Down at Noon. At the funeral of the wife of Reverend M. Lord in Williamsburg - Thanksgiving day 1829 in 19 pages.
5. The Minister's Role of Duty at South Hadley Canal Ordination of Rev. Flavel Griswold in 31 pages.
6. The Coronation of Winter in 1845.

At the request of students of Amherst College and Mount Holyoke Seminary 2nd edition published.

7. Extract from my Farewell Sermon at Conway in Christian Spectator vol. 8 no. 120 in 2 pages.
8. The Inseparable Trio: an Election Sermon, January 1856 – pages 45.

Addresses

1. Before the Association of American Geologists in Philadelphia in 1841 of 46 pages
2. Before Williston Seminary in 1845 of 29 pages
3. Before Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in 1843 of 44 pages Subject, Waste of Mind
4. Before the same in 1849 of 38 pages (A Chapter in the Book of Providence)
5. The Highest Use of Learning on the Inauguration to the Presidency 1845 pages 51
6. Before the Hampshire and Franklin Agricultural Societies in 1827 pages 24 (Scientific Agriculture)
7. Before the same in 1846 of 38 pages (The Mutual Influence between Agriculture and Other Pursuits)
8. Before the Massachusetts Association in Andover Theological Seminary in 1836 pages 36 (The Physical Culture Adapted to the Times)
9. Importance of an early consecration to the Missionary Service. Before the Society of Enquiry in Andover College see Christian Spectator vol. 10 p. 573 - in 10 pages
10. At the Inauguration of President Everett in 1846 in 3 pages. See pamphlet published by the corporation.
11. On Mount Holyoke July 4 _____ at the completion of a Road to the summit by the Senior and Junior Classes. See Hampshire Franklin Express.
12. Ditto July 4th 1845 on completion of the road to Norwottuck. See H. & F. Express for July 8 - 1846
13. Before the Washington Benevolent Society on the Russian victories over the French in 1812. See Franklin Herald for 1813.
14. At the Dedication of the new Cabinet and Observatory at Amherst College in 8 pages. See pamphlet.

Tracts

1. Argument against the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits American Tract Society in 24 pages
2. Can ready Some Soc. 4 pages 1848
3. The Blind Slave in the Mines American Tract Society 1848 pages pages 4.
4. Murderers of Fathers and Murderers of Mother's American tract Society pages 12.

Essays

1. On pulpit exchanges between the Orthodox and Unitarians in the Spirit of the Pilgrims for 1828 pages 34 copies struck off separately for sale
2. On the Connection between Geology and Natural Religion Biblical Repository January 1835 in 27 pages
3. On the Connection between Geology and Revelation Biblical Repository April and October 1835 in 86 pages
4. On the Historical and Geological Deluges Biblical Repository January and October 1837 and January 1838 in 127 pages

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5. Did Christ Advance any new Moral Precept? Christian Spectator vol. p. 397 in 1819 pages 2½
6. General Scenery of the Works of God. Christian Spectator vol. 4 p. 337 in 7 pages
7. Influence of Nervous Diseases upon Religious Experience Christian Spectator vol. 9 p. 177 in 29 pages

Reviews

1. Of Conybeares and Phillips Geology of England and Wales American Jour. Sci. vol. 7 p. 203 in 38 pages (Supplement see under controversies)
2. Of Olmstead's Report on the Geology of North Carolina American Jour. Sci. vol. 14 p. 230 in 20 pages.
3. Of Buckland's Reliquiae Deluvianae, Christian Spectator 1824 p. 415 in 23 pages
4. Of Cordier and Scrope "Silliman's Works on Natural History." Christian Spectator vol. 11 p. 464 in 18 pages
5. Buckland's Reliquiae Deluvianae American Jour. Sci. vol. 8 p. 168 and 317 in 45 pages - Entirely different from the review in the Christian Spectator.
6. Of Dana's Muck Manual American Jour. Sci. vol. 43 p. 192 in 5 pages

7. Of Owen's Paper on the Diornis American Jour. Sci. vol. 48 p. 194 in 8 pages.
8. Of Bailey's New Method of Determining the Longitude. American Jour. Sci. vol. 9 p. 107 in 13 pages

Poetry

1. Downfall of Bonaparte – a Tragedy of 108 pages 18 vo. published in 1815. This is a crude production written in youth and full of literary errors: yet it contains some poetry if I know what poetry is. It ought not to have been published. But as stated in the short preface I was then in a state of deep dejection having by a failure of eyes and health had all my plans cut off and I printed this in the hopes that it might lead some one to extend to me a helping hand. God be thanked that it was not written well enough to attract the attention of the managers of the theater: for destitute as I then was...

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...of a saving knowledge of religion had I been drawn into that vortex I fear I should never have been reserved.

2. The Prodigal Christian Spectator vol. 1 page 300
3. Declining Health, Franklin Harold
4. The same Hampshire Gazette April 1818
5. A Fragment on Disappointment Hampshire Gazette April 1818
6. The Fate of Genius Franklin Federalist 1817 and 1818
7. Scene on the Banks of the Connecticut (Footmarks) Knickerbocker.

Republications

1. Cordier's essay on the Temperature of the Globe: Translated from the French with a Preface and some notes Amherst
2. De la Beches Theoretical Geology with a Preface and Notes. Amherst

Controversies

1. With Edmund M. Blunt respecting errors in the Nautical Almanac. See American Monthly Magazine for 1817 and 1818.

Blunt republished the Nautical Almanack and offered *ten dollars for the discovery of an error*. I found 47

errors made by him and some copied from the London edition. I wrote to him but he gave only evasive replies. I then published the list. This drew from him a most contemptuous and insolent reply in which he spoke of me as "One Edward Hitchcock." He challenged me to point out an error in the figures. My next communication contained no allusion to this scurrilous production of his but pointed out 20 errors in the figures and most important ones too which probably occasioned not a few shipwrecks. Blunt was stirred up to process a recalculation of the Almanack for 1819 but he withdrew his offer...

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...of a reward. I followed in July 1818 with another list of seventy errors made in the figures - 35 of these were in the edition for 1819 which he had recalculated. This made him succumb and he published a quite respectful reply next month in which *one Edward Hitchcock* was changed to *Mr. Hitchcock* and he also corrected with the pen 35 errors in the copies of the Almanack on hand and attached a printed note acknowledging himself indebted to *the politeness of Edward Hitchcock Esq.* To whom *much credit is due for the industry and talent bestowed on the work.* Thus in titles I made quite a progress but he never had the magnanimity to send me a dollar although I had fairly won more than a thousand which might probably have been recovered in law. But the final result was that the Nautical Almanack was afterwards made correct and a multitude of mariners saved from shipwreck.

This was the first controversy of consequence in which I ever engaged and I consider it the most successful. Blunt endeavoured to put me down. I was entirely unknown and I know that if I made a single slip in my statements he would triumph. My powers were therefore put upon the most intense exertions. I spent a great deal of time in discovering the errors: but I think it was the most important mental discipline through which I ever passed. I am surprised also that I met his insulating attack insulting attack was so *sang froid*. Indeed I took upon it as Providential. The result led me to adopt a rule which has been a great service to me viz. when attacked in future always to wait till I am perfectly cool before replying. Afterwards I learnt to add this also: Never to reply till I had honestly and earnestly prayed over the subject.

2. Controversy with the Episcopalians respecting the time of Easter. I have lost the papers - published in Greenfield containing my communication on this subject. I only remember that in one of the Country Almanacs which I published I put down Easter on a different day from what the original rules would give it.

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The Episcopalians declared me in an error and were sure of it. But I knew that it was a peculiar case that happened only once in several hundred years and I defended myself. They probably would not have believed me had not their Bishop soon after come to my aid by announcing to his flock that the day I had designated was the true one.

3. With the Professor Potter (now Bishop Potter) on some points in the subject of temperance. It grew out of some statements made in a report of mine for some newspaper of the Nat. Temperance Convention at Saratoga and was seized on in the New York Evangelist. I am not sure that I was right in all my positions: but I have lost the papers and cannot reexamine them. The nos. cost me a good deal of labour.

[Asterisk] 9. with Professor Amos Eaton on Geological Nomenclature American Journal of Sci. vol. 9 p.

146 in 8½ pages

4. With Professor Strait on several points of connection between Geology and the Bible. Biblical Repository for April 1836 in 40 pages. I cannot as yet see reason to doubt the correctness of all the important points shown in this discussion.
5. With Dr. James Deane on the discovery of Fossil Footmarks. American Journal of Sci. vol. 47 p. 390 in 10 pages.

No part of my scientific experience has ever been so trying as the attempt to wrest from me the honor of the discovery or rather the first scientific investigation of fossil footmarks. And of all things which I have ever done this was the last which I ever thought any one would attempt to deprive me of. During the long years of hard labour and obloquy which it cost me to establish the new science of Ichnolithology no competitor appeared. But when success dawned upon me it was easy for others to persuade themselves...

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...that I had assumed too much credit. What started these claims was a sentence in Professor Silliman's address before the Association American Geologists of Boston. This was followed by bolder claims both in Europe and this country. I bore it as long as I thought justice or religion required and then made my defense. My statements were before the world and posterity must judge from them of the validity of my claims. But if they are not allowed I am sure that no other claim of mine to original discovery in science can be sustained. I retain however unkind feelings towards Dr. Deane. When the controversy was ended I being the oldest man called on him at least three times but as he has never returned my calls I can do no more.

6. With Reverend Mr. Chapin of Connecticut on the subject of fossil footmarks. He attacked me in the Knickerbocker and I replied in the No. for September 1836 and a piece of six pages. He made a rejoinder which I did not think called for a reply and we parted and rather good humour.
7. With Rev. Erastus Hopkins on Rail Roads in the valley of the Connecticut in the Hampshire Gazette. This was unpleasant and not entered upon without consulting several judicious friends. I think it did no good - perhaps harm - but in the matter great injustice has been done to the east side of Connecticut River and as I trust in a righteous Providence I still hope that sometime or other they will find that their cause is not forgotten though for a time justice prevailed and they are trampled underfoot. This controversy did not destroy friendly intercourse between me and Mr. Hopkins.
8. With the editor (Jonathan A. Saxton, Esq.) of a Unitarian paper in Greenfield. He attacked strongly my pamphlet entitled An Exhibition of Unitarianism. I merely gave one article in defense in the Boston Recorder
9. With the editor of the Christian Register on the Resurrection of the Body

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Botany

1. A description of *Botrychium simplex* (nov. sp.) with a drawing American Journal of Science vol. 6 page 103.
2. Physiology of *Gyropodium coccineum* Id.. vol. 9 p. 56 with a plate in 4 pages.

Mineralogy

1. Native Copper in Massachusetts American Journal of Science vol. 47 p. 322 in 2 pages
2. Lincolnite. Id.. vol. 47 p. 416 and vo. 48 p. 64
3. Tin in Goshen Id.. vol. 16 p. 188 in 2½ pages
4. Topaz in Goshen Id.. vol. 9 p. 180
5. Ditto in the White Mountains Id.. Vol. 20 p. 410
6. Ditto in Monroe Ct. Chemical analysis of Id.. vol. 10 p. 215 in 7 pages
7. Various Localities of Minerals Id.. vol. 14 p. 215 in 17 pages
8. Yttrcerite in Massachusetts Id.. vol. 47 p. 351 in 2 pages
9. Analysis of Marl Id.. vol. 36 p. 126
10. On Lincolnite. Id.. vol. 49 p. 416 in 1 page

Geology

1. Remarks on the Mineralogy and Geology of a Section on Connecticut River American Journal of Science vol. 1 p. 105 in 17 pages with a Geological Map
2. Geology of the Connecticut Id. vol. 6 in 152 pages (Notice among the published volumes) A Geological Map and two Plates
3. Geology of Martha's Vineyard with a Geological Map Id. vol. 7 p. 290 in 8 pages
4. Economical Report On Geology Of Massachusetts published in American Journal of Science vol. 22 p. 1 (Notice elsewhere)
5. Ornithichnology - first paper upon vol. 29 p. 307 in 35 pages and 3 plates and 27 figures
6. Fossil Footsteps in Sandstone and and Graywacke Id. vol. 32 p. 174 in 2½ pages

7. On the Glacier Theory as held by Murchison and myself Id. vol. 43 p. 396 in 3 pages

8. Remarks on the Glacier Theory

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before the Geological Association Id. vol. 45 p. 326 in 2 pages

9. Letter from Mr. Dobson on Iceberg Drift Id. vol. 46 p. 159 in 3 pages

10. On the Trap Tuff of the Connecticut Valley Id. vol. 4 N. Series p. 199 in 9 pages and two sketches

11. Report to Geological Association on Ichnolithology Id. vol. 47 p. 292 in 31 pages and 2 plates and 11 figures.

12. Fossil Footmarks Lincolnite and Id. vol. 48 p. 61 in 5 pages

13. Singular Phenomena of a Drift in Berkshire County vol. 49 p. 256 in 8 pages with 2 sketches

14. Two New Species of Footmarks Id. vol. 4 New Series p. 46 in 12 pages with four sketches.

15. Phenomena of Drift in North American Transactions of Geological Association vol. 1 p. 164 in 58 pages with two plates and 18 figures

16. Descriptions of five new species of fossil footmarks. Same work p. 254 and 11 pages with one plate and 9 figures

17. Description of several species of fossil plants from New Red Sandstone of Ct. Valley Same work p. 92 with 1 plate and 5 figures in 2½ pages.

18. Notes on the Geology of Western Asia Same Work p. 348 with one plate and 7 figures in 75 pages

Miscellaneous Subjects

1. Description of Cylinders of Snow American Journal Science vol. 2 p. 375

2. Description of the Disruption of the Frozen Earth in Deerfield Id. vol. 1 page 205 and 7 pages with a Plate and 2 figures

3. Meteorological Journal kept at Deerfield in 1817 and 1818 Id. vol. 4 page 333 and 5 pages

4. Singular effects of lightning on John Williams Esq. Conway with a plate Id. vol. 5 page 121 in 5 pages 1 plate 5 figures

5. New Mineralogical Hammer Id. vol. 7 page 175 with a sketch

6. Collections of Rocks Minerals at Heidelberg described Id. vol. 17 page 405 in 5 pages. Also vol. 39 page 199 in 2 pages
7. On the Meteors of November 13, 1833 Id. vol. 25 page 354 in 8 pages.
8. On Vibrating Dams. Id. vol. 45 page 370 in 1 page
9. Analysis of wines from Palestine and Syria and American Cider Id. vol. 46 page 249 in 11 pages. I am told that these results occasioned a good deal of discussion among Temperance people in Great Britain.
10. Case of Optical Delusion in Sick Man. New Englander p. 104 and p. 199 vol. 3 in 7 pages. Only a part of this correspondence was published. See Manuscripts.
11. Appeal to the public in behalf of Amherst College several numbers in Boston Recorder for May and June 1832
12. The Pangynaskean Seminary (Mount Holyoke) explained and defended Boston Recorder (I think)
13. Description of the Scenery in Berkshire County in Serial numbers ____ Boston Recorder.
14. Report of the meeting of the Geological Association at Washington for the Journal of Commerce May 23, 1844
15. Scenery of the White Mountains in several nos. Boston Recorder
16. On the Potato Rot. Amherst Express.
17. Correspondence from Richmond Virginia in Amherst Express
18. Description of Turner's Falls in Connecticut River with a Sketch by Mrs. H. Post Folie December 1818
19. Fragment on the Political Condition of the Northern States. Franklin Herald November 1812
20. Another political fragment in the same paper
21. A Dream respecting the removal of Williams College same paper for December 1818
22. Several Brigades and Division Orders in the same paper while I was aide - de - camp to Ge. Ep. Hoyt
23. Review of the *Reediad*. Hampshire Gazette December 1818
24. Detection of a Plagiarism. Franklin Federalist November 1817
25. Account of spots on the sun. Franklin Herald

26. Nos. 49,50,51,52 of the Weekly Monitor in Franklin Herald for 1816

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27. The Moral Telescope in 30 weeks by nos. in the Franklin Federalist and Franklin Herald for 1817 and 1818. The plan of these essays and like. Pity I had not had more experience in writing I think they would have been useful.

28. Account of Revivals of Religion in Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. H&F Express for May 7, 1846 N. Z. Olsemer etc.

29. Popular description of the new Cabinet and Observatory of Amherst College in H&F express and in a pamphlet of 19 pages

30. Rail Roads in Vermont. H.F. Express September 3, 1846

31. Revival of religion in Amherst College Amherst Express April 30, 1846

32. Ancient relics in Tennessee H&F Express March 4 1846

33. Naming Mount Toby anew H&F Express for June 22^d 1849

34. Account of a visit to the Midlothian coal mines of Eastern Virginia. See Watchman and Observer, Richmond. Copied with remarks into the Richmond Times.

35. Mezmer Meetings of the Senior Class of 1849 H&F express November 1849

36. Obituary notice of Mrs. Professor W. C. Fowler N. Z. Observer.

37. Some account of the last hours of Professor N. M. Fiske. H&F Express.

38. Revival of Religion in College 1852 in H&F Express April 19th 1850

Summary

Volumes bound and thick pamphlets	15
Single sermons	8
Addresses	14
Tracts	4
Essays	7
Reviews	8
Poetry	7
Republications	2
Controversial articles	8
Scientific papers (Botany 2 Mineralogy 10 Geology 18)	30
Miscellaneous subjects	3

Number of pages except the newspaper articles	5355
Number plates	132
Number of figures sketches	971

I ought to add that probably many other newspaper productions of mine have appeared not enumerated above for I have not preserved one in ten of the papers containing them. Some of them...

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...I have in manuscript especially short poems. One of these which I delivered before a society in College in 1843 and which is partly made up of extracts from other poems contains 400 lines. I once also began a regular poem in 4 books entitled *Udoriad* (a poem in winter) but proceeded no further than 178 lines. Perhaps as good a poem as I ever wrote in a triple acrostic of four lines upon the first name of my wife.

Two scientific efforts of mine should be named because they furnished perhaps the most thorough discipline through which I ever passed save perhaps he controversy with Blunt. One was the Astronomical Observations which I made under the direction of General Ep. Hoyt upon the comet of 1811 in the variations of the Magnetic Needle and ascertaining the longitude and latitude of Deerfield. The number of observations was very great and the calculations necessary to reduce them to the form given in my manuscript and with the very defective means in my hands quite difficult. I laboured very hard and seriously affected my health by exposure to night air that manuscript I should not be ashamed of even now if allowance be made for the circumstances in which I was placed.

Another investigation in which I engaged was on the revolution of meteors about the earth. I began with some observations from which I deduced a periodic revolution for the meteor of Weston Connecticut and then attempted to trace out in a long paper the path of a meteor around the earth. My manuscript I put into the hands of Professor John Farrar of Columbia who never returned it and the imperfect sketches now in my hands will not enable me to judge whether there was any merit in it or not. But I am sure that the discipline of mind which it demanded was of essential service.

In concluding this long list I wish to append a few remarks.

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1. I confess myself quite impressed at the length of the preceding list and am conscious of having written too much. Yet I had some special reasons for it. I was poor in feeble health and with dejected spirits and had no other way of obtaining assistance but by showing that I deserved it. I published a great many things therefore not well digested and especially abounding in literary errors. And subsequently when I could do better I have often been compelled as it were by multiplied cares and feeble health to send out my productions without that care which should have been bestowed upon them. But though they now mortify me somewhat yet were I to pass through a similar experience again I doubt whether I should do markedly differently.

2. But numerous as are the literary errors of my works it is a source of high gratification to me that they contain no sentiment as I am aware of that is unfriendly to virtue or religion. I impute this alone to Divine restraining grace: for some of these writings were executed when I knew nothing of personal piety and was indeed sceptical as to the doctrines of the Bible.

3. Although my literary productions are far more numerous than I had supposed before reckoning them up yet I am made sad by the consideration that the work which I should consider more important than all the rest and which I have long had in view but have been prevented from writing by what seemed the distinct voice of Providence that work I say must remain unwritten. At least I have scarcely a gleam of hope that it will ever be done. I refer to a work already described on a former page of these Notes as intended to illustrate the...

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...Divine Perfections. But there are doubtless good reasons why this plan of mine should be frustrated.

4. It is also well calculated to humble pride and self-sufficiency to remember how few of my literary productions will survive the present generation! If any of them do they will owe their continued existence to their connection with Christianity. Would that more of them had been linked to that eternal rock. However I may hope that my labours have contributed indirectly to illustrate and confirm Christianity I ought not to feel that I have laboured in vain. But really when I realize how feeble that influence will be I am led almost to feel as if my talents had been wasted.

5. Once more how little will literary men and especially posterity ever know of the embarrassments and obstacles under which I have laboured! As the outset poverty met me with stern resistance. My father indeed was indulgent but he had to labour hard to obtain daily bread for his family. While pursuing my studies I had to labour mechanically a large part of the time for others to get my support and a few dollars for books. I had mowed, cut wood and at eight cents an hour and the first school that I kept brought me only eight dollars per month. But want of money was the least obstacle in my way. My eyes erelong failed and for nearly 40 years I have never known what it was to use them for an hour or two continuously without pain often severe and frustrating to my animal spirits. Next my health gave way and for more than 35 years I have not known a single day when I felt in vigorous health. For the last 15 to 20 years my sufferings both bodily and mentally...

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...dejection have been severe and with little intermissions increasing every year upon the whole. How much I have suffered I wish no one to know: for I do not desire anyone to pass through similar experience. I am sure however that it is a low estimate to say that one half of my ability to prosecute literary enquiries has been from this cause abridged: and in late years the proportion has been larger. But instead of murmuring at this experience I ought to be thankful for all these trials. For had I been left to enjoy vigorous health and to inherit abundance I should have been ruined. I should have been a proud self-conceited indolent drone. The difficulties in my way have stimulated me to effort and a sense of my weakness has led me to look to God and rely upon him in all my labours.

6. Finally I could not forget that for nearly nine tenths of the drawings attached to my works I have been indebted to the pencil of my wife. It has cost her many a painful sacrifice in the midst of the cares of a numerous family thus to assist me: but she has done it cheerfully. Nay the plates attached to my printed works form but a small part of what her pencil has done for me. I estimate that the drawings she executed for me for my lectures on Botany Geology and Anatomy will cover a surface not much short of 200 square yards or 1800 square feet. And this has been done not to gain reputation but to aid her husband! Truly I have done anything for science it is because Providence gave me such a wife.

1850

March 25th 1850

It hardly seems possible and yet I am certainly in the midst of another general and powerful revival of religion in College and in this my study only two nights since I met...

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...24 enquirers - most of whom had begun to see light and comfort. During the powerful revival four years ago I felt a strong impression that it was the last I should ever see. During the past two winters there has been a good deal of unusual seriousness and a few conversions of individuals who bid fair to do much for God and their fellow men. Christians also were a good deal aroused. But these seasons were not generally called revivals and members of the Senior Class began to say we must leave college without ever having seen a revival. But God had other purposes and blessed be his name they are now in a course of development. At the beginning of the term I felt an unusual desire to see another display of Divine Grace yet hope was always damped by the feeling that I had seen the last work of this kind which God would ever perform before me. Yet that feeling did not prevent me from using all the means in my power. I began the same course of instruction which I adopted four years ago and I found strength to sustain multiplied labors and cares to this time far beyond my expectations. Among a few professors of religion in College an interest gradually increased: and a large number were more than usually stood up. Just previous to the annual...

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...fast for literary institutions only one or two hopeful conversions occurred. That day was made the most solemn probably that was ever witnessed in this college. Professor Peabody after a short illness lay dead in our midst and the next day funeral services were attended in the Chapel. There were other circumstances which I cannot detail that tended to arouse the officers and pupils to their spiritual concerns. Still the work seemed larger for some time. But within the last ten days it has gone forward with great power although with no undue excitement and I know and I hope it is not yet over. I have never seen a revival that seemed to require so much prayer and effort to bring down the blessing: yet I have never seen stronger faith or so little opposition. The work seems to be genuine though it has peculiarities: but they are gratifying peculiarities. It is now only about three weeks to the close of the term and I have a hope that the special interest may last to the end. After preaching all day and attending almost every public meeting through the term I find myself quite unwell this evening. But if sickness awaits me I have the consolation of feeling that it was brought on by labour in a noble cause and not till my labours can be dispensed with without checking the revival. Oh how grateful should I be to Providence for adding another interesting chapter to my life!

Another incident which I desire to record with humble...

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...gratitude is the return of my third daughter Jane from an absence of a few months at school at Ipswich giving some evidence of having seized that good part which shall never be taken from her. The four oldest children are now indulging hopes of heaven which are not belied so far as I know by their lives. But the two youngest remain. Oh that myself and wife may now concentrate our prayers and efforts upon them: and that we might be spared to see them also made trophies of grace. Then indeed would death be robbed of half its sting if if I might indulge the hope that we should be a whole family in heaven.

I wish here to record my indebtedness to a venerable and beloved missionary (Reverend Warren Poor) in respect to this matter. Before any of our children were converted when he was in a distant land he observed for some years a weekly concert of prayer for the children of both families. Very likely therefore my children are indebted more to his prayers and those of his consort than to those of their own parents. When I lately informed him that my fourth daughter was anxious: his reply was *I always told you we must put in for the whole six*. May our faith and hope not fall below those of our venerable friend!

April 27th

The revival did indeed continue to the close of the term and the meetings were full and solemn to the last post though some exhibited a degree of lightness for a short time before the term closed. The most striking conversion of the revival occurred only the day before the end of the term. It was a very wicked...

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...and almost ruined man a member of the senior class. If he should hold out it will be indeed marvelous.

Another important and to me very solemn subject now engaged my intention. Last autumn the Trustees even contrary to my wishes gave me leave of absence the coming summer to go to Europe: and this spring almost everything has conspired to lead me to go. Such is the state of my health that I must have some sort of relief from labour for not my body only but my mind is too weak to enable me to sustain my duties. It might be that a prosperous voyage and a few months relaxation would give me a little vigor to hold out a little longer and thus do the most I hope for under most favorable circumstances. I have prayed long and earnestly over the subject and I trust with an agonizing desire to know my duty: and that too before my mind was at all made up on the subject and it does seem as if the finger of Providence pointed me towards the rising sun. I have decided to endeavor to go earnestly desiring however that if neither God's glory nor my good can be promoted by the trip my way may be hedged up. My wife expects to accompany me also John Tappan Esq. and wife. This latter fact operates strongly to induce me to venture: for Mr. Tappan has been abroad so much that his company will greatly aid an inexperienced traveler.

Yet I confess that both myself and wife look forward to this voyage with great solicitude and even strong aversion. My own health is so feeble that I have lost all courage and we both anticipate little else but...

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...suffering. Indeed so strong is the feeling upon my mind that I shall never return that I feel as if I were

preparing for my own funeral. I often shrink back from the effort with strong aversion. But when the enquiry comes up what shall I do if I do not go I still persevere in getting ready.

The College is in a state in which my absence for a few months will not probably do any harm. My children have now reached that age when they seem capable of attending to the household affairs. Yet it is trying to leave them. For if myself and wife should both be taken away from them the blow would be terrible. Would that the youngest were converted so that we could feel that we should meet them in heaven how it would soothe the anguish of separation.

With such sad foreboding it becomes me look well to the foundation on which I am resting to see whether I am prepared for such an event as I fear. And I confess that the idea of being called suddenly to leave the world - to perish by shipwreck for instance almost overwhelms me. I can think with much more composure of dying by slow disease at my own home. And I fear that if called into sudden peril I should dishonor the cause of religion. It does seem as if my faith would fail me. Oh Blessed Saviour if it be thy will to call me to such a trial fulfill to me my precious promise *as thy day so shall thy strength be.*

But whatever may be the result of my present enterprise and whether my sad forebodings are well-founded or not I desire to leave on record now my testimony of the Divine Mercy and faithfulness to me and mine in...

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...times past. How often have I been delivered when deliverance seemed almost to require a miracle! How long has my constitution been sustained beyond the time when it seemed as if it must sink! And how many unexpected wonders of mercy have been manifested to me when darkness and anxiety hedged up my path! I am sure that many of the events of my life have seemed as remarkable to me as many of the miracles of scripture.

It may seem that such an experience ought to prevent me from entertaining such desponding apprehensions as to the future. Truly it would be ingratitude of a deep die to doubt the wisdom and mercy of God. But those attributes do not require Him always to bestow temporal prosperity. The reverse may often be best for a man and most agreeable to wisdom and mercy. See this illustrated in the history of Elijah whose days of brightest success were often and suddenly overcast by the darkest clouds. Such may be my lot. It does seem as if a constitution so sunk as mine could not bear much more and how do I know but it may be best that I should go forth with my beloved wife only to perish on the land or the sea in our wanderings? Perhaps in this way God can be most glorified. All that I pray for then is that I may cheerfully wait for such an event and be born through it if such be God's will. Or should it be his will that our fear should not be realized and we may once more return to our country and family let us be prepared also for that and for spending whatever of strength and life remain in the service of our blessed Protector and Benefactor. Amen and Amen.

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December 1 - 1850

Through the infinite mercy of God I live to record his goodness to me and my wife through all our wanderings over land and seas of wide extent. Not an accident of consequence has met us and we are

now returned in safety to our home and to our children and other friends all alive and in comfort. This is indeed another chapter as full of incident and as marvelous as any other in my strange experience. Nearly every outward circumstance in our voyage and journey has been ordered in great - sometimes in surprising and almost miraculous mercy. We had felt that it would be difficult to meet the expenses of such a tour. But before we started John Tappan Esq. offered to pay our passage in the British steamer (\$250) to Liverpool and on reaching there Jonathan Phillips who had been our fellow voyager across the Atlantic offered to defray our expenses while we took a delightful excursion through Wales and England of 535 miles to see the geology which amounted to about \$170. So that in fact when we reached London we had spent but little from our own funds. On my return the Honorable S. Williston presented me with \$100 and as I spent a good deal of time while in Europe at the request of the Government of Massachusetts in visiting the Agricultural Schools I hope they may allow me something for my expenses. Thus did Providence without any care of ours secure to us a considerable part of our expenses.

That same Providence also scared up friends whenever they were needed to advise and aid us in a variety of ways. In many cases especially when on the Continent we were thrown in to exigencies where we must have suffered severely had not...

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...such friends appeared at the right time. But they always came.

Then again neither of us were visited with any attacks of sickness so severe as to lay us aside scarcely for a day. We were almost always ready to travel. The whole distance we passed over by land and sea was not far from 10,600 miles and this made an average of 57 miles for 158 days.

It is indeed true that I have suffered very much from feeble health in this tour. Never have I suffered more especially when crossing the ocean. My spirits also were painfully depressed and I felt that I was rather losing ground in respect to health during nearly the whole time. My appetite was poor my coughing bad as usual and I felt an unusual degree of nervousness so that the prognosis of my case appeared to me decidedly unfavorable. Since my return I have found great relief from those affections bodily and mental that had become painfully trying and my appetite has been decidedly better and I have been able to labour intellectually with considerable success. I have supposed the relief to be only quite temporary since I find essentially the same bodily failings and ailments as before I left home. I wish I could free myself from the pressure of labour that have settled upon me so heavily. But when at least four books are called for by the printer (including my Report on Agricultural Schools) I can hardly hope for relief till necessity compels me to throw off the burdens. Yet it is not infatuation to go on as I used viz. to work every day just as hard as was possible. May I be shown...

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...how to dispose of those difficult questions of duty that press upon me. I think I ought improve the little health and strength left me doing good and the great point is to husband that time and strength that I may accomplish the most.

But the most important question is what was the effect of my tour upon my spiritual interests. I had hoped that it was beneficial. It seemed to me that the deprivation of many of the means of grace enjoyed at home operated very strongly to leave me to cast myself on God. I saw so much of the new form of religion where its power was gone that I was led to come more directly to the throne of grace

and pray for an honest a subdued and grateful mind. Above all so entirely dependent did we seem upon heavenly guidance strangers as we were wandering through unknown lands that prayer became a most precious reality. And then I was such a constant and severe sufferer from a poor state of health that I was never conscious of living near to God than on my journey and voyage. I never felt so much the vanity of the world as when I saw most of it splendours. It was on shipboard especially that my trials seemed to crush and overwhelm me and it did seem as if I never had such a spirit of prayer. I could not rid myself of the impression that I should never reach home that indeed was a feeling that accompanied me all summer yet on ship board the feeling sprang up in my bosom that fervent effectual prayer would carry us safely across the deep. Then it was that I thought to consecrate myself anew to God and with an emphasis and interest I never felt before. Oh let me not forget...

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...the vows and resolutions then formed. Let me no more complain of trials and sufferings if they meet me in the path of duty. Henceforth I am not my own and my business in the little time that remains is to live for the good of man and the glory of God. I have plans enough before me in which to labour – ten times more indeed than I can hope to accomplish. God give me strength to finish some of them! When away I thought it could be a great blessing for me to reach home only to die. I still feel that it is so: but to be allowed to come home to labour longer is what I hardly expected and for which I ought to be very thankful.

Upon the whole this tour is a most remarkable chapter added to my life. As yet I can hardly realize that all is not a dream. No one but myself can realize the wonders of mercy which God has bestowed upon me in this event. Let memory never lose the impressions now so vivid of the Divine Goodness. Let faith henceforth never fear to cast itself unreservedly upon God in every extremity. I have said that I thought I had for the most part during my absence an unusual spirit of prayer. I want to add that never in my life have I experienced direct and manifest answers to prayer. Often we were thrown into dilemmas and knew not which way to turn. Our resort in such cases was earnest prayer and rarely perhaps never did we fail to receive an answer. Yet it was God who guided and guarded us in the trials which we suffered were only necessary means of preparing us for the blessings we received. Oh let us never cease to love and serve the Being who has done so much for us!

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1851

June 22^d 1851.

Through the winter my complaints had been considerably relieved and I was able to accomplish a good deal of labour. In the spring vacation I took a trip to the Genesee Valley where I was exposed to fatigue and night air and since my return I have had a terrible cough and other severe complaints so that I never found it so difficult to perform my duties.

I have reason however to be very thankful that I have been carried through this important enterprise since my return from Europe. The first was the preparation and publication of a Report on the Agricultural Schools of Europe of 94 pages made to the Legislature of Massachusetts. The second was

the publication of my lectures on the Religion of Geology a work of 527 pages. Third has been the completion of a memoir of Mary Lyon which has just been accomplished though not yet printed. This volume will contain probably nearly 500 pages. These works of course have cost much labour and I have reason for great gratitude that I have been spared to go through them. Whether they will do much good it remains to be seen. I must believe however that the life of Miss Lyon will exert a salutary influence upon the highest interests of man. Its preparation has more deeply impressed me with the deficiencies of my own character than any other thing. As to the...

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...*Religion of Geology* I hardly know what to predict as to its influence. I presume the different parties will find something to commend and something to find fault with in the work and hence be disposed neither to approve nor to disapprove very strongly. The work has cost me a great deal of thought and effort.

My fifty-eighth birthday has recently (May 24th) passed and I could not but make it an occasion for taking a retrospective of my life. And nothing stands out so distinctly in my history as the monuments of God's Special Providence. My life in many respects has been a strange one but I can now see how all its leading events formed a place in the Divine Mind for my good. The constant and desperate struggles I have been obliged to make ever since my boy days to counteract the influence of wretched health natural timidity venous despondency poverty and an irregular and defective education and blasted hopes have all been indispensable to enable me to accomplish what little I have done for God's glory and man's good. The severe discipline through which I have often passed was indispensable. Without this I could not have been either fitted to my work or kept up to it. Such is my mental constitution that if allowed to have much prosperity and comfort I begin to depart from God and become...

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...worldly in my affections. Merciful therefore is a Providence that chastises me: even with this discipline how little genuine devotedness to God do I possess and how prone still to cleave inordinately to a world where in my latter days suffering seems to be the law and comfort and enjoyment the exception.

It does seem to me as if the examples of Special Providence towards myself have been more striking in later years than formerly or I have an eye more open to discern them. Several of these I have already referred to under previous dates especially those relating to the College. Not less striking are several interpositions in my own behalf. I have given a partial account of the manner in which without any intended agency on my part a considerable part of my expenses to Europe were met. I can now state the whole matter.

Total expenses for 158 days \$9.55 per day \$1519.54

These were met by the following receipts

Passage to Liverpool paid by G Tappan	\$240
Trip through Wales and and expenses by those Jonathan Phillips	\$166
Microscope paid for by Mr. Williams of Brooklyn New York	\$17
Present by Honorable Sam Williston	\$100
Allowed by the government of Massachusetts for agriculture report	\$1000
Amount received	\$1523

This includes \$150 for writing my report and \$36 for expenses
in attending meetings in Boston. This last sum should be decided
deducted which leaves \$1487.

Expenses \$1519.59

Deficiency \$32.53

I ought to add almost \$130 as the difference in exchange of \$1500.

Now is not this marvelous. When I concluded to go I had no knowledge of or expectation of any such
and expected to be prepared with so large a family to find...

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...means to meet expenses so considerable for me. Others may call this good luck: but I look upon it as a
Special Providence of a most extraordinary character which calls upon me calls loudly upon me not only
for gratitude but to use what little property I have in a manner which shall best advance God's glory in
man's good. When I consider my past perversions of the gifts of Providence I cannot see why I have
been thus mercifully dealt with.

I may say the same indeed of most of the leading events of my life. It is no feigned humility but deep
personal consciousness that leads me to say that selfishness and inordinate ambition were the two
controlling motives of my early life. And that God should allow such an one to pass from our one of
respectability to another and permit me to do something for the cause of learning and religion is very
strange. It made the retrospect on my fifty eighth birthday deeply interesting and showed me how very
different God's dealings are from man's.

1852

February 1852

My entries are infrequent: for all my time and strength not devoted to necessary duties have been given
to publications. Let us see how many pages I have added to the those noticed on the former page as the
sum total of my literary labours

Made no that date	5355
Report on Agriculture	94
Religion and Theology 50011	
Memoir of Miss Lyon (my part)	200
Total	6160

The sale of the latter works...

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...has been greater than was the case with any of my former works. Of the first in eight months 3400
have been sold and three editions have been got out in London one exactly like the American and two

others cheaper of Miss Lyon's Memoir in 6 months 3800 have been sold. Notices of the first work have been numerous most of them decidedly favorable. But the most gratifying notice of it is in the Boston Investigator a weekly newspaper of infidel or atheist character. Already some 14 or 15 articles have appeared addressed to me and exhibiting more of them than perhaps I ever have seen in print. This shows that the beast has been wounded that in fact he raves with pain. Had that paper spoken well of my book I should have been distressed because I should fear that I had taken wrong ground.

The London Literary Gazette contains the longest review of the Religion of Geology that I have seen and very commendatory. This is not the first time my works have been more highly estimated in Great Britain than in the United States and it has been amusing to see how, after such notices in foreign journals, American editors begin to rub their eyes to discover some good print where before they say nothing! It is a fact that in Great Britain the religious application of physical sciences are looked upon with much more favor than in this country. Here considerable attention to physical science by a clergyman brings suspicion on him and it is felt to be inappropriate to his office. Metaphysics is thought to be his...

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...appropriate field. When in London I was urged strongly to prepare a work on the Religion of Geology by the director of the London Tract Society for them to publish. Such a request the American Tract Society would not dare to make although under the direction of excellent men. Probably not one clergyman in ten at the present time would dare fully to admit the established principles of geology and some of the teaching ones such as Dr. Emmons and Dr. Spring have denounced it in no measured terms. To attempt therefore to reconcile this science with religion – nay to show that it gives strong support to the doctrines of Calvinism demands of course some moral courage. But the effort I perceive is producing some effect and leading many orthodox divines to inquire whether they are wise in opposing a science which after all may prove a powerful auxiliary.

February 29 [1852]

I have been led to enquire this morning whether I am not experiencing the fulfillment of the text Luke 13:7 to 9. Perhaps it was said of me one year ago let it alone this year if it bear fruit well after if not thou shalt cut it down. Surely I can say that I deserve such a doom for the little that I do agreeable to God's will. And at any rate I am made to realize more forcibly than ever before that I shall soon be cut down. For a great many years I have supposed from my symptoms that there was some difficulty in the valves of my heart: yet never till recently was it developed in an alarming manner and I never said anything about it. Within a few days the disease has developed itself in a very distinct manner and I am now laid by from labour...

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...most of the time. I am obliged to hear the regurgitation of the blood in my heart in consequence of an imperfect closure of the valve. Although as yet I have not suffered much pain it is a most distressing condition. One knows that for such a complaint there is no help and that sudden death may ensue.

Never before have I been so conscious that my work on earth has nearly come to a close. And I am compelled to believe that this sudden development of this disease has been the result of many trying

duties that have come upon me during the past year. I have never known anything like it. The most trying thing had resulted from the efforts to build a new library. There has been no agreement among the Faculty Presidential Committee or Trustees as to the character of the building...

[Missing pages 227 – 228.]

...that I might do so especially when in the sides of the ship on my return. I was not conscious of a want of submission to God's will but very likely I was not willing enough to have the event in his hands: and though I came home in safety it was only to be thrown into a furnace. This thought may be superstition for I ought not to forget how much success I have had since my return in writing and printing books and how many blessings in my family.

I thought for a time that my trials were an answer to my prayers of another sort. As the pages of this journal testify I have long ardently desired to be released from my present post and have held onto it only because I feared that I was not willing to lie in the furnace where God placed me so long as was his will. I have of course prayed for some intimation of his will that I might be released: and I say at first these troubles seemed to give that intimation at the last meeting...

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...of the Trustees. I told them that it was my intention to resign at their next meeting should I live. The probability now is that I shall never see that time. I cannot indeed doubt that God can lengthen my days to that period. But I ought not to doubt that I have upon me an incurable disease which may at any moment stop the wheels of life. So that as yet these Providences have darkness and doubt hanging over them.

But there is one voice rising from these Providences very clear and distinct. It calls upon me most loudly to set my house in order and to be actually ready for the summons at any moment. I need daily to have dying faith in exercise that is a faith that one needs in a dying hour. But Oh how unable to procure it unless God bestow it. Never did I feel my weakness so much. I find that for some months past so much more vigorous have I seemed to be and so full of labours the sense of death's nearness has been less vivid than formerly. But now it comes upon me with overwhelming power and I find much to be done to get properly prepared. Nay it seems to me sometimes that I have no faith and that of all men I am the last who should indulge a hope of heaven. All my past deeds seem prompted by selfishness. Oh God enable me as one utterly unworthy sinner to cast myself entirely on thy mercy in Jesus Christ. I can do no more. If he does not save me I perish. Blessed Saviour enable me to accept my salvation as a free gift: then let me cleave to thee with unshaken confidence until death strikes the fatal blow and in thy arms may I be borne through the dark valley.

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March 21st 1852

A bookseller in N. York is getting out a work which gives some account of living men. He asked me to state the leading events of my life. In attempting to do it I find no little difficulty in fixing upon dates etc. and it occurred to me how much more difficult it must be to my children after I am gone. I thought therefore that I would put down here such events of my life as I judge would be objects of interest to

those who survive me.

Born in Deerfield May 24th 1793

Prevented from obtaining a public education by bad health and bad eyes

Received an honorary degree of Master of Arts from Yale College in 1818

The degree of LLD from Harvard University in 1840

The degree of DD from Middlebury College in 1846

Was principal of the Academy in Deerfield from 1815 to 1818

Settled in the ministry in Conway over the Congregational Church June 21, 1821

Dismissed from that charge October 1825

Elected professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College August 23^d 1825

December 16th 1844 Elected President of Amherst College and Professor of Natural Theology and Geology

I have had a *quasi* offer of the Presidency in three other institutions viz. Hampden Seminary College in Virginia, Hanover College in Indiana and Michigan University. I have never however allowed the Trustees to proceed so far as to elect me or attempt it because I would not stand as a candidate.

I have received the following...

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...commissions to military or civil posts

Deputy Sheriff to General Hoyt in Franklin County March 3rd 1815

Aid de camp to Brigadier General Hoyt August 23 Rank of Captain 1816

Ditto to Major General Hoyt rank of Major January 1 1817

Geologist to Massachusetts June 26 Gov. Lincoln 1830

Ditto by Governor Everett May 25 - 1837

Ditto to first District of New York by Governor Marcy June 13 - 1836

Agricultural Commission to examine the Schools in Europe May 3rd 1850

I have been chosen member of the following scientific and literary societies as well as many others that have never done anything.

N. York historical Society 1817

American Academy of Arts and Sciences 1834

Academy of Natural Sciences Philadelphia 1832

National Institute Washington 1840

American Philosophical Society 1841

Die Naturforschende Gesellschaft Zu Halle 1836

Imperial Mineralogical Society St. Petersburg 1843
Boston Society of Natural History 1834
American Association of Geologists and Naturalists now extended to all the sciences
I was the first President in 1840 and delivered the first annual address in 1841

I have been elected to member of the following benevolent societies

American Bible Society
American Tract Society
American Education Society
American Doctrinal Tract Society
American Peace Society
American Temperance Society
American Board of Com. for Foreign Missionaries
Massachusetts Sabbath School Union
American and Foreign Christian Union 1851

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I may be allowed to know that for no one of the preceding honors have I ever sought personally or by friends. I have never given an intimation that they would be acceptable. Coming in such a manner I have felt as if it were right to receive them and to make use of them as a means of increasing my influence: since there are some who do feel greater respect for a person who can be distinguished by honoring titles.

September 25th 1852

Since I last entered any remarks upon these notes I have passed through several exigencies and experienced many mercies. My position has often been very trying and my sufferings great.

During the summer I was elected secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture (of which I am a member) with a salary from the state of \$1500 with the intimation that this would be doubled perhaps from individuals if I would accept. The object is important and in most respects attractive. But I declined because I cannot undertake a new enterprise at my age and especially because I do not like to close life in a merely scientific pursuit. The little strength remaining it seems...

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...to me ought to be employed in pursuits more directly promoting the cause of learning and religion. Oh how many subjects of deep interest present themselves in both these departments to which I long to devote myself but for which I have no strength!

At Commencement I presented my resignation to the trustees as I informed them I should last winter. But I found them quite unprepared for it and quite unable to fix upon a successor. Though I assigned as reason for my resignation old age and infirmity yet they strongly suspected that my position in the Faculty were unpleasant. Such...

[Missing pages 239 – 242.]

...than former seasons of analogous character and the number of hopeful converts scarcely exceeded twelve. Yet they have held out remarkably well. No one that I know of has fallen away although not quite all have yet professed religion. It must be set down as the tenth revival of religion enjoyed by the seminary and I record it to the praise of Divine Grace. These seasons I fear may from a variety of causes be expected to be less frequent and powerful as there are causes at work which I cannot detail that appear to me to operate against revivals. I have...

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...had to struggle desperately against these causes during several of the last revivals and it did seem as if the enemy would triumph. May God so order events as to remove these hindrances hereafter. How easy for them to do it though impossible with man.

I have still to record in reference to our last revival that such a work has been brought about like any other great blessing only by systematic and persevering efforts directed to the end in view.

During the year my son Charles Henry experienced a very remarkable deliverance from sudden death in falling over...

[Missing pages 245 to 250.]

1853?

[The following may be from 1853; his YMCA lectures took place in December 1853]

...far as anything like sound health was concerned. But by God's blessing on temperance and hard work I still continue a movement of Divine forbearance. I often admire the means God takes to keep me from sinking. A few years ago he opened to me a field of deep interest in surface geology which carried me abroad upon pleasant but not very fatiguing excursions that have operated very favorably upon my system. Last summer he provided me the means of collecting footmarks: but it has required many a trip up and down the Connecticut Valley and this too has invigorated me so that for some weeks past I have been able to study quite hard...

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...in preparing a few lectures for the Young Mens Christian Association in Boston and Springfield. I find that in didactic composition I can write with nearly as much ease as formerly: but my vivacity is gone as well as the power of deep emotion. I find too that my mental powers in general and especially memory are failing me very rapidly. I ought to have rest now that I have reached the sabbath of life. But my hands were never fuller than now. God has put me upon the track of several interesting enterprises for the good of Amherst College and is giving me unexpected success in some of them and I feel bound to follow them up as long as I am possibly able. This makes me hold onto my place still although it is full of trials. But though meeting with such treatment in some quarters as makes me often determine to break

away and crush my spirits into the dust yet I know that if I can do anything to enlarge and strengthen the foundation of the College it will be appreciated when I am gone in the days of personal prejudice have passed and I trust that the cause of education and religion will be promoted. I have been greatly favored in respect to the footmarks: but now I want a place to put them as well as the whole zoological cabinet and this is what I am...

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...now asking God to help me accomplish. Perhaps he has put me upon the right track: I shall not know for some time.

I have also succeeded after some two years trial in securing a quantity of specimens from the ruins of ancient Ninevah although they have not yet reached Amherst. I trust that others will follow. Should Dr. Lobdell of Mosel live and have health and that we shall have a cabinet of the sort of great interest. Every thing of this sort will form an anchor for the College to keep it steady when storms arise as they doubtless will.

Postscript. The above specimens have arrived and although much broken they have been put up in the library so as to be nearly as good as when they graced the walls of the old palaces of Nineveh. The collection exceeds my expectations and will form one of the most attractive objects we have. I have as yet paid only about \$100 for freight and work: but presume there is a bill behind of some \$200.

1854

April 16, 1854.

Another term is closed in college and it has been as full of trials as anyone I have ever passed through. I requested the Trustees to meet and consider certain changes in the affairs of College which had been introduced contrary to my wishes. But the result has been a great increase of labour and anxiety to me although they probably did not intend it. While they passed by several of the most trying things to which I directed their attention they took...

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...up others which I did not suggest and the result was the immediate resignation of one of the officers whose resignation contrary to my advice was at once accepted and thus his labours were thrown upon me almost entirely almost entirely and almost entirely. Another officer was taken off from his labours by sickness and his place also in a measure I had to supply. The third left for Europe a month before the close of the term and I had to take his place too. But what was worse than all this the anti-secret and secret societies having become so numerous that they cannot flourish made an onset upon the Faculty and pressed their unreasonable demands the more because they knew our numbers to be reduced and our health to be wretched hoping in such circumstances to carry points which we should refuse at another time.

Such a load of labor and anxiety has been absolutely intolerable. Though deserving it as a punishment

for my sins I take it as an invitation of Providence that I may now quit the office of President which I have held nine years. I have been anxiously waiting long for some decided indication of the Divine Will and now I think I have it and have made up my mind to address a letter to the Trustees urging my resignation. I wish to try to leave without a quarrel with anyone and to keep my mouth closed however insulted and tempted to vindicate myself. God in infinite mercy...

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...help me to carry these resolutions into effect and place me in some situation where I can earn enough to keep my family comfortable and leave me more of leisure to set my house and heart in order for those solemn scenes that cannot be far ahead. I am willing to work hard and live poor: as long as life lasts: but I cannot endure so much responsibility and perplexity as now come upon me labouring as I long have under such a depression of spirit and nervous irritation as to threaten mental derangement unless I get released.

Sabbath June 18th 1854 .

Oh what a week of anxiety and conflict has the last one been! Three quarters of the College threw themselves through...

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Private Notes Part 3 1854

[Edward Hitchcock, "Private Notes," pp. 259-466, 1854 Jun 18 to 1864 Feb 5, EOH, Series 7-C, Box 19: folder 5]

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...not intentionally perhaps into a state of rebellion by determining to go on an excursion to Holyoke in spite of the Faculty. To make them see their error and bring them back to duty has been one of the most difficult and trying efforts I have ever made: terribly racking the brain and rasping the nervous system - paralyzing the powers of digestion - driving away sleep and keeping the mind in such a state of tension as is deeply painful and frustrating. I have a hope that we may succeed in getting over the difficulty without breaking up the College which seemed very doubtful a few days ago. The matter however is not quite...

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...settled and some new volcanic outbreak may yet prostrate all my hopes. But if we should escape this peril it will be the result of Divine Influence. For in utter despair of my own wisdom or ability I cast the case on God with strong crying and tears as I do still. The hardest part of the case has been to prevent some of the Faculty who have had but little experience in College government from precipitating measures so as to involve us in inextricable difficulties. I refer particularly to one individual who seems determined to thwart all my wishes and plans and insult me as much as possible. I have never found it so hard to keep down old Adam within me and prevent an open rupture as in his case nor have ever prayed so earnestly for grace to forgive my enemies. Oh if God will only carry me through this term without open collision and without outbreak in College and will then give me a release how will I bless his name even though poverty and want be my portion!

Upon the whole I have never seen a time when the peace and prosperity of the College was in greater jeopardy although to the world abroad it seems to be prosperous. But if such counsels prevail as I have been long resisting I shall be surprised if the students do not scatter like birds that have been fired upon. My only hope is in God who can easily change the whole aspect of things. Oh that he might interpose and...

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...save an Institution that has been cradled and built up in prayer and which through its graduates is doing so much for the world. I do pray that he will place it in the hands of men who are not seeking merely to live easily and acquire a literary reputation but are willing to work hard and to pray earnestly for the spiritual welfare of the pupils. Oh God may not the day ever come when revivals of religion shall cease in Amherst College: then shall Ichabod be written upon it!

December 30th 1854

The change in my condition which I have long been desirous of has at length been accomplished and the

circumstances have been as merciful as I could have hoped for. The character of my successor as a literary man and as a preacher is such as I could wish. I do not expect indeed that he will take the same interest in scientific matters as I have done. But Providence has so smiled upon the College in this respect that I should if the Professors in that department are faithful our scientific standing will not suffer.

But I am cheered with the deep interest Dr. Stearns seems to take in the religious affairs of the College and trust that his efforts in that direction will be efficient and persevering and receive the Divine blessing. I should hope also that I may do quite as much to promote this cause as I have done now that I hope to have more leisure. I am to be released from the government and police of the College and though I have the same amount...

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...of instruction to give the prospect of release from the vexations of governing the College already affords relief to my spirits. I have indeed had to work harder than ever in my life up to the close of last term: but we had no disturbances in College and though I worked hard in revising and supplying the place of absent officers did not wear upon me as former labours have done. I have indeed some anxiety about obtaining the means of supporting my family as my salary is to be small (\$500 with the Manikin used without charge). But I must try to eke it out in some way or other and if I have strength I do not fear. I have been trying giving lectures abroad this vacation but though it produces some income it is more than I ought to attempt in the cold weather of winter. I will trust Providence however for the little time that remains.

I feel deeply thankful that in my valedictory address I was able to present so satisfactory an account of the state of the College. Since I assumed the Presidency its numbers have just doubled (from 118 to 237) its funds are in good condition a new cabinet observatory and library have been built and filled and its means of instruction enlarged. To that address however I would refer for details. But I cannot but record my indebtedness to God for crowning my efforts to obtain the means of erecting a new cabinet.

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Though I had applied to the Trustees of the will of the late Samuel Appleton a year ago the answer had been long delayed that had nearly despaired of success but the answer came (a donation of \$10,000) only the evening before I left my office. I have prayed for Divine Guidance when I made the application and I therefore record the result as another instance of Special Providence in favour of Amherst College. Others may call this fancy but to me it is delightful reality and I will say to such as doubt *live on in thy faith: but in mine will I die.*

Another year is closing and in my altered circumstances it becomes me to look back not only upon the last twelve months but upon the whole course of life. Still am I called upon to rejoice and bless God that my wife and children are spared to me and that we are again quietly located in the old domicile which we occupied for twenty years and during our nearly ten years absence from it God has not sent death though sickness among us. Two of our children are married and one of these presents us with Edward the third as our grandson. May the succession become more and more useful - I do not say distinguished for I am afraid to ask distinction for my posterity. It might prove the greatest curse. But God will give or withhold that as seemeth him good.

How strange and ever marvelous have been the events of my life! It seems to me now to be made up almost of Special Providences...

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...checked with seasons of distrust and ingratitude on my part.

1855

June 22^d 1855

In corroboration of the remarks made at the close of the last entry I have now to record another most Special Providence. For the last week eight weeks I have been passing through a season of great anxiety on account of my wife who experienced a terrible accident which I thought at the time must be fatal. She fell head foremost upon a brick sidewalk eight feet in consequence of the criminal carelessness of those who neglected to put up a railing to a walk on Phoenix Row. I sprang after her because I thought she was killed and she seemed dead when I raised her up. But her senses returned and though she has suffered much and is very feeble I think she gains a little - though it would be strange if she ever gets back into the same state as before the accident as there appear to be some internal difficulties either of the nerves or muscles. The loss of blood also was very great from a wound in the head.

I desire to leave in record a testimony to the faithfulness of God in hearing my prayers in this case in a more striking manner than I ever before perhaps experienced. I cannot state the case and all its details as they lie in my mind but will mention a few.

From the first I felt more confident in prayer than in surgical skill because it seemed to me to demand special interposition and perhaps...

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...a counteraction of nature's laws. That God could do this without a miracle has been with a favor doctrine which I have tried to defend as my writings will testify. In a full and strong faith in this principle I pleaded with God that He would now make such special interposition. It has seemed as if that prayer had been most strikingly answered. For several weeks some of the work regarding symptoms were misunderstood by the physician attending. I became satisfied at length that a set of false teeth with a plate one and a half inches long and an inch broad had been lodged in her throat for these weeks and I suggested a council of physicians next day to make an examination. That night was to me one of the great and sleepless anxiety and prayer. But before the physicians came the whole difficulty of deglutition and spasmodic pains in the chest has suddenly disappeared. The teeth had evidently passed into the stomach. What a relief! How wonderfully had God interposed! Yet some anxiety still remained lest such a ragged indigestible body might occasion trouble in some of the more lower viscera. Again I found myself stirred up to plead with God that she would He would interpose. I have scarcely left my closet before it was announced to me that unceremoniously and without injury the teeth had escaped. Such a statement on account of the nature of the subject if made public would exert only a smile or a jeer. But as a matter of private history I leave it on record for those personal friends

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...who may read this journal and I hope that they may join me in ascriptions of praise to Him who so splendidly interposed to rescue my beloved wife in times of extreme peril.

I have elsewhere remarked that the loss of my wife was almost the only trial that I could not think of with composure. And when such loss seemed inevitable without special Divine Help I found that I had not overestimated the trial. It seemed as if my worldly plans and pursuits were no longer worthy of interest and I found it hard to give them the attention duty demanded. I felt almost certain that her departure would be only the near precursor of my own. But God in wonderful mercy has spared me this trial and hope now decidedly predominates that for a little time longer I may have the counsel assistance and love of one to whom I have so long been bound by the tenderest and the strongest ties. Oh that I might better improve the blessings of her Christian example her invaluable service and her unfaltering attachment to me.

August 5, 1855.

Today my youngest child Emily has made a public profession of her faith in Christ - the supposed change in her character having taken place during the revival last spring. All my children are now members of the church and indulge hope of heaven. But I am sure that such a blessing has not been granted on account of my fidelity or holy example or anything on my part. Even so Father for so it hath served good in thy sight...

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...is all I can say. Would that my venerable friend Rev. Daniel Poor whose agency in these spiritual blessings I have elsewhere noticed were alive that I might communicate to him the joyful news that the whole six are now apparently in the ark. But he probably knows it all or may soon know it.

The facts above stated make me feel that another strong reason why it would seem desirable that I should live has been taken away. While any of my children were without the good Shepherd's fold I might well desire to live to do what I could to bring them in. But if they are indeed all converted and I cannot deceive then may I die in the hope of meeting them all in heaven. I bless God that I have been spared till I can indulge this hope. It will be to sweeten the bitterness of death when the hour comes and if my faith were in exercise as it should be perhaps I should even now adopt the language of Simeon, *Lord, lettest now thy servant depart in peace for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!* I can truly say I have seen thy salvation and may I be willing to depart whenever God has nothing further for me to do on earth. Yet while he allows me to remain how gratefully should I engage in any labour which his Providence appoints.

November 3^d 1855

I have never perhaps found my hands fuller or my time more occupied than for several months past. In addition to my own private affairs which have been too much neglected for several years past I have...

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...had several objects of a public nature on hand such as getting up a sidewalk in the village (accomplished at length after several years effort) building and fitting out a geological lecture room and building a new cabinet (the Appleton). Most of these duties are rather pleasant but quite engrossing. Then an unusual number of new facts in science have opened unexpectedly upon me and awakened my former enthusiasm as a remarkable fossil (jaw of a fish) from Indiana - fossil bones from Springfield - a fossil shell and fern from Mt. Tom and especially new fossil footmarks. Eleven boxes more of Nineveh specimens have also been forwarded and for all these objects a good deal of money is required and my skill in this direction is tried to the utmost. Moreover I am trying to get my collection of fossil footmarks into the new Ichnological Cabinet - the first one ever erected. It must be done this fall or the larger ones now out of doors will be ruined.

All these objects with a course of instruction in geology severely taxes my time. But I want to work just as hard as possible: though I fear that I have been too much diverted of late from my spiritual concerns and sometimes almost believe that Satan has had something to do in presenting before me so many interesting worldly objects in order to draw me away from God and eternal things.

It is among my strongest desires that I may live long enough to get my specimens of footmarks arranged in the new Cabinet: if I should be...

Page ?

...taken away without doing it they would be of comparatively small value as many of them are not ticketed or named.

I have made several engagements to lecture abroad the coming winter chiefly on the bearings of geology upon religion. The applications have been numerous: I have accepted those from several western cities which I have never visited. I find that many in that quarter seem to have confidence in me as a geologist and I am satisfied that an effort to illustrate religion by science will do good especially at the west. I am also drawn partly by a hope of eking out a deficient salary and the wish to go with my wife to Cincinnati where my daughter resides. But my engagements look formidable when I think of them and the winter. I find my system this autumn to be running quite low and nothing but God's power can carry me through my engagements. I pray for strength to do whatever he wishes me to accomplish and to prepare me for whatever is before me.

I have been often importuned by my children and others to leave on record some facts respecting my early life and especially the means by which I have been able to accomplish what little I have. The religious part of these details has been given in this journal: and I fear I can add but little else of much interest. Memory I find has become treacherous so that details are fading from its canvass. I fear too that I cannot find much time for this retrospect. That has...

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...indeed been the main reason why I have omitted it so long.

Let me say at the outset that what I have done has been the almost exclusive result of God's blessing upon hard work temperance and unflinching perseverance.

Providence gave me a constitution singular in some respects. So feeble is the organ of hope in my

cranium that I very rarely dare expect success in any important enterprise which I undertake. And yet when I fairly take hold of it I persevere with a tenacity that looks as if I was sanguine of success beyond all reason. I hardly know what to make of these seemingly contradictory traits of character. But they are real and every year brings out their features more and more distinctly. And they have had the effect to lead me to adopt every possible means of success and to exercise constant watchfulness till I was sure of the victory.

My parents both belong to families rather long lived. But my mother was in the latter part of her life dreadfully afflicted with nervous debility and feeble digestion. Certain circumstances - thundershower for instance or the absence of a member of the family beyond the expected time - would produce in her such intense and uncontrollable anxiety that she would walk the room and wring her hands in agony and towards the close of life she was constantly anticipating some dreadful calamity. It was generally little things however that...

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...produced the alarm for when great and real evils came such as sickness and death she would be calm and rational.

It was from my mother doubtless that I inherited a dyspeptic and nervous diathesis. With proper management it might probably have been much later in being developed. But I was quite ignorant of the laws of health and as I now see violated them all and as a consequence dyspepsy had become settled upon me considerably before my twentieth year. I had also been afflicted from my earliest years with glandular swellings etc. which were regarded as scrofulous. My physician also thought my lungs weak and my subsequent history (bleeding at the lungs and failure of the voice when speaking as well as a cough of 20 years studying) confirm his opinion.

As I grew up these germs of disease were gradually developed and have constituted apparently the greatest drawback upon my success and happiness of anything I have ever met. Dyspepsy in its Protean forms with the failure of my sight as related on a former page have probably taken away half my time: I mean with vigorous health I could have performed twice the amount of study that I have done. But after all I am inclined to the opinion that such a constitution as mine has been a principal means of giving me success in scientific pursuits. The morbid state of my nerves has indeed been terrible to endure with its consequent depression of spirits. But when that same acute sensibility has...

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...been turned to noble themes it has awakened a deeper enthusiasm and more vigorous efforts by far than I should have felt in a state of health. I have been compelled also to be temperate in all things and thus although I could not labour paroxysmally I have been able to keep constantly at work. I have never devoted much time to mere relaxation and amusement except an occasional change of pursuit which I regard as nearly equivalent to total cessation from labour.

I do not think there were any very precocious developments in my early history unless it were unusual obstinacy and self will. My father though a most excellent man I do not think held the reins quite tight enough over me. I recollect however one sample of his discipline with gratitude because I think it did me good. I had wandered away one sabbath into the meadows. He followed me and I recollect to this day how sharply the switches of a stick in his hand were laid upon me and though it roused my wrath it

opened my eyes and in a measure broke my will. I recollect also on another occasion when I was ugly towards my mother her brother (Gen. Ep. Hoyt) chased me through the snow and when I was tumbled into a drift he pelted it into my face till I thought I should not be able to breathe again. But it subdued me and made me see my vileness. On another occasion I remember crying so loud one night on being put to bed the people in the street came in to see what the matter was. This did me good because it made me ashamed of myself. I do not know how old I was.

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I think that my earliest history exhibited a good deal of peculiarity and not a little of idiosyncrasy of character. I was never content to follow in the beaten track but was always seeking out some side path. After I got interested in the study of science this trait of character was more fully developed and it had not a little to do with my success. I looked upon ordinary amusement and recreations with a sort of contempt. I never learned how to dance or to play cards and never I think attended a ball or more than once or twice till I got into a profession sat down to dinner or supper at a public house. But my poverty was one reason that prevented such indulgencies and my rigid economy of time another. What little money I could get I devoted to the purchase of books and as I had to labor all day my evenings were very precious.

My father was poor and had hard work to gain a comfortable support for his family. He got into debt in time of the Revolutionary war by the purchase of an old shop in which to pursue his trade as a hatter and it was not till my brother Charles hired himself out for six months that this debt was canceled. Afterwards I had to work for my brother on some hired land in part to reward him for his generous self denial. I liked such kind of work very well except that it interfered with my studies and I well remember how grateful I was for rainy days.

My father was a man of strong mind and no mean literary taste. It was chiefly theology however to which he devoted himself of what she had a good knowledge. He used to write a good deal in his old shop and some sermons which he has left are quite reasonably written. He was led to this partly by the bitter trials he had to pass through in connection with the introduction of Unitarianism into the church of which he was a deacon. He also kept in his shop a few poor carpenter's and cooper's tools and these I often used: for early attempted to set up some machines such as...

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...saw mills and planetariums – a whirling table - wooden quadrants - an annular sphere – a globe etc. etc. They were poorly made and must have been so with such tools. For years I had a strong passion for such occupations and spent much time upon them. I do not think that I ever excelled in delicate mechanical work. But in coarse work I did something. It was while yet little more than a boy that I superintended the framing of two buildings of considerable size although I had never worked with a carpenter a day. But working by the square rule I had complete success.

1857

May 24th 1857

This is my sixty fourth birthday. And though every thing around me is bursting into life at this delightful vernal season yet it becomes me to turn my thoughts forward to death and eternity especially as the present state of my health reads to me an impressive lecture on my frailty and liability to be suddenly removed. In consequence of an extremely hard journey in Vermont and exposure to storms I have developed anew a difficulty in my heart of which I have formerly spoken in this journal.

But after all how wonderful that I should be recording the details of my feelings on my 64th birth day. I who more than 30 years ago suppose that my work was nearly done...

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...yet through what labours have I since been carried. And even the last year I have been able to work almost incessantly. I have published one new work entitled *Religious Truth Illustrated by Science* and another which has cost me a great deal of labour for 9 or 10 years past has just been carried through the press by the Smithsonian Institution. *Illustrations of Surface Geology* in 155 quarto pages with 12 plates. I have also written and presented to the Government of Massachusetts a report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley especially the Fossil Footmarks and the Government are ready to publish it. The details and the plates however are not yet ready and with my present health I fear will not be soon. I feel a strong desire to describe the new species of footmarks which are in the Ichnological Cabinet and which have cost me so much time and labor to collect. But God will do as seemeth him good as to enabling me to complete this work. I want to live in such a manner that I shall be willing to drop my work - all my unfinished plans and the very midst whenever he calls for me - to give them all up cheerfully.

I fear however that the numerous objects of interest that continue to open before me and invite investigation do not operate very favorably upon my spiritual interests. They leave too little time for the direct cultivation of the graces of the Christian character. God enable me to use the few remaining sands of life that they shall all bring forth fruit to...

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...God's glory and man's good! I am startled and made solemn when I realize how very few these remaining days must be at the longest and how probably they will be cut short and suddenly terminated.

I have lately undertaken to complete the geological survey of Vermont after it has been in the hands of three men two of whom are in their graves and the fruits of their labour almost lost. Let us say here that I should not have engaged in the work had it not given me an opportunity to introduce my sons into it as my assistants. I have not hoped to do much more than to get them so well acquainted with the work that they can go on with it if I am taken away. I thought it my duty to give them this opportunity. But the commencement of the enterprise has been quite disastrous to myself - having been begun too early in the season - and I know not but I am to be the fourth individual whose earthly career is to be terminated before the survey. I have engaged in it reluctantly although I mean to be faithful to the state as long as God gives me strength. I go forward with great reluctance.

July 12th

I ought to mention another object for which I have been several years labouring and which is now accomplished. I mean the erection of a Nineveh Gallery in connection with the Woods Cabinet. To find the man to build it and others to contribute for the expences of the specimens...

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...has been a work of no small labour. But God has rewarded my persevering efforts beyond what I thought of. Not only have us a noble collection from Nineveh - the largest I suppose in the country including the bricks the coins the cylinders and the gems - but I have preserved some very fine frescoes of the most interesting figures dug from the old palaces. So that this gallery I fancy to a large proportion of visitors will be the most attractive of our collections. And I cannot doubt that it will exert s fine influence upon many by bringing before them fresh proof and tangible of the truth of the Old Testament history and also by awakening a missionary spirit. There is another anchor thrown out by which Amherst College is moored to the...

[Two missing pages, 293 and 294.]

...was procured by me! Oh let not the rush there will be for my place when I am gone lead them to be ungrateful. They know what I have done for the College since it is a matter of history: and perhaps some of my family may also let them know what were my feelings on the subject when my tongue can no longer tell its own story.

September 20th 1857

An act of justice has recently been done to me by the Regents of the N. Y. University in their Report for 1857 on the condition of the State Cabinet of Natural History which I would record as an expression of my gratitude to them and as furnishing an item of information to my children which they will probably be glad to know. It relates to the origination of the Association of American Geologists in 1838 which has now...

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...expanded into the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences. When I received Professor Mather's letter in 1849 it seemed to me so palpable an act of injustice that its origins should be ascribed to another when I knew that I had first suggested that it that I put his letter into the hands of the publishing committee of the Association. But they did not feel that they had any power to alter any statement without the directions of the Association and returned the letter. I should have laid it before the Association had I not come to the conclusion that I had better forgo the honor than thus publicly to contend for it. But I have observed often when I have been willing to leave my reputation to be taken care of by Providence it has been fully vindicated in unexpected ways and without awakening envy and enmity which are usually the result of one's urging his own claims. In this case I had only to wait seven years and the opportunity was presented to me before an audience of 5000 embracing a larger part of the scientific men of the country to allude to it without impropriety as I thought in my speech in Albany and then in the report of that speech for the Regents to add the history. Must I not look upon this as providential - specially so?

There is another standing act of injustice towards the first formers of this Association which I must hope will yet be revoked. In the published proceedings of the body as well as in the daily schedule published during its sittings the Association is represented as having commenced in 1847 when it changed its name and the list of presiding officers is given only to that time thus ignoring the previous eight years of its existence and all its officers although its proceedings were essentially the same from the first.

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This injustice was not done as I believe by a vote of the Association but by the Publishing Committee and it ought by some of the other members to be brought before the whole body and I cannot doubt that the matter would be set right. But who will take the labouring oar?

1858

March 6 1858.

I have been strikingly taught of late that my poor physical system has nearly reached the end of its conflict with disease and I must soon give way. Perhaps I never suffered more bodily than during the past week the consequence perhaps of exposure in my Cabinet but really the result of causes farther back and deeper. For nearly a year (since a hard week spent in Vermont last spring) the action of my heart has been irregular: but now form of pneumonia adds to the difficulty. It appears to me that my entire mucous membrane is in a diseased state and that the terrible cough that often comes over me is the result of this irritation and inflammation of all the viscera. I do not expect ever to be much better and my most earnest prayer is to be willing to lie in the furnace as long as God wills. If I can only feel ready to die I will not complain of pain and anguish. They are mingled with so many mercies that I have occasion for gratitude rather than complaint. I am in my own quiet home watched over by my own beloved wife who seems more than ever an angel of mercy. And then two of our children (Mary and Charles) are with us to take care of the family and are willing to do anything for the comfort of their parents.

I have occasion to speak of the Divine Goodness in another respect. I have been spared to accomplish another great work of my life – a work of...

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...science yet one on which I have long laboured. I mean the completion of a Report on the Fossil Footmarks of New England made to the Government of the State. Though not yet printed yet the Plates 60 in number have all been lithographed and the manuscript is ready. In connection with this by the aid of my son Charles all the specimens in the Ichnotological Cabinet have named and labeled and thus with my Report is their value to the College increased tenfold. I never expected to live long enough to see all this. It brings me no pecuniary reward but after more than 20 years of hard toil and study on the subject it would be strange if I should think much of this if I can only get it fairly before the scientific world as I think it will be through the liberality of the Government. To obtain a Cabinet and the specimens I have begged as much as \$13,000 and given specimens worth \$2000 more. Oh how little will the world ever know much of toil and anxiety all this has cost me especially as I have had to accomplish it in spite of a

least one very bitter enemy so situated as to be able to do much to thwart me. But let all that pass: for God has defended me and carried me through and I cannot but hope that some glory may redound to Him from my development however imperfect of this curious history. It is not yet fully unfolded and I have been amazed at the progress I have been able to make since 1848. I can now also leave one individual who understands it almost as well as myself and who can carry forward the investigation should he live in this valley - I refer to my son Charles who by aiding me the past year has made more commendable progress in the knowledge of the 119 (or 719?) species of Lithichnozoa which I...

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...have described. I think he would be able to recognize them all – where as I know of no other man living who could distinguish ten of them.

In rewriting my will of late I was led to make an estimate of the amount (reckoned in money) which I have been the means either by gift or solicitation of adding to the Treasury the buildings or collections of Amherst College. It amounts to about \$100,000 (\$115,000) as stated below.

For the Hitchcock Professorship of Natural Theology and Geology by S. Williston \$22,000

Endowment of the presidency by Mr. Williston \$20,000

Grant by the state Legislature \$25,000

Woods Cabinet and observatory by aid of Hon. J. B. Woods \$9000

Geological Lecture Room by L. Sweetser \$1000

Donations to Ichnological Cabinets by various individuals \$2600

Nineveh Gallery (Enos Dickinson \$567 + 598 from various individuals) \$1165

2000 sample minerals from myself \$1000

Fossil Footmarks (my collection) \$2000

Rocks and Minerals of Massachusetts (given by my will) 3100 specimens
\$1500

U. States collection 2000 specimens and 500 English rocks by Will \$1200

Professor Adams Collections \$5000

Indian relics presented by Edward Hitchcock Jr. though not at my suggestion \$500

Contributions to the Library at least \$200

Ad for this Appleton cabinet \$10,000 plus the pictures equals 30,000

Total \$102,165

Additional for Appleton Cabinet \$10,000 + the fixtures = \$3000

\$13,000

Of the above I have given directly to the College \$5700: and been the means of attaining from others \$96,265 (\$129,265). I might add a rather large sum for drawings on a large scale which I have for 33 years procured and used at my own expense. I pass by also the Library enterprise because others obtained the money although the labours I had to go through and the battles to fight before it was accomplished are equal to anything in my experience.

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Nor do I say anything of Professor Shepard's magnificent Cabinet though to bring that here was a leading object for building the Woods Cabinet. I know not what part of it Professor Shepard will leave to the College if any though I confidently hope that the main part of it will permanently remain.

It is not an overestimate then to say that Providence has made me the instrument of adding to the funds and means of the College close to one hundred (and fifteen) thousand dollars six thousand of which are gifts and legacies from myself. But the time when the largest of these benefactions were obtained from the Mr. Williston, Hitchcock and the Legislature is important to be noticed. It was when the institution was in so depressed a state that one of its most judicious Trustees suggested to me whether it would not be best to change it into an...

[Missing pages 305 – 310]

...ished life and to whom they are bound to pay only a cold respect. But thanks to God he does not bring this upon a man till he ought to have had Christian experience enough and experience enough of the time serving policy of most men not to expect much but suffering and mortification from the world when you can be no longer of much use in it. God grant that I may find evidence in my experience of this highest attainment of Christian character in the uncomplaining endurance of neglect and ingratitude!

1859

January 1st 1859

It is passing strange to me that this hand is still able to make record at the opening of 1859. Why have not those complicated complaints which have so long been at work to break down the citadel of life and from which I have suffered so much accomplished their work and laid me in the grave?

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Surely it is God's help alone that has held me up. He has given me strength too to labour abundantly though often with much suffering and to accomplish several objects which I could not have hoped to

complete a few years ago. My Report on Footmarks is at last before me completed though not yet published. This has been a laborious work - more than 20 years of laborious research. Who will ever know the amount of labour and study which I have devoted to it? And it has cost me money too - had I not started the Cabinet by giving specimens myself worth \$2000 I never should have been able to add nearly \$4000 to that sum for the purchase of specimens and \$10,000 for the erection of the Cabinet. As the reward all this I am now assailed by the eulogist of the late Dr. Deane (Dr. Bowditch) with all the bitterness and illiberality which he showed towards me while living. I have never seen such an entire misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the early history of the affair as Dr. Bowditch has given. I am not willing to believe that he has intentionally misstated the facts: but if he had been willfully intent upon injuring me by a perversion of them he could not have done more. I have as distinct a consciousness that I first scientifically investigated and described the footmarks as I have any past event in my history. I claim only this not that I first found the tracks and this is all I do claim. To attempt to prove that I have no such claim and that I have attempted to injure Dr. Deane in this matter is as unjust as if I were charged with theft or murder. I have added to my Report a synopsis of the whole subject...

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...but as I had not then seen Dr. Bowditch's pamphlet I could not meet his misrepresentations. Nor will my Report be seen but by few so that I shall probably suffer in my reputation from his attacks and those of others. Alas how low an opinion of the value of scientific honor do such facts give us! Of all things in this world the last I should have supposed it possible for envy or enmity to deprive me of would be the credit of the first scientific investigation and description of fossil footmarks. How uncertain and unsatisfying a thing then is mere scientific reputation and honor! Oh if a man has nothing else to rest upon he is poor indeed.

I meet too with great difficulties and perplexities in the Vermont survey - so as to make me regret that I ever undertook it. Though I have laboured in it for two years more or less I have never received a cent for my services and doubt whether I ever shall. This is not my greatest trial. I will not however go into particulars. I will only say that though I have endeavored to do my duty I have met with no response to my appeals to the Legislature.

During a year or two past I have experienced an unusual number of bitter personal assaults upon my writings and reputation. On the one hand infidel and semi infidel writers exasperated by my attempts to show that geology sustains the bible and evangelical doctrines have procured poured their venom upon me in such papers as the Boston Investigator and Boston Post. On the other hand honest and zealous men such as Reverend Mr. Laterno of England regard and treat me as an infidel because I admit...

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...the facts of geology and give a word of new meaning to some passages of scripture. I have also given offense to Universalists by my lectures on the Divine Benevolence and hence Dr. Brooks has attacked me though not bitterly like the others. In short I find men of all creeds take advantage of my retirement from the Presidency of the College which they regard as evidence that I have done and can no longer defend myself to assail me with unusual violence.

Now as the righteous judgment of God this is all right. I deserve it all and much more. Yet it does serve to make me feel the vanity of the world and embitters the closing years of life. It is the wretched state of my health however that makes these things so trying. For on the other hand I have abundant testimony

that the books especially which have brought upon me such severe attacks are accomplishing not a little to remove doubts and difficulties as to the bible and to give confidence in that book among Christians.

I ought also to remember how much the blessings of Providence exceed my trials. Though suffering so much from infirmity and depression of spirits yet my situation is such now that I am not now as formerly compelled to overwork and aggravate my complaints and then my wife and children are all continued to me and all continue to give evidence that they are seeking better country and the prospect of usefulness on earth. And then the members of College treat me with respect and my intercourse with them...

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...is pleasant and I hope I am still of some service to the College. My efforts to increase its cabinets continue to be much prospered. And then my youngest son has received an appointment as Lecturer in Zoology and Curator of the cabinets which if he succeeds may lead to his falling at length into my place where I hope he may be permitted to carry out some of my unaccomplished plans.

These things and many others should awaken lively gratitude today. I hope they do. But my trials have perhaps too much given the shades of the picture today. In retirement in the house of God and at the communion table my soul has been unusually impressed with eternal things. They have seemed remarkable vivid and near. I cannot but feel that the probability is faint of my seeing another year and I long to be prepared to go. I dread the dark valley but if Christ will be with me then I shall not be overwhelmed and lost and then how glorious how attractive the scenes beyond! There are no enemies to misrepresent and distort my motives and fix a stigma upon my name or filch a hard earned reputation from me but all will receive according to their deserts or rather infinitely better. Oh blessed would be my heart pants after this! Oh blessed Saviour how much more bitter were thy enemies than mine and how much more undeserved thy sufferings. God give me a forgiving spirit towards all my fellow men and should this be my last year on earth may the first experience of heaven make amends for all my trials here!

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While on the subject of originality it may gratify my children if nobody else if I put down such things as now occur to me in which I was the first to suggest some valuable thought or plan. I am sure that in the following cases I was entirely original.

1. In investigating and describing the Fossil Footmarks
2. In suggesting the formation of an American Scientific Association. Both these points have been sufficiently described perhaps on the previous page.
3. Proof of the general Benevolence of God from geology.
4. Proof from Geology of Special Divine Intervention in nature
5. Proofs from Geology of Special Providence
6. All of my lecture on the Telegraphic Systems of the universe after the second head.

7. Mode of commanding the objection to the resurrection of the body by the nature of bodily identity.
8. The religious bearings of man's creation.
9. The use of diagrams and specimens in sermons.
10. Mineralogical illustrations of character.
11. The cross in nature and nature in the cross.
12. Incidental Evil peculiar to a fallen world.
13. Modified views of the symbolic theory of the demiurgic days in Genesis as given in a supplementary lecture in forthcoming editions of my Religion of Geology soon to be issued in Boston and also in London.
14. Arguments to show that the earth had a revolution on its axis as early as when in a molten state - see same lecture.

I might make further references. But as to the above whether they are of any value or not...

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...I am sure they were original that is I did not derive them from others. I am not aware that similar ideas have been advanced by others save that I think I have seen some of them in writers since they were brought out by me.

It is a curious fact that in nearly every case where original thoughts have been advanced by me the leading idea has flashed upon me in the moment on awakening from refreshing sleep at three or four o'clock in the morning after studying upon the subject the previous evening. In that way have a large part of the plans of my sermons lectures and addresses been obtained by me. For a remarkable case of this work I would refer to my Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts page 532. The change of use their stated as to the rocks of Eastern Massachusetts although nothing of this kind is stated was the result of such a sudden moving development while the work was passing through the press in my mind had long been exercised upon those rocks.

I cannot but believe that in such cases my mind has been at work on the subject indicated while asleep and with more success than when awake - as perhaps it ought to do to make my productions respectable.

I ought to have added to the above examples of original thought in my writings the History of a Zoological Temperance Convention. I had never seen anything nearer like it than Esops Fables.

I have dabbled some in poetry. If any of my expressions have merit I think it is some of my hymns. But really my greatest favorite is an acrostic which I wrote upon my wife's name before marriage.

It follows:

Oer the dark clouds Of cheerless thickening enO
Restoring hope, Robed sweetly brightly faiR
Rises in gloRy smild a morningstaR
And lights my course Along life's stormy seA.

Here it was necessary that the figure (a most appropriate one to my condition that of a person sailing over a stormy sea in the dark night and catching sight of a bright star rising above the clouds) should be carried out and at the same time the proper letters be placed at the beginning and end and middle of each line and also a certain number of syllables to form each line. All this is done. I think it would be impossible for me to do it now.

February 27th 1859

The apprehensions of sickness expressed under my last entry have been realized. For the last six weeks I have been confined mostly to the sick room though lately through the great mercy of God I have been able to ride out a little. It is the severest sickness I have ever passed through and I supposed it my last. And even now though my friends regard me as getting well my disease appears to have left my lungs and throat in such a state that I regard it as doubtful whether my worn out powers can ever bring me back to anything like health. My disease was called pneumonia: but in fact almost all my internal organs were diseased as in fact they have been for many years. It seemed to me...

...to be an extreme aggravation and culmination of my old complaints. The type of the disease was essentially that of which my father died and from which I have often suffered and I may add which probably at last will take me out of the world. Why I am spared now seems strange while others round have been taken and by the same complaint. Can it be that God has anything more for me to do here? Oh if so let me do it with all diligence thankful for the privilege. Never before did it seem such a privilege to do anything for God or man as during this sickness. It seems to me that nothing which I can do for Him ought to be regarded as small. My motto now is *every thing which we would do for God or at his command is Great.*

This sickness has been attended with great suffering such as I never before experienced and did not believe my system capable of enduring. But it has been attended with great mercy. I have been taken care of entirely night and day by my own wife and children and it may be I owe my life to their watchful care. I have reason to think also that my physicians have shown great skill in my case. But that these means have so far restored me I must believe has been the first fruit of prayer which I know has been abundant and fervent with my family and in College and I have reason to think elsewhere. I have been surprised to find how deep an interest my recovery has been manifested in College and the community around me. I had supposed...

...that most would consider my days of usefulness at an end and be rather indifferent when I was called. But I found it quite different and when I found it so I felt a desire to recover. In the early part of my sickness I felt at heart a strange indifference as to recovery and requested my friends not to pray for a continuance of life but only that I might be entirely submissive to the Divine will whether it were life or death. I have reason to fear that this indifference as to recovery or even desire to go was not the result of thorough preparation but partly because the effects of long continued suffering from poor health and partly from a feeling that my days of usefulness were nearly over. Afterwards when there was a prospect of recovery it did seem to me that it would be a great privilege if I could live to do whatever little more and I think that probably this is a more healthy state of feeling than the one first described and yet if the soul have a good hope through grace there is something fascinating especially to an old and worn out man in the feeling that his work on earth is done and that after a few more pains he may enter into rest. Moreover I find that as strength begins to return sin again shows its hateful head and stirs up war in the soul.

I wish I had time and strength to detail my religious feelings more fully during this sickness. They were different from my former experiences to some...

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...extent. When assailed by fierce disease my mind seemed more decided than usual and I reasoned thus. The great plan of salvation by Christ is certainly true - for years I have had not one doubt about it. Long ago I have tried to except of salvation through the cross and entered into solemn covenant with God. That I can surely trust. But if it is my case I fear is hopeless for what can I do if I must take up the whole subject *de novo* amid the wild tempest of disease. I will rather cast myself on Christ and cling to his cross till he forcibly shakes me off. If he do it I am assuredly lost. But I will trust and not be afraid. I know not how it was - it might have been deception but my soul did rest here and was calm.

It was calmness however rather than strong emotion. The absence of this is my chief fear that I was deceived. The ground on which my confidence rested I am sure was right. My fear is that mine was a process of reasoning rather than the impulse of holy affections.

April 17th 1859

I have lived to write an last Sabbath to preach a sermon in College Chapel on my sickness. It was listened to with much apparent interest and awakened strong emotions although it seems to me to be poorly written. The thoughts are such as passed through my mind this during my sickness: but how much more vivid then than now on paper.

During the last week also I have been publicly presented...

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...in the chapel at the close of the Spring Exhibition with a splendid service of silver plate of the value of \$250 from the officers and students of the College as a *Testimonial of their personal regard and of their high appreciation of the services for science and the College*. During the present term I have also received a very elegant serpentine tabletop from the Senior Class.

These presents were both entirely unexpected by me and I honestly think that the first one was more costly and splendid than was necessary or expedient. But I have no doubt it was got up with a sincere desire to do me honor and to gratify the feelings of an old man who worked hard and long in the College just as he was getting up from prostration and severe sickness. I accept these presents as full evidence that by the members of College I am appreciated quite as highly as I ought to be. Of this I have never had any doubts and in the complaints I have made on a previous page of this journal of neglect I did not mean to include the officers and students of the College. Probably it would have been better not to have complained of any one as to this matter but to have borne it all in silence and I am almost inclined to erase those pages. Would that I could erase the facts from my memory! I will say as much as this that I do not suppose any have intentionally done me injustice.

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September 1859.

Since my last entry on this journal I have passed through various experiences some of them not a little peculiar. My predominant feeling is that I am enjoying only a temporary respite from severe sickness – liable at any moment to a new and severe attack of disease. I feel too that the power of resistance in my constitution is greatly diminished. My feeling has been and is strong that I cannot get through another winter but I know that God can carry me through and if there is anything more for me to do He will hold me up. I have had one hemorrhage of the lungs during the summer: but it was not very serious. My efforts however in attending the Scientific Association at Springfield and our Commencement completely broke me down and I have been obliged ever since to remain at home with hoarseness and cough and great emaciation. I have continued to preach most of the sabbaths at least a part of the day: but doubt whether it is very judicious. Yet I must say that had I neglected to work in past times whenever I felt unable I should not have done half of what I have. Not one in ten of those in vigorous health who have ridiculed my dyspeptic fears and weakness would have stood at their posts as I have done if half my load of infirmities had been laid upon them.

The meeting of the American Association of Science at Springfield which I was the means of bringing there passed off very successfully: and so did the excursion to Amherst which I also planned and had to take a leading part in accomplishing.

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We were indebted mainly to a kind Providence in providing a most beautiful day and all seemed so gratified that I cannot doubt the College was essentially promoted. The highest authorities now declare that our collections in natural history are superior to those of any College in the land. How wonderful that providence should have so signally prospered the College early in its history in this respect! How wonderful that I should have been spared from the very commencement of the work and should have had so large a share in every part of it! I have never had an ambition to get ahead of all other Colleges in this respect nor even dreamt that it could be done in so short a time. But it has been God's work as almost everything else in relation to the College has been the result of his Special Providence.

December 4, 1859

On a former page of this journal I have given the titles and pages of the works I have written and published. And I can now add the following.

Geology of the Globe 1859 1 vol. 8 vo. 136 pages 8 plates

Surface Geology 1 vol. quarto 1859 - 155 pages 12 plates

Ichnology of New England 1 vol. 220 pages 60 plates

Religious Truth Illustrated by Science 1 vol. 12 ??? 422 pages 1 plate

New edition of Religion of Geology addition of new Lecture 100 pages 2 plates

Report to Governor of Mass. on Geology in 1853 44 pages 3 plates

Explanation of Mass. Geol. Map 22 pages

Report on Geology of Texas connected with Capt. Marcy's Report 16 pages

Sermon at the funeral of Dr. Packard 23 pages

Ditto at funeral of Mrs. D. Woodbridge 15 pages

Ditto on U.S. as a Missionary Nation 20 9 pages

Final Report on Geology of Vermont 12 pages

Second Report on Geology of Vermont 13 pages

Third report on Geology of Vermont 16 pages

Introduction to Plurality of Worlds 8 pages

1231 pages - 84 plates

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Brought Forward pages 1231 plates 84

Short papers in Proceedings of American Science Association 10 pages

In British ditto at Edinburgh

Speech at Albany at dedication of Geological Hall 7 pages

Account of slide on Mt. Lafayette in vol. 14 N.S. Amer. J. Sci. 4 pages

Defence of claims on Ichnology in Springfield Republican 4 pages

Letters from Europe in 1850 and in N. Z. Observer 10 pages?

Two Chapters (the first and last) in Hitchcock Anatomy and the rest by my oldest son 43 pages

New fossil Ichthyornithology and Footmarks Amer. J. Sci. vol. 21 N.S.
4 pages 1 plate

Nineveh Boweler Same work vol. 22 new series 4 pages

[Totals] 1317 pages 87 plates

Add the amount already given 6160 pages 132 plates

Arguments against the manufacture of ardent Spirit and American Tract Society. No. 224 24 pages
(omitted)

[Totals] 7477 pages 219 plates

The wood cuts not less than 1000

Myself and my youngest son have in a great measure prepared a Report on the Geology of Vermont which we calculate will make a quarto of 500 or 600 pages with 25 plates and 200 wood cuts. But the Vermont Legislature have refused to publish it at present and there is scarcely a gleam of hope that I shall live to see it printed. On my own account I care do nothing about this. But when I am gone I know that injustice will be done to my son who has worked harder than any other man: my other assistant has always tried to advance his own interests at the expense of those of the survey and he has had a falling out with my son though I have heaped coals of fire on his head by benefit I fear it is in vain. I have made a great mistake in ever having any thing to do with the survey. I have done almost everything and have worked for almost nothing (\$300 for three years) and now the Legislature expires and refuses even to publish my Report. In Massachusetts it would not have been so – the Legislature have ever been ready to publish my reports...

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...even though almost wholly of a scientific character. If my son lives he can write the sequel to this history. But I predict it will be a sad one and that he will be will be wronged and get no justice.

I have not met with so many unexpected difficulties and so much of ingenuous treatment in my literary labours of late years as to make me seriously enquire whether I ought not to regard it as a special frown of Providence upon me for having inordinately pursued these subjects in years past. I believe that God may sometimes thus punish us as it were inordinate ambition. At any rate those rebuffs make me feel deeply how empty are all expectations of happiness from learning alone. If a man does not pursue sciences from higher motives than the hope of reputation and happiness he will assuredly be sadly disappointed in the end. But in the severe depression under which I labour now almost habitually I can hardly see anything but Divine Judgment in the things I suffer. I am satisfied however of one thing that a part of my trials have resulted from the fact that I have always been a decided advocate of evangelical religion and have tried to show that science sustains that system. But there is a wide spread feeling that a man cannot be a really original scientific explorer who is a Calvinist and his labours must be judged accordingly. Then again when I am unjustly treated I have no College classmate to stand up in my

defence. I have always felt however that a man might in such circumstances cast himself and his cause on God confident that in the end full justice will...

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...be done him and I have been amazed often to find in such cases how events would be brought about so as freely to set matters right when injustice had been done. It is hard however sometimes to wait in silence and suffer especially as rectification time may not come in this world. I confess that I deserve all the rebuffs I receive and humbly pray for grace to bear them and to use them as means of his holiness. Oh if thus used what occasions for Thanksgiving may they become in another world!

December 31, 1859

The hours of another year are almost run out: and yet how wonderful! I am still spared and since the weather became steadily cold I think I have felt even better than for some months past. Such a thing as health indeed I never know: but if my infirmities are only such as to permit me to study and go abroad I call it a great mercy. This is about the time a year ago when I was prostrated by sickness. I remember the day well, for there was a remarkable exhibition of frostwork on the trees and I went abroad and carried my family to enjoy the splendid sight and probably the excitement of the day had something to do with my sickness. Today we have had just such another scene of beauty and glory: but I have restrained my desire to enjoy it except to a limited extent. How near I may be to another severe sickness I cannot tell. I did suppose it hardly possible that I should escape as the cold season came around. But how easy for God to ward it off! Oh that I could wait patiently to know his will.

In looking back upon the year it pains me to see so much evidence...

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...in my experience that I have not improved as I ought the severe sickness of last winter. During the sickness I had great comfort in the calmness with which I was able to look death in the face: but since my recovery I know not why it is death has a more unusual repulsive aspect and I tremble to think of going into the conflict. It does seem as if the world had got a stronger hold upon me than ever although I have had more than usual of trouble and vexation to wean me from it. Oh I long to be delivered from these vain and unholy thoughts - this anxiety is to worldly enterprises and this apprehension of coming evils! I long for more of inward purity - more of love to mankind more of faith to meet coming evils especially the final hour. How entirely am I in the hands of God! Let his grace be given and even I shall gain the victory.

1860

1860 January 7th

My lungs have been attacked again nearly as a year ago yet thus far it has not prostrated me though it will prevent me from supplying the College Chapel tomorrow as I had hoped to do. The attack seemed to be the result of rather too long ride in very cold weather in my favorite mode that is horseback. Oh

how much of the Christian's duty in old age consists in the exercise of the passive virtues. Waiting to see what God will do is one of these. This is what I am trying to do now. Undue anxiety I find tends to precipitate the very evil we fear. How much better even in the midst of danger to leave all with God in the peaceful trust!

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January 28th

I still live I know not by what powers save the special power of God. I have been very low during the last few weeks although still able to go out and hear a few recitations and give a few lectures and sabbath before last I preached. But my strength which has hitherto held out with wonderfully has now given way and this too has become very troublesome so that it is very hard for me to get up College Hill. It does seem as if nature could not hold out much longer.

My literary troubles do not leave me with my strength. I am in the midst of an unpleasant mess with the publisher of my Elementary Geology who wanted me to write with another man in getting up a new edition. But after trial we could not agree and now I know not what will be the result. This is the only book that has given me very regular income of much consequence for the support of my family or I should not trouble myself about it as it has gone through 30 editions in this country and I have been told 4 or 5 in England.

Till within a year or two the thought has scarcely crossed my mind that the funding Amherst College and its Cabinet would ever be perverted to the support of religious error. But some occurrences within the past year have shown me how easily such an event could be brought about if God should withdraw his guidance and protection and though while the present men continue officers and Trustees of the College such an event would be...

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...hardly possible yet others will succeed them perhaps of different views through whose connivance the Institution might pass into the hands of such men as it was founded to counteract and defeat any Unitarians, Universalists and Infidels. Now my feelings recoil from the idea of having the fruits of my labours and donations ever go to the support of such religious or antireligious notions. I had thought of inserting a condition in my will when I leave my collections to the College that they shall become forfeiture whenever the Institution or a majority of its Officers and Trustees abandon the orthodox faith. But I have seen how little regard has been paid to such conditions in the wills of others and therefore I prefer simply to leave this testimony in the hands of my heirs. I here certify that it is my wish to have the collections in Natural History which I have presented to the College employed in the promotion of science only in connection with evangelical or orthodox religion such as I have ever preached and such as is described in the theological work of Drs. Woods and Knapp and is now taught at Andover and Princeton. Should the College pass into the hands of men who reject this system I want them to feel like they have no right to use my collections but should give them up to my heirs. After this clear expression of my wish is known to them it will be no better than robbery if they do not give up my collections to my heirs or let them pass into the hands of some other institution that retains its orthodoxy with a like injunction. They may call me bigoted to be thus severe upon a perversion of my gifts. I can only say...

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...that as I fully believe the evangelical system to be that of the Bible and of course all others false I do not wish that the works of my life should be useful in advancing any other system. I leave every man at liberty to adopt what cause in religion he pleases and if he differs from me only in such more essentials as distinguished Orthodox Congregationalists Presbyterians Baptists Methodists Episcopalians of the Low Church and can give him the right hand of fellowship. But if he adopt another gospel I do not wish to aid him in promoting it. If this is bigotry be it so. It is what seems to me to be right in the near view of death.

February 25th 1860

I am passing through a very bitter experience this winter. My complaints have become exceedingly urgent and trying. I have scarcely any respite during the day from severe cough and profuse expectoration and often my nights are wakeful and restless from the same cause and I find it difficult to exercise abroad except on horseback for weakness and shortness of breath. In short I am an almost constant sufferer and it does seem as if I could not much longer hold out. My spirits are exceedingly depressed and excepting in my own family being unable to go out of town or to call much upon neighbors I have very little social intercourse to cheer me and no one to converse with on my favorite topics in the absence of my sons.

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My religious faith too seems very feeble and I feel appalled at what is before me. Strange after I have suffered and experienced of God's mercies but I should still find my heart clinging to this world.

I should however be very ungrateful not to acknowledge how many mercies I experience. Notwithstanding my feebleness I am not confined to my house but in comfortable weather can go out short distances and drink in the pure atmosphere of heaven. Then what a blessing to be watched over and taken care of by an affectionate wife and daughters. Nor am I entirely laid aside from literary labours: but have been able to do a good deal towards a Report on Vermont Geology and in preparing a new edition of my Elementary Geology. Then it has cheered me to receive such kind letters as those I have lately had from Professor Sedgwick of Cambridge in England and Professor Haidinger of Vienna. I cannot but be gratified also by a late review of my Ichthyology in the North British Review written by the Rev. John Duns I suppose. From these sources I learn that my claims as to the footmarks which have been assailed so much in this country are fully admitted by these distinguished savants and also by Professor Owen: and these testimonies have all been unsolicited. Truly it is God who has raised up for me these foreign friends and it ought to fortify me against neglect and abuse at home. It is another example of the way in which God takes care of my reputation when I leave it in his hands. Oh that I could be taught by his mercies shown to me to me so perverse and ungrateful not to...

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...distrust him any more and to hope that he will be with me when I go as I soon must through the dark valley. Would also that I could get rid of the influence of the world upon me. But I fear that this ought hardly to be expected until I can free myself from some of those worldly pursuits and engagements that bring me into painful discussions and collisions. Oh I do want to be at peace with every human being!

April 29th

Spring has opened again and for a time I seemed to experience considerable relief my cough being much lighter: but my old difficulties of all sorts cough dyspepsy hemorrhoids kind of diabetes and stiffness and weakness of the muscles have returned and with such a general and undesirable feeling irreversible universal failure of the powers of life that I am quite discouraged. In short it seems to me as it has for years and my complaints are making a steady advance and the wonder is that nature has not long ago given way. It seems to me as if my prolonged existence was due to the special Divine Powers so it has seemed for many years and if any man has reason to be thankful for the guidance of a Providential Hand it is I. I shall give up all other doctrines sooner than that of Special Providence.

I have to record with gratitude the completion of another literary labour viz. the rewriting of my Elementary Geology for the 31st edition. It has cost me nearly as much labour as...

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...its first preparation although I have been very greatly aided by my youngest son for whose sake indeed mainly I have laboured so hard to bring up the book to the present state of the science.

The section on the religious bearings of geology for a summary I regard as the best I have ever made out. The principle especially that Moses gives us only certain memorabilia of creation and that not usually in a true chronological order which I partly developed a year ago in my Religion of Geology I have here brought out more fully. I am satisfied is to do a great deal towards clearing up the connection between the scriptures and this science. It has been floating in my mind for many years *in disjuncta number* but never...

[Missing pages 357 – 406]

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1862

April 27th 1862

It is certainly marvelous that during the last six months I have done so much in carrying out the plan suggested in my last entry as to a history of the College. I have actually written the book of some hundred pages in nine Sections although the two last are not completed which I entitled *Reminiscences of Amherst College*. Excepting College duties I have had little else to occupy my attention and Providence is giving me strength to write as fast as I ever did in my life. I would be glad even to print this work before I die. But in these troublous times no publisher can be found who dares run the risk of bringing out such a work and I shall have to leave it for...

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...posterity in manuscript. But I have put down a great many facts which otherwise would have been lost and expressed some opinions which I am glad to leave concerning men and measures which may have some influence when I am gone.

I am not aware having overworked. Yet I have never been in so palpably prostrate a condition in health. I suffer constantly and dreadfully both in body and mind and after all I have gone through in past years I could not have imagined that there could be another depth so deep for me to pass through. Evils that I have only anticipated heretofore have now fallen upon me. For a year or two past I have been able to continue to give instruction in College...

[Missing pages 409 – 410]

...build up the scientific interests of the College must be defeated.

This is the hardest part of my experience: but other circumstances occasion me solicitude. The present state of the country has reduced the income on my property at least one third and when my salary fails the remainder cannot supply the wants of my family which is still large. I have no wish to leave property to children to much extent. But I did hope to leave enough to make my wife and daughters comfortable when I am gone. Nevertheless the promises on the subject are very checking.

Trying as the exigency is which I am passing would that I could exercise more entire submission to the...

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...Divine Will. I have had enough in my past experience to lead me to put implicit trust in God. By waiting patiently the development of his Providence I have often seen wonderful exhibitions of wisdom and mercy - almost miraculous. It seems now as if the present cloud would certainly rest upon me till I die. If it do so I will hope that I may see bright spots upon it as I look back upon it from the other side of Jordan.

May 25th

Another birthday has come and gone. Yesterday I was sixty nine years old. How unbelieving I should have been had any prophet thirty years ago or even ten years ago told me that I should enter upon my seventieth year. But as my last entry indicates it is emphatically a season of labor and sorrow even though a little on the hither side referred to by the Psalmist. The grasshopper has become a burthen and almost everything seems to be a grasshopper. This is most beautiful season of the year but it seems to have nearly lost its power over me. This year although this is the first time in my life when nature did not charm me. But my bodily discomforts and even distress are so great and the cloud over my spirits is so thick that I seem sunk into a state of almost utter hopelessness as to this world. The presence of all my children...

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...save Charles who has plunged again into the wilds of Maine does not seem to afford one much relief. I am glad to see them and the six grandchildren they now present: but I am so constant a sufferer and my nervous debility and irritation are so great that I am afraid I have become a burden to others as I am to myself. At this time too I am sadly afflicted by the failure of a favorite horse which I have used almost

daily under saddle or in taking my family to ride. I was not aware how dependent I have been upon horseback exercise. Unable from weakness and dyspepsia to take active exercise to much extent this passive time has been of great value. But to obtain a new force now is nearly impossible on a variety of accounts and I know not which way to turn.

But I am afraid there is in my heart a want of entire submission to the Divine Will. I do certainly rejoice that all my fears are in the hands of God and as these outward comforts fail I cleave to Him as my only hope. I feel sure that everything will in the end come out well but I do not expect to see that end in this world and here it is I fear that there is something wrong in my experience. It is hard for me to wait *patiently to see the end of the Lord* although I know that he will thus appear *very pitiful and of tender mercy*. I ought to feel so now for there are...

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...many great mercies mixed with my trials on this sixty ninth birthday. But when the though comes over me that judging from the past I can never expect to be any better but I am sure to grow worse in health nor can ever expect any relief from painful sense of neglect ingratitude and the almost total failure of my long efforts to establish and perpetuate a full department of geology and natural theology in the College all my sadness returns upon me and despondency takes the place of cheerful confidence in God. Of this want of faith and submission must be conquered. And perhaps God is conquering it by heating the furnace so hot at this time.

October 12th 1862

The long and desperate struggle between nature and disease is almost over. My complaints have reached such a constancy and intensity of suffering that they cannot be endured much longer. Nor does anything which I do or my physician can do afford anything more than a slight temporarily relief. My experience has almost reached that of the ancient Hebrew which leads me to say: *In the morning would God it were even and at evening would God it were morning*. My days with the exception of the hours in which sleep produces an oblivion of pain are little else than prolonged distress. My cough is very severe and the...

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...mucus expectorated very profuse I am satisfied that the root of the difficulty is in the digestive organs and there is the principal pain. The bronchial tubes through all their ramifications sympathize strongly with the alimentary canal but the best medical examination that has been made pronounces the substances belongs to be diseased. The same medical authority denominates my disease chronic bronchitis originating in dyspepsia of long standing. It appears to me that the mucous membrane through the whole alimentary canal as well as in the larynx trachea and bronchial tubes is in a state little short of inflammation. My emaciation is now extreme nor does the food I use seem to afford much nourishment so that now I am very weak although till lately my strength has held up remarkably. The distress is chiefly in the stomach and bowels.

But whether this be a true diagnosis of my case or not there seems almost no hope of rising from my present condition: there seems little or no recuperative power left. Till quite recently my brain had held

out remarkably and my mind has been as clear and as much inclined to study as ever so that...

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...during the present term I have been able to attend a daily recitation or give a lecture on geology and have carried the Class of 1863 almost through that subject. I record also with gratitude the fact that I have completed my descriptive catalog of the fossil footmarks and have made several new discoveries in ichnology among others not less than twenty new species in my Cabinet I find that the whole number of individual tracks in that cabinet is at least 11,550. To some other literary enterprises started some time ago I have also given some attention to my allegory for instance entitled the Sea of Life. Two weeks ago also I took up the subject of Special Providence and as proved by Geology and wrote and preached a sermon upon it in the chapel. All these subjects are intensely interesting to me and therefore I can pursue them even when suffering severe pain and I think it better for me to make such a mental effort (moderately) than to have the whole time to think of my own suffering and prospects. I do not expect any important results from these literary enterprises though I should expect something if I have time to complete them. But I try to hold myself ready to quit them all unfinished at any moment and I feel as if I could do this cheerfully. Would that I...

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...were sure that I felt as deeply interested in the objects and scenes that are just opening before me. Then would my heart be buoyant even in the midst of the bitter experiences through which I am now passing. But for such grace how entirely dependent I am upon a sovereign God.

November 8th

I have lived to see another snowstorm several inches deep. Yesterday I did not feel the worse for it: but today prevented as I am from exercise aboard myself sufferings are great and I do not feel as if I could endure winter weather long. Oh God put underneath me thine everlasting arms and hold me up in this time of distress. But more especially give me perfect resignation to thy will whatever it shall be. I would be most grateful for a little longer respite from the final blow and ability to do a little more. But peace of mind and entire reliance on God and a cheerful willingness to leave all in his hands would be more pleasant still.

I finished my course of instruction with the Class of 1863 in Geology which makes my 37th or 38th class since 1825. It has been a hard struggle this year but has not perhaps injured me. Towards the close I have not been able to walk up College Hill but my horse has carried me up.

December 7th Sabbath

I am now in a great measure confined to my house and only occasionally...

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...ride out a short distance. I have not of late felt able to attend church or other public occasions. Meanwhile my emaciation and distress and weakness go on increasing. The powers of life are driven almost to the last citadel. My physician has wanted me to go to Boston to consult some physicians there

in advanced life who have had great experience. But I have hesitated till the severe winter weather has settled upon us. Besides I have no confidence that it will be of any service. Yet I would do almost anything if my sufferings could only be a little alleviated. If God would interpose specially He could do that: by I fear human wisdom cannot.

Thought struck me pleasantly last night that any sufferings are simply an expression of the Divine Will and therefore I may be sure that the work will be carried through in the best possible manner. Why then should I ask for anything more than that the Divine Will be done.

December 14th

I have been to Boston and those venerable physicians Dr. James Jackson and Professor Jacob Bigelow have given my case a careful examination by auscultation. They think they discover tubercles upon my right lung and the only consolation they could give me that at my age tubercles develop slowly. But they evidently felt as if my case was a bad one. Last summer Dr. Towers of Brooklyn I believe after examining...

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...my chest declared confidently that I had no tubercles as I have stated elsewhere. It is certain however that during my last severe sickness the right lung was so severely diseased (hepatized I believe) that Dr. Thompson told my family I could not recover. It may be that the remains of this trouble are what Drs. J. & B. suppose to be tubercles. Probably however they are correct. They presented nothing new for me and paid little attention to what is now the chief source of my sufferings the state of the stomach and bowels. That it seems I must bear. All I have to say in regard to the whole is the will of the Lord be done. It does seem to me that I can bear anything that comes upon me as an expression of God's will and is not the result of my own indiscretion or sin.

I was able to attend a meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and by the help of my son to present a paper The Supplement to Ichnology of New England.

December 31st 1862 7 o'clock P.M.

Another year is almost run out and it does seem to me this evening that my life is almost as near its end. My dreadful and almost constant pain internally my sickness at the stomach and loss of appetite my severe cough copious expectoration occasionally of bloody mucus and my utter prostration of strength and of spirits make me feel that I ought not to be surprised to have the final blow come at any hour. But I would seize this perhaps my last opportunity to testify to the Divine Goodness in sparing me to see the completion of two more important enterprises.

The first is marked success in procuring the funds for the purchase of a large and beautiful addition to the Ichnological...

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...Cabinet. Before the war Mr. Field's price was \$2000: last year he wanted \$1000 but this year he offered the whole for \$800. I tried in vain from the first to find someone to purchase the collection. But this autumn Hon. J.B. Woods offered to take \$100 of this stock if others would be found to take the rest. I sent out letters to my numerous gentlemen and to my surprise the whole sum and even more than enough has been sent in so that I shall be able to provide for the transportation and the requisite cases without asking any help from the College. The specimens are not yet in my hands and I feel little anxiety this evening because I cannot hear from Mr. Field since I accepted his terms (8 o'clock letter received: all right). But I can not believe that Providence will suffer it to fail now for it has seemed to me to be a work of Special Providence and in answer to earnest prayer which I have put up from the beginning. The answer, in these disastrous times for all such enterprises, has been as remarkable as anything I have known in my experience.

Another success is the completion of my Reminiscences of Amherst College Historical Scientific Biographical and Autobiographical. I have now been engaged upon this for more than two years and I had yesterday completed a volume of the series of Tyler's biography by Lobdell of 400 pages with several Plates. It is my wish that this work should be published whenever a publisher can be found without important alteration and I hope my sons will see to the fulfillment of this wish of their father.

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My opinion is that this work will have more than merely local interest. Nearly a third of it is given to my own autobiography which is certainly peculiar if nothing else.

Blessed be God for carrying me through this enterprise also! I know if I can only hope to stand upon the heavenly shore and say the Lord has borne me safely and triumphantly through the dark valley what a note of praise would break from my lips and if 1863 should commence there instead of here on earth how thankfully ought I to accept the wonderful transition!

1863

February 26th 1863

The vital monitor still continues to sink lower and lower although it has long seemed as if zero had been reached. My pains and weakness are much greater and the difficulty of outdoor exercise keeps me in the house most of the time. I have never known weather so unfavorable to going abroad as this winter. It is constant March weather. The temperature about 32° (Fahr.) and the air having that peculiar chill that accompanies mind and slush. But entire confinement I know is fatal and therefore I go out when friends consider it imprudent. I still try hard to fit up my new room of fossil footmarks and by the help of my sons have the work pretty well advanced. Some of the more interesting developments I have ever had have rewarded my Ichnological studies of late but I do not pursue them in the...

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...cold cabinet. Moreover my brain of late strongly sympathizes with my internal organs and my mind which has held out marvelously till of late and now reels and staggers and I cannot study. God however has sustained me to see another of the annual fasts for the College and given me strength to attend I

believe the 38th anniversary prayer meeting of this sort with perhaps two exceptions when sick or absent from town.

Would that as life's thermometer is sinking I could see faith's barometer rising as an indication of fair weather. But the index still points far too much to the unsettled and even stormy quarter. Indeed such a terrible exasperation of my nerves as my internal difficulties produce and my frequent deep depression of spirits more than all my remaining hardness of heart and too strong a hold on the world will I fear keep me among the fogs and clouds and prevent me from rising into the clear atmosphere of faith and hope. Sure I am that God only can lift me up. Oh for his grace to give me at least calmness and patience and some tokens of Christ's presence now that the gloom of the dark valley is beginning to gather around me.

April 5th 1863

What a dreadful experience I am passing through! What almost intolerable suffering I am called to endure! It cannot continue much longer for no constitution can stand under it. If God had not given me special strength mine must ere this have utterly...

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...given way. I have lately also had a heavy addition to my trials in the severe sickness of my wife with pneumonia. She has been brought very low and for some days I had nearly given up all hope and so had the physician. But the Great Physician now allows us to have some hope that she may recover. This disease has been the great scourge of both our families. My wife's father and mother died of it and so did my father and our first child nearly two years old and four years ago it brought me to the borders of the grave nor from its efforts have I ever recovered. Physicians at the time said I would not live. But God thought otherwise and should my wife recover it will be God's work. Oh that I could fully trust such a God and Father to carry me through the final struggle which must be only a few steps in advance. In fact it seems to me that I have already entered the dark valley and am beginning to feel its chilling atmosphere and to need a Father's hand to uphold me and lead me onward and through the deep waters.

May 3^d 1863

Oh when will this desperate conflict between nature and disease be over? Nature struggles manfully and wonderfully: but disease puts on a ghastly smile in prospect of a certain and speedy victory. I have been afraid that the intensity of my sufferings might bear me to desire release even by death before God's object in the suffering had been fully accomplished. Yet such a feeling is only occasional: for...

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...the wish to live is predominant even with all my pains and it does seem to me as if I do not fully acquiesce in the Divine Will however long that may keep me in the furnace.

I find I had a faint hope that when the mild weather of spring opened some amendment might follow. Alas the reverse seems to have been the effect in my last hope of recuperation fails.

I think I can see why God has spared me through the past winter: for I have never done so much for the College in the same length of time since my connection with it. In the first place the new Footmark enterprise elsewhere described has been completely carried through: the whole amount of money received was \$1200: enough to preserve the tracks fit up the room purchase nearly 200 dollars worth of volume casts of fossils and still leave on hand nearly \$200. I have been able by the help of my sons to get the specimens placed upon the walls and the room is now open to the public. They add over 8000 individual tracks to the Cabinet making the whole over 20,000 and from them I have obtained new Light as to the principles of Ichnology besides describing over 30 new species in a paper offered...

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...to The American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Several months more of work are indeed needed in the Cabinet to name and label the specimens which I can never perform. But the results thus far have been wonderful and to me seem a Special Providence.

In the second place a still more unexpected triumph has been obtained by pursuing the state Legislature to give us \$2500 to the Natural History Department. Here indeed I have had able coadjutors such as Dr. Stearns Hon. E Dickinson my oldest son several graduates of the College in the Legislature and of course all the Trustees and Prudential Committee. But they will all say that I started the whole thing that I suggested it to the Trustees drew up the petitions first for the Agricultural School and then for the donation that I went down to Boston three times during the winter in extreme weakness to appear before committees of the legislature along with other gentleman named above. I never expected success as to the Agricultural College and cared but little about that. But I knew that a petition for that would open the way for the subsequent appeal. The prospect seemed almost hopeless: but we gained the victory and through the hostility and meanness of the friends of Cambridge who cut us down all they could while...

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...we advocated their full claims yet it is a great thing to get the claims of Amherst allowed at all and if the friends of Amherst are wise and on the lookout in future the Zoological Museum cannot hereafter get aid unless Amherst Natural History Department comes in for a share.

And now that those important objects have been most unexpectedly accomplished especially in this time of war what more can I do for the College or my family? Gladly would I labour as long as my strength and ability remains and I can see how I might do much if I only had a little health. But I feel almost sure that Providence means to lay me aside and to pass my work into other hands. Alas I fear as elsewhere intimated that it will be ungratefully taken from my family and others be bought in also who know nothing and care but little for my plans for building up the Natural History Department of the College and especially its Geology. But in regard to this point the hardest of all to give up I think I can now say the will of the Lord be done. Oh if God will manifest himself to me and bear me up and bear me through the painful scenes before me my strongest desires will be accomplished. I ask not for bright visions but only for calmness and peace as the...

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...shadows of death close around me. I ask only for a childlike faith in my Redeemer. Nor do I ask for a

lofty seat in heaven for I deserve only the lowest - not that indeed except as a free gift through Christ. But I do pray for some hopeful place within the celestial gate where I can learn the everlasting song. Grant this Oh God and thy praises shall burst forth from my redeemed soul forever and ever. Amen and Amen.

1863 May 24th

I have strength enough left this morning (Sabbath) to record the fact at least that this is my birthday and that I have now seen three score and 10 years upon the earth God be praised for I never expected it. The difficulty with which I have written this sentence shows me that now my work is done. My dyspepsia is terrible and I raise bloodied matter from my lungs every short time. I wish I could at least give a brief review of God's wonderful dealings I have seen during 70 years. But my journal and my Reminiscences must tell the story. My business is to get ready for God will help me die at any moment. Oh how hard death presses up on me! And through what unlooked for channels! Oh my Saviour anticipate his approach on every side by putting thy rod and thy staff in my hands!

I must try to record one...

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...more example of God's fidelity to his promises and readiness to answer prayer and especially just as I am leaving the world.

Three of four years ago Mr. Brown of Lowell started a plan for getting a plaster cast from the British Museum and Hunterian Museum in London of the Megatherium and myself and oldest son when he was in London succeeded in getting the requisite permissions but he had to leave the work in the hands of Professor Quekett who died and the thing lay along till lately when as I was starting Prof. Ward of Rochester upon the same track I learnt that Joshua Bates Esq. had presented a cast to Cambridge and another to the Boston Nat. Hist. Soc. I addressed Mr. Bates and told him how the way had been opened by us for his success. I suggesting that he give Amherst also a skeleton also. By a letter just received from Professor Owen who has spoken a good word for us I learn that my effort has been successful and that a cast will be forwarded for us about the middle of June or first of July.

[The following appears to be in a different hand.]

June 5, 1863.

The following letter received Friday settles the whole business.

London 22 May 1863

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 16th March reached me in due course and I was not aware until today that it had been so long unanswered but I intended from the moment of its reception to send to your College the casts...

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...of the Megatherium and Professor Owen recommended that I send it complete. It has been ordered: and in due time will arrive at Boston and I have great pleasure in presenting it to your College. With many thanks for the interesting contents of your letter and for the pleasure I have had in reading your books.

I remain, dear sir,
Very truly yours,
Joshua Bates.

On reading this I have rallied on my sickbed and myself and daughters gave Joshua Bates three hearty cheers.

June 5, 1863.

God has spared me to make one more entry in this journal by an amanuensis. The most unexpected and perhaps the most important of all which it contains is the death of my beloved wife who left us Thursday, May 26th at 6 o'clock P.M. and so quietly and without suffering did she pass away that it made death rather attractive than repulsive to us all. O, if we could only go as she did, who would not be willing to make the exchange of worlds. And now, Lord, what remains for me, but to go? What more, if I remain, can I do for my family for the College, for the cause of science or religion? Thou hast enabled me indeed, within the last few months, to do far more for the College, than I could have anticipated, and the whole seems to me almost like a dream: but it does not seem possible that I can do anything more. And yet if I have suffered long enough in the furnace, and I feel how obstinate my refracting heart is, Blessed Saviour make me willing to lie here, till Thy whole will is done. But O withhold not Thy supporting hand. Walk by my side amid the fierce flames, and may I come out with no smell of fire upon my raiment. I shrink from my sufferings, and cannot but cry out, *If it be possible, let this cup pass from me.* But enable thou me always to say, *Not my will, but thine be done.* I cannot but make one more record here, as a testimony to the Divine fondness, in permitting me and my wife to be attended through all these trying scenes by our own children and to experience from them all the kindest treatment. O, how different from mere hirelings, or even that of sympathizing neighbors and friends and their attentions and sympathies. To be deprived of this sympathy and attention would add amazingly to the intensity of our sufferings. It must be very trying to them to bear with our infirmities and nervous irritation, and all our unreasonable freaks and fancies; but in addition to the sympathies of natural affection I trust they are all influenced by the higher principles of Christian love.

July 5th

The final blow is not yet struck and I live to record other examples of God's kindness. I have now read proof sheets of all of my articles on Natural Constancy to appear soon in the...

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...Bibliotheca Sacra and this in a few months will appear as a distinct volume. I have also seen the proofs of Professor Tyler's biographical sketch of my wife delivered at the funeral which we print for circulation among friends but not for publication. The July No. of the American Journal of Science also contains the

last part of my paper read before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Supplement to the Ichnology of New England and I have a hope that the paper itself with its numerous Plates will be published by the Society.

Most of all a publisher has been found for my Reminiscences of Amherst College who is taking hold of the work with vigor. This has rendered a revision of the work necessary. And this too I have been able to accomplish. The prospect is strong now that ere many months the whole volume of 400 pages will be published. My son will aid in the proof sheets and though it would be madness to expect to live to see it completed and rejoice in the belief that its publication essentially according to my wishes is rendered almost certain, a result I could not hope for if left till after my decease.

Oh how wonderful these continued developments of Divine Goodness up to the very close of my earthly course! If I could hope for the like manifestations through the dark valley how loud would be my song of praise on the heavenly shore! Alas how can I expect it when I am so undeserving.

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July 25th 1863

I would mention here a phrase of Christian experience of which I have had some glimpses but which I have not seen noticed in the diaries of those who have gone slowly down to the grave although it may be common. I ought to premise however that for many years the time when my mind is the clearest my feelings the freshest and most pleasant and my thoughts most original has been the first moments after waking from a refreshing slumber towards morning. Of late not infrequently at such a season my mind has been filled with some delightful passages of scripture announcing some great doctrine of revelation or bringing out some rich and consoling promise and encouragement to those in affliction and sickness. The memory thus quickened and put upon the track would soon bring many parallel passages before the mind like apples of gold in pictures of silver and how sweet to read them off as they passed slowly by. So that one could hardly avoid exclaiming - *Or ever I was aware, my soul made me like the chariots of Amminadib.* Again the passages of scripture often suggest most precious hymns which increase the pleasure. And thus often can the lonely...

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...sleepless hours of the sick man be filled with a delightful experience.

Let me give a few examples of passages of scripture that have refreshed some of my weary hours:

1

John 14 - 1 to 3 and 16 to 20 to 27 chapter XVII

2

Romans VII - 28 to end

3

I Corinthians XV-35 to end

4

II Corinthians IV-13 to end and V to 8

5

I Corinthians VIII-4 to end

6

Rev. 14 - 13 Blessed are the dead

7

Matthew 25 - 31 to end:
also Revelations 20 - 12 to end.

8

Revelation XXI and XXII

9

2 Timothy IV – 6,7,8

10

Isaiah XL 1 – 2 and XLIII – 1-2-3
And LIV 7 to 13

September 6th 1863

Is it not marvelous that God should have spared me and given me strength to complete another important and extensive literary labour viz. the printing of my Reminiscences volume of 417 pages. I have been able to examine all the proof sheets and the Plates are nearly finished. I used to think it a very labourious...

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...task to carry so large a work through the press. But how easy for God to lighten even the heaviest labour as he has done in this case. His dealings with me in this matter lead me to hope that he will make this work a means of usefulness.

But it does seem to me that this must be my last intellectual effort as an author. For although I feel as if I

could wish for some object of this kind to which to turn my attention and must think it would be favorable to my health I find my brain of late quite feeble and almost incapable of much mental effort. Would that God might give it power to meet with patience and strong faith the sufferings and solemn scenes before me! Oh the intensity of these sufferings from day to day! Strange that my constitution should have the power to hold out so long against these terrible assaults. Thus far I think I can see a reason in what I have been able to do for the College, my family and the public why God has preserved me. But it does seem now as if I have reached the limit of my ability to do anything more of this sort: though some important objects for the good of the College and yet unfinished literary labours remain unaccomplished: but I have reason to think that God does not mean to allow me...

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...success in what I have attempted for the College and that my unfinished literary labours are unimportant. The will of the Lord be done! This I hope to be able to say with my latest breath.

September 13th

The object above alluded to which I was seeking for the College was the endowment of a Curatorship. But the effort has failed and still I say the will of the Lord be done! It has indeed blasted all my hopes as to my professorship and the cabinets when I am gone and prostrated my most cherished plans sought after by 40 years labour but still I say God's will be done. Some good reasons exist why I should be defeated and I shall see it in eternity.

November 8th 1863

The desperate life struggle still continues and even becomes more obstinate. Who but God could give my system so much vital power? It is a strange experience through which I am passing: but it is full of instruction. For God still continues to give success to some very important enterprises for the College and of a private nature although as my last entry in this journal indicates he does not allow some of my most cherished plans to succeed. Strange to say I have two more examples of success to record.

The first is the reception and exhibition in the College cabinet of a large collection of European fossils costing \$1000...

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...and purchased by Prof. Shepard in Europe. This has been the great deficiency of our Cabinet. Its purchase was fruit of my efforts last winter to obtain help from the State Legislature. For several years past I have been trying all manner of ways to supply this important desideratum God be thanked that I witness this result before I die.

The other example is my marvelous success in writing and in some sense completing my Allegory the Sea of Life. During this autumn I have been able to write 134 additional pages of letter sheet size so that the whole manuscript now rises to 179 pages and I have sent it to the American Tract Society in Boston to see whether they may not think it worth publishing although of course as yet extremely defective. But the fact is that such a work may be extended indefinitely or we may stop almost anywhere. I know

not what the decision of the Society may be. But I have been surprised that I have been able to write so much in the midst of excessive debility pain and mental weakness and depression. Much has been written lying up on my bed with my hand too feeble to hold the pen steady. Had I undertaken this work ten years ago and followed it up it does seem as if a useful little work might have been produced by this time. Whether I have now made it of any consequence others must decide. Oh how strange to be talking at this late date about publishing another book!

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December 13th 1863

How long, Lord, wilt thou hide thyself? Forever? Shall thy wrath burn like fire?

God has only to shut out the light of his countenance from our souls by sending severe suffering or affliction upon us to make it look to nature like an exhibition of His wrath. But it is really in the case of his children only an exhibition of his fatherly love. I often feel as if I could not endure my sufferings and cry out in my agony but never have I wished that God would keep back a single stroke. I need them all and deserve them all. But I do long for a daily hourly consciousness of his love. My faith in the great principles of the Divine Administration and the plan of salvation by the Cross is nearly as strong as in mathematics and a doubt on the subject rarely crosses my mind. But I seem to fail in a correspondent hope of personal acceptance. After this I pray and agonize. Oh God come forth from the hiding place and let me feel as if I had hold of thy hand as I go through these dark places all full of pitfalls! Only give me a hope of personal acceptance as strong as my faith in the government and dispensations and I shall be satisfied.

December 21st 1863

I have never felt the hand of disease pressing so hard upon me as this morning or rather the symptoms seem to me more like death than ever before. I am gasping most of the time for breath and my muscular debility and distress seem insupportable. I think much of my departed wife and wonder if I shall ever meet her again. Oh it does not seem possible. Oh how unfit am I to join in that lofty worship in which she is this morning engaged! But prepared or unprepared I must go.

God has permitted me for nearly three days to witness another scene almost equal to the Coronation of Winter in 1847. I find it...

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...so difficult to get abroad and feel so sick but I cannot enjoy the scene very much yet it does rally not a little the love of nature and now especially affords a delightful interruption to almost unremitting suffering.

December 27th

The ice scene continued all the week with clear evenings as well as days and strong moon light. In some

respects it exceeded the "Coronation" in 1845. The gems were often larger and the colours more delicate and richer. I do not think they can be compared with any natural gems and that these give us but a faint idea of the foundations of the New Jerusalem. They have colours there which demand a celestial sensorium and that my dear wife now possesses. Oh how dark the glass now seems to her through which she looked on earth even on "Coronation Day"! Oh think of such a day in the New Heavens and New Earth!

1864

January 4th 1864!

Oh marvelous! that I should be alive to make this record in the year 1864. It is not so easy to see why the silver thread is not yet broken: but God I trust will show me why and what I have to do - To do? Surely it must be an infinitesimal labour. But great or small let it be for God's glory and my last my best work.

January 6th

Another blow has fallen and I am made brotherless as I was before without sisters. Charles perhaps the most amiable and naturally gentlemanlike of our numbers has fallen at the age of 78 before that dreadful enemy of our family – Pneumonia.

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There were five of us and I alone am left - the youngest of all. With one exception (Emma) we have fallen in the order of our ages and yet all over 70 and I trust the four are now singing the everlasting song. Oh how little prepared I am to take my place at the foot of the choir and yet I do long to join the almost restored brotherhood! and last evening how strong did the probability seem that a few hours would bring the change. Oh it cannot be delayed many hours more! Come Lord Jesus Oh come quickly.

February 5th

And yet it is still delayed! and I bless God for it although I do earnestly long to be gone yet he has allowed me to be the means of accomplishing some important things for the College the most so is the probable establishment a few years hence of a Professorship of Natural Biblical and Pastoral...